Boston Public Library
3 9999 10522 728 2

PER. RM
No.....
AP2
.N7
THE TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY
OMNIVM LVX CIVIVM
OF THE CITY OF BOSTON
1852 1878

Return volume, when bound, to
PERIODICAL ROOM
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
BINDING INSTRUCTIONS

Author

Title North American Review

Volume 169

Number

Part July – Dec

Year 1899

Call No. AP2.N7

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS!

_____ Volume incomplete. Bind with stub for _____

_____ Volume incomplete. Bind without stub.

Color Red

1 vol cont
1/25/71
Recase

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

VOL. CLXIX.

1901.1
U56.169
1899

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NOV 10 1964

NEW YORK:
11 WARREN STREET.
1899.

Per. Dept.
*AP2
.N7
vol. 169

Copyright, 1899, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO.

All rights reserved.

FEB. 15, 1900
N. York

PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXII.

JULY, 1899.

A CHANNEL PASSAGE.
1855.

BY ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

Forth from Calais, at dawn of night, when sunset summer on autumn shone,
Fared the steamer, alert and loud, through seas whence only the sun was gone:
Soft and sweet as the sky they smiled, and bade man welcome: a dim, sweet hour
Gleamed and whispered in wind and sea, and heaven was fair as a field in flower.
Stars fulfilled the desire of the darkling world, as with music: the starbright air
Made the face of the sea, if aught may make the face of the sea, more fair.

Whence came change? Was the sweet night weary of rest? What anguish awoke in the dark?
Sudden, sublime, the strong storm spake: we heard the thunders as hounds that bark.
Lovelier, if aught may be lovelier, than stars, we saw the lightnings exalt the sky,

Copyright, 1899, by The North American Review Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

1835

Living and lustrous and rapturous as love that is born but to
quicken and lighten and die.
Heaven's own heart, at its highest of delight, found utterance in
music and semblance in fire:
Thunder on thunder exulted, rejoicing to live and to satiate the
night's desire.

And the night was alive and anhungered of life, as a tiger from
toils cast free:
And a rapture of rage made joyous the spirit and strength of the
soul of the sea.
All the weight of the wind bore down on it, freighted with death
for fraught:
And the keen waves kindled and quickened, as things transfigured
or things distraught.
And madness fell on them laughing and leaping; and madness
came on the wind:
And the might and the light and the darkness of storm were as
storm in the heart of Ind.

Such glory, such terror, such passion, as lighten and harrow the
far, fierce East,
Rang, shone, spake, shuddered around us: the night was an altar
with death for priest.
The channel that sunders England from shores where never was
man born free
Was clothed with the likeness and thrilled with the strength and
the wrath of a tropic sea.
As a wild steed ramps in rebellion, and rears till it swerves from
a backward fall,
The strong ship struggled and reared, and her deck was upright
as a sheer cliff's wall.

Stern and stem plunged under, alternate: a glimpse, a recoil, a
breath,
And she sprang as the life in a god made man would spring at the
throat of death.
Three glad hours, and it seemed not an hour, of supreme and
supernal joy,

Filled full with delight that revives in remembrance a sea-bird's
heart in a boy.
For the central crest of the night was cloud that thundered and
flamed, sublime
As the splendor and song of the soul everlasting that quickens the
pulse of time.

The glory beholden of man in a vision, the music of light over-
heard,
The rapture and radiance of battle, the life that abides in the fire
of a word,
In the midmost heaven enkindled, was manifest far on the face
of the sea,
And the rage in the roar of the voice of the waters was heard but
when heaven breathed free.
Far eastward, clear of the covering of cloud, the sky laughed out
into light
From the rims of the storm to the sea's dark edge with flames that
were flowerlike and white.

The leaping and luminous blossoms of live sheet lightning that
laugh as they fade
From the cloud's black base to the black wave's brim rejoiced in
the light they made.
Far westward, throned in a silent sky, where life was in lustrous
tune,
Shone, sweeter and surer than morning or evening, the steadfast
smile of the moon.
The limitless heaven that enshrined them was lovelier than
dreams may behold, and deep
As life or as death, revealed and transfigured, may shine on the
soul through sleep.

All glories of toil and of triumph and passion and pride that it
yearns to know
Bore witness there to the soul of its likeness and kinship, above
and below:
The joys of the lightnings, the songs of the thunders, the strong
sea's labor and rage,

Were tokens and signs of the war that is life and is joy for the soul to wage.
No thought strikes deeper or higher than the heights and the depths that the night made bare,
Illimitable, infinite, awful and joyful, alive in the summit of air—

Air stilled and thrilled by the tempest that thundered between its reign and the sea's,
Rebellious, rapturous, and transient as faith or as terror that bows men's knees.
No love sees loftier and fairer the form of its godlike vision in dreams
Than the world shone then, when the sky and the sea were as love for a breath's length seems—
One utterly, mingled and mastering and mastered, and laughing with love that subsides
As the glad, mad night sank panting and satiate with storm, and released the tides.

In the dense mid-channel the steam-souled ship hung hovering, assailed and withheld
As a soul born royal, if life or if death be against it, is thwarted and quelled.
As the glories of myriads of glow-worms in lustrous grass on a boundless lawn
Were the glories of flames phosphoric that made of the water a light like dawn.
A thousand Phosphors, a thousand Hespers, awoke in the churning sea,
And the swift, soft hiss of them living and dying was clear as a tune could be;

As a tune that is played by the fingers of death on the keys of life or of sleep,
Audible alway alive in the storm, too fleet for a dream to keep;
Too fleet, too sweet for a dream to recover and thought to remember awake:
Light subtler and swifter than lightning, that whispers and laughs in the live storm's wake,

In the wild bright wake of the storm, in the dense loud heart of the laboring hour,
A harvest of stars by the storm's hand reaped, each fair as a star-shaped flower.

And sudden and soft as the passing of sleep is, the passing of tempest seemed,
When the light and the sound of it sank, and the glory was gone as a dream half dreamed.
The glory, the terror, the passion that made of the midnight a miracle, died,
Not slain at a stroke, nor in gradual reluctance abated of power and of pride.
With strong, swift subsidence, awful as power that is wearied of power upon earth,
As a God that were wearied of power upon heaven, and were fain of a new God's birth.

The might of the night subsided: the tyranny kindled in darkness fell:
And the sea and the sky put off them the rapture and radiance of heaven and of hell.
The waters, heaving and hungering at heart, made way, and were well-nigh fain
For the ship that had fought them, and wrestled, and revelled in labor, to cease from her pain.
And an end was made of it: only remembrance endures of the glad loud strife;
And the sense that a rapture so royal may come not again in the passage of life.

ALGERNON C. SWINBURNE.

EX ORIENTE LUX!

A PLEA FOR A RUSSO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING.

BY VLADIMIR HOLMSTREM.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY PRINCE E. OOKHTOMSKY, EDITOR OF THE "*ST. PETERSBURG VIEDOMOSTI.*"

In 1893, in my book, "The Travels to the Far East of Nicolas II.," I sought to demonstrate the world-wide political significance of the present Tsar's journey through Asia. I thus addressed my countrymen: "We stand on the threshold of an epoch that promises to bring grave complications with it. If, therefore, we realize the absorbing need of a process of moral healing (which is in itself a source of renewed strength), if we would acquire increased knowledge, and if, without regard to our probable sufferings in the process, we mean to do noble deeds" in the name of Russia and the Tsar, "we must face and seriously study the following questions: What were the forces that called us into being, what was the process of the growth of our country, what blood is it that flows in our veins, and, finally, what are the glorious legacies of our past bequeathed to us by days of yore? The dominant factor in the history of Russia's past is the influence of Asia. She crushed us, but she has also regenerated us. In common with her we have created *the idea of autocracy* (which has nothing in common with the Cæsarism of the West); it is an idea that pervades all Asia and is as the breath of life to her."

Thus I spoke in 1893. Now, addressing our friends beyond the two oceans—the Americans—I shall ask: What was the dominant factor in the past of America? Was it not emancipation from and independence of England? The Puritans fled from the

spiritual and political tyranny of oligarchical England and laid the foundations of a new commonwealth on strictly democratic lines. The war of independence was one for emancipation from English economic and political tyranny, and created new opportunities for the wonderful development of America. Such are the lessons of the past. And now again comes the time for America to emancipate herself from England's political tutelage, veiled, though it be, in the guise of cousinly friendship. The Chinese question, that touchstone of this friendship, has already betrayed the duplicity of the English, and yet America's disappointments are only beginning. She is yet to see what golden egg will be laid for her by that Samoan goose which English journalists have nursed so tenderly with an eye both to Germany and the United States.

Turning to the question of an understanding between America and Russia, based on mutual good will, I hold it as highly desirable, and believe that the support of the independence and integrity of China would afford the best opportunity for the co-operation of Russia and the United States. Yet I will allow myself to ask, as I did in my book six years ago: May not the culture of the West (or an excess of it) with its pronounced individualistic tendencies, leading almost to anarchy, inflict on the Chinese, these Asiatics who have never known the meaning of material progress, nor have ever striven for it, the misery of a civilization out of harmony with their natural inclinations? With this reservation I fully approve of the Rev. Gilbert Reid's scheme of an international institute for China, particularly as he means to give due attention to the characteristic individuality of China, and exhibits much regard for her traditions and racial inclinations, without any idea of converting Asiatics into Europeans at a blow.

I take the liberty of warmly recommending to the attention of American readers the following article by Mr. Vladimir Holmstrem, some of the ideas in which I have myself suggested.

PRINCE E. OOKHTOMSKY.

"Great are the battles that shall be fought in the time of peace!" Such is the key-note of the Tsar's manifesto.

Throughout the world, in all the centres of public and political life in the two continents, much discussion has taken place during

the last ten months as to the direct meaning of the Russian peace proposal and its probable bearing on the international situation. As is usual when dealing with Russia, the politicians, journalists and diplomatists of Europe, wholly ignorant of our domestic affairs and national character, have been profuse in their abuse of my country. Malevolent and spiteful criticism and sophistical interpretation of the great and humane design of the Tsar have not been wanting. Some critics have thought proper to hint at bad faith on the part of Russian diplomatists; others have maintained that a peaceful disposition on the part of the civilized nations of the day would, in the long run, prove disastrous to mankind, as it would diminish the physical and consequently the moral strength of the Christian nations, and render them incapable of withstanding the pressure of the barbarians. How weak a faith this opinion expresses in the forces that make for civilization! Because the Christian nations of the world would cease fighting *one another,* it is assumed that they would cease to hold their own against barbarians. Only an English journalist could commit himself to such an astoundingly foolish opinion! In the former case, as in the latter, it is ignorance that lies at the root of the misunderstanding, breeding distrust and fear. In days of yore the heathen, ignorant of the cause of thunder and lightning (which purifies the air) regarded these physical phenomena as the visible manifestations of angry deities or evil spirits. True knowledge and science have dissipated these misconceptions.

It is time that a truer appreciation of Russian national character, founded on real knowledge, should find its way to the heart of the great American nation, which has so much in common with Russia.

If the Russians were better known, if malicious European statesmen, past and present, did not strive to discredit our great Slavonic empire in the eyes of the West, the Tsar's peace manifesto would not have had, in the lands of the West, the effect of a bolt from the blue. The noble design of Nicolas II. is directly connected with the historical and national traditions of Russia, it is the direct outcome of Russian national thought, of the self-consciousness of the Russian people. Did not the late Tsar receive from Europe (Western Europe, too!) the name of Alexander "the Peace-Maker?" Does not Count Leo Tolstoï, in his reformatory zeal, carry his religious and social convictions

to the verge of absurdity? In Russia we stand in no need of a Savanarola, with his ultra-sectarian creed, but we are bound to acknowledge that the great Catholic preacher *did* strike at the root of the evil of his time. The same is true in the case of Tolstoï, From amid numerous indications of the peaceful inclinations of Russian thought we shall take at random a most striking exposition of Russia's destiny, formulated by our famous national writer, Dostoyeffsky. According to this Russian literary authority, the ultimate object of our empire is to bring together in a harmonious whole all the nations of the earth, of which Russia includes in herself various representatives. "*Russia is a world, a universe!*"—such was Dostoyeffsky's creed and teaching. Without going so far as to accept this author's ideal in all its breadth, I think it necessary to remark that such a *profession de foi* implies in correspondence with it a truly Christian, brotherly love, peaceful disposition and tolerant feeling toward all nations and races, as indeed was loudly proclaimed by Dostoyeffsky.

"All possible freedom, on condition of acknowledging the highest Russian ideal of common interest and creed as developed in the service of the *idea of unity*"—such is Russia's internal policy as understood by her best representatives, who not infrequently wage war with the "tchinovniks" (officials of the State) on account of the false interpretation placed by the latter on this truth. The unity of Russia is personified in the Tsar and can find no other expression, such as parliament or congress, because such institutions would mean political slavery not only for the great mass of races of an inferior degree of civilization, but for the bulk of the Russian peasantry as well. *The Tsar is the expression of the national idea of Russia,* and therefore the enemy of the Tsar is the enemy of the people. The same may be said with regard to other nations and their national institutions. What, indeed, would Englishmen think if some of their countrymen were actively to oppose Parliament? What would be the attitude of Americans toward any one organizing opposition to Congress? The power of the Tsar no more limits freedom than do Congress or Parliament during the time that their members are actually in office. Russia's great misfortune is that the revolutionary tendencies of some mentally unbalanced people always threaten to call forth a reaction in the whole of her policy. The true enemies of Russia are the revolutionists. There remains, nevertheless, the

fact that the true conception of liberty is never lost sight of in the Russian empire *with its pronounced democratic tendencies.* Will Americans insist that their treatment of the Indians is in strict accordance with the ideal of liberty? No; the realization of this idea requires, in practice, certain limitations of its precepts. Do not the laws of America proclaim likewise that citizenship in the United States is acquired only under certain conditions, which proves that an emigrant from civilized Western Europe must undergo in America some process of assimilation? How much more, then, is this needed when a state has to deal with uncultured masses or inferior races! On the other hand, unrestricted liberty in a state containing inferior races among its population would mean the exploitation and decay of its uncultured elements.

Freedom for race and nationality in a firmly united whole is the ultimate aim of Russia, and the fate of Finland, so much talked about of late, is no exception to this object (not yet realized, it is true). I am no friend of those who have brought about the measures for curtailing the independence of Finland, nor do I approve of the means by which these measures have been passed; yet, nevertheless, I am bound to say that Finland *was* indeed a living contradiction to the idea of Russian unity. Would the people of the United States tolerate the existence of any territory that would claim all the rights and privileges of a State, and yet refuse to acknowledge its obligations as such—that would require special treatment as to its obligations? Certainly not! Yet such exactly was Finland's position in the Russian Empire, which gave her protection in time of peace and war, but received no acknowledgment of unity with the Russian *nation* corresponding to such treatment.

Turning to the Manifesto of the 24th of August, we shall say that by the issue of his peace proposal the Tsar has made known his adherence to the traditional ideal of Russia. He has indicated the internal and external policy which he means to carry out during his reign. He has likewise proclaimed his belief in Russia's spiritual strength. "Great are the battles that shall be fought in the time of peace!" It is surely an axiom that victory in actual warfare comes as the fruit of labor in all spheres of intellectual and economic life during the days of peace; victory rests, in the long run, with the party which has shown itself morally the stronger. The Spanish-American war affords ample

illustration of this truth! Battles and warfare are merely incidents in the life of nations, as are also plague, cholera, epidemics, revolutions, and, like them, can and must be prevented; the sagacious statesman *must* yield to pressure rather than enter into a war the results of which are likely to be disastrous. The Emperor of Russia has done no more than point out, at a time of an abnormal growth of militarism, that war should not be the ultimate aim of nations—that wars must be prevented.

By issuing his manifesto, Nicolas II. has challenged the nations to put forth in time of peace their utmost spiritual and moral strength, without playing blindman's buff, without tempting the "unknown," "*le dieu des batailles,*" as the French would say, without risking a fate which may always be predicted beforehand. The peace proposal also invites the diplomatists of various nations to base their schemes on some more solid foundation than that of all sorts of political combinations, "*au jour le jour,*" as chance may dictate; for moral strength and moral victory will depend in future on the degree in which the politics of a nation are natural and in accord with its needs, its past history, its origin and the geographical conditions of the country. In other words, the more natural a nation's policy, the greater will be its reserve force and the better its chances of victory in the peaceful spiritual contests of the future.

Viewed in the light of what has just been said, the position of America,* which has suddenly come to the front in the politics of the world, presents itself to the Russian mind in the following aspect. America is a *universe,* wherein the influence of the people of the United States predominates; it is a universe in the sense that it brings into close contact and harmony elements of various origin, creed and disposition, assimilating them one to another and welding them into an indissoluble whole. Anglo-Saxons, Celts, Germans, Slavs and Iberians, all experience the mighty influence of the great continent which they occupy. Their history, their national characteristics and their destiny are closely bound up with it. Whatever political vicissitudes may await the Americans in the future, whatever temporary interests may claim attention in different parts of the world, they will always be of a transitory character, because the one absorbing, all-embracing and determining interest of Americans centres in their own conti-

*I use the word "America" instead of "the United States" because the great republic stands in the same relation to the American continent as Russia does to Asia.

nent. The success which may attend the policy of the United States elsewhere will always depend on its success in the New World. This being admitted, it follows that in order to fulfill their destiny the United States must have their hands free on their own continent. But it is here that England blocks the way at all points and in every way. The imperialism of Canada, the fisheries of Newfoundland, the internationalization (which means English predominance, if anything) of the future sea route through the Nicaragua Canal, the tripartite rule (so rich in possible complication) on the Samoan Islands, the West Indies, and last, but not least, English influence in Central and South America—all these are questions that are bound to task the diplomatic powers of the Americans to their utmost. As is the case with Russia in Asia, both in the near and the far East, the Americans have to reckon everywhere in the New World with English designs and political aspirations. But in America, as in Asia, the English are mere outsiders, and in both continents their influence is artificial, enforced and temporary. The growth and ascendancy of the United States are bound to stimulate a corresponding development of self-consciousness in the various countries that border on them, and this means the victory of a healthy "Americanism," of the natural tendency toward closer union with the United States, and along with this the decline of the present artificially induced leaning toward England.

It follows that the future of the different countries lying within the sphere of influence of the United States depends on their emancipation from English influence.

Now, what are the advantages to the United States themselves of throwing in their lot with the English?

This question is the more opportune in that, according to what Prince Ookhtomsky has said, the history of the growth and development of the United States as a nation is a record of gradual emancipation from England. Now that the great American commonwealth has begun its career as a world-power, it must cast off the shackles of British tutelage, as was done by the ancestors of the nation when they sought spiritual liberty, and as was gloriously done a second time in the name of national independence. Now for a third time the Americans must assert their independence, if they mean to work out their own salvation and be ready to release their future states from the grip of the English.

It is now universally admitted that the friendship exhibited toward the Americans by their "cousins across the water" during the Hispano-American war and the Philippine difficulties, was due to the fact that the English realized the danger they would run in defying the great American Republic, with a hostile Europe at their backs to emphasize their isolation. Matters have changed since then; the "cousins" of the Americans have sought and all but gained the friendship of Germany, and that renowned conjurer, Mr. Chamberlain, once so enthusiastic about an Anglo-American alliance, now attempts to swallow two swords at once: one, Canada, on the Western continent; the other, Germany, in Europe. Both are directed against the United States, as the latter have had ample opportunity for seeing. Yes, matters have changed, but the lesson to be learnt from these facts is that, in order to paralyze the hostile designs of England, the diplomatists of the United States should seek to create a combination in Europe (say Russia, France and Spain) which would hold England in check and make opposition to the United States impossible to her. Such a combination, in order to have a working effect, notwithstanding the world's events, need not be accomplished in reality, but may remain as an ideal, regulating the future attitude of England. *Nolens volens,* the politicians of England will have to hearken to the voice of Berlin, so long as they wish to keep Germany on their side. We have had some inkling of this game in the Samoan question. Americans will perhaps say that on this occasion the English stood by them to the extent of rousing a storm in the German press. But with regard to this I must beg leave to differ from my American readers. The Samoan commission has not yet finished, scarce even begun, its work, and, as fresh food for our suspicions, we find, at the most critical stage of the Samoan complications, the British press "lying low," uncertain whether it would be best to give away Germany or the United States. The former, realizing the uncertainty of English character with its "tall talk," tried to prevent the defection of England. They succeeded, and the Germans were indeed right in representing the nomination of a commission as a triumph of German policy.

Now the case of Samoa foreshadows the possibility of England's creating the same combination of powers in questions of vital interest to the United States, should the latter fail to find a set-off against their "cousins across the water."

Altogether the co-operation of England and Germany looks very ugly. With respect to the effusive declarations of good faith on the part of the English, the mere fact of such co-operation scarcely needs any commentary. The one serves as stalking-horse to the other, while their mutual solidarity is undoubted. Under the auspices of the Emperor William, Germany has embarked on a far-reaching policy of conquest in all parts of the world, and, engaged in universal incendiarism, tests the strength of her "mailed fist" in various quarters of the globe. Her ventures in Kiao-Chao, the Philippines, Samoa, the Caroline Islands, Crete (which, however, she has lost in spite of all her endeavors), Palestine, Persia and South America, her friendship with the Sultan and rejection of the Armenians, her reconciliation with Cecil Rhodes and her betrayal of the Boers in view of certain problematic advantages for German capital—all this shows that England should know very well whom she is supporting.

It seems almost superfluous for me to point out that the adventurous policy of the Germans is directed as much against Russia (in Austria, the Balkan States, Palestine, Persia and China) as against the United States (in the Philippines, Samoa, the Caroline Islands, China and South America), and that therefore mutual co-operation and good will between these two countries would go far to neutralize the mischievous schemes of the Anglo-German association.

But, however important the above questions may be from an international point of view, the real centre of political speculation in our day is undoubtedly China, and it is with regard to the Celestial Empire that the policies of different countries are now shaped. China is the touchstone for these policies, and the course of events affords me ample justification for maintaining that co-operation and a good understanding between Russia and the United States would be nowhere so complete, so natural and so much to the interest of both parties as in the task of upholding the integrity and the independence of the Celestial Empire.

I shall now demonstrate that in the Chinese question England has already outwitted the Americans.

The Chinese question, in its aspect at the present moment, resolves itself into the acknowledgement or the negation by the great powers of the integrity and the independence of this great empire of the far East. Now in all countries there are and naturally

must be very different opinions in circulation as to the policy to be followed with regard to this question. But when problems of extreme national and international gravity arise for solution, every country brings forth representative men who express its national thought, who personify and, so to speak, condense in themselves the national aspect of the questions at issue. As it has always been and always will be, so, undoubtedly, it is now. History repeats itself. Russia's opinion is expressed with much vigor, precision and penetration by Prince Ookhtomsky, while a striking example of American breadth of mind, thoroughness, practical common sense and truly Christian feeling is to be found in the Rev. Gilbert Reid's scheme for an international institute in Pekin, which is nothing else but an attempt to uphold the independence of China by the best means at the disposal of the Americans. And finally comes Lord Charles Beresford, personifying the policy of England by the aggressiveness of his demeanor, by his provocative attitude, by the revolutionary natures of the measures devised by him for saving China—for England! Admiral Beresford, however, is held—whether justly or unjustly, it is not for us to decide—by the London press to be too much a man of deeds to duly appreciate his facts; he was but an emissary, he has fulfilled a mission not wholly self-imposed, and behind him stand such men as Colquhoun and Archibald Little, who may be regarded as men expressing the *mind* of the English Government, as the Admiral is one of their men of action.

It requires no great degree of penetration to perceive that there is far more in common between the opinions of Prince Ookhtomsky and those of Gilbert Reid than between the Admiral, with his warlike programme, and the two former, with their peaceful inclinations.

I have shown elsewhere that Russia's advance through the Asiatic continent was a peaceful movement, bearing with it the seeds of culture for barbarous tribes and fulfilling a destiny that has never been lost sight of during the last 300 years. In accordance with these historical facts, Prince Ookhtomsky claims for Russia the post of guardian of the East, the peaceful development of which on the strictly national lines in accordance with the characteristic individuality of its races is essential to Russia's welfare. We are an Asiatic power, and as such must guard the East, because *its consolidation means our own consolidation.* The fear

expressed by English politicians that such a process may end in the absorption of China is simple nonsense; we *may* be forced into the policy of absorbing a nation of four hundred million souls, but of our own free will we shall never commit a piece of folly which would mean the creation of a second and greater Celestial Empire doomed by its very vastness to lack of energy. We are quite sincere in wishing to have a strong and friendly neighbor in Asia, and up to the present moment it is the English alone who, keeping in mind their sinister schemes for the creation of a second Egypt or India, have endeavored to represent us as hostile to China and a military aggressive power. Who in the whole of the nineteenth century has been aggressive in dealing with China? England, France, Japan and Germany—not Russia! The English are apt to point out that our Siberian railway, passing as it does through Manchuria, threatens the independence of China, and implies hostile designs on that empire. But in the original plan the Trans-Siberian railway never so much as touched Manchuria! It was Japan's *coup de force* that showed us the perils in store for us in Manchuria unless we held ourselves on the alert. Neither did we purpose going to Port Arthur in a military capacity; it was Germany's occupation of Kiao-Chao that forced us to make such a move. Nevertheless, even after Germany's raid on China, numerous voices were raised in Russia against the occupation of Port Arthur.

I repeat that the independence and integrity of China is a fundamental principle of Russian policy in Asia. On the other hand, Mr. Gilbert Reid thinks of upholding the Chinese Government by improving the ruling classes and the *literati;* he would reach the masses by the best channel, through the established power, the classes. Instead of sweeping them away by a revolution which would rob the people of their natural leaders and bring on the disruption of the land, attended by unspeakable misery for all, he intends to utilize the forces now existing. Certainly he has a practical mind; he realizes that the carrying out of his scheme by the co-operation of all the powers, the bringing them into close and friendly contact in the task of promoting China's welfare and enlightenment, would save the empire from being torn to pieces, and that consequently the "open door," as implying the integrity and independence of China, would be preserved, American trade promoted and American influence maintained. Such a

humane interpretation of the idea of business, as bringing fresh power and salvation to people, commends itself to the Russian mind; hitherto we have been accustomed to see "business" interpreted in the English sense of rapine and slavery—economic and political—the famous murder for gain!

Mr. Reid's scheme clearly shows that the United States are vitally interested in the independence and integrity of China, and as he does not propose to transform the Asiatics, by means of a revolution—after the English idea—into Europeans, but means to let them govern themselves and remain Chinese, the identity of Russia's and America's aims in Eastern Asia with regard to the support of China becomes very clear.

When we turn to English policy in China we are struck by the mass of contradictions to be met with, not only in the different points of view held and the opinions professed by English politicians, but in the action of the government and in the speeches of responsible ministers as well.

The cry for the "open door," raised a year ago in England, has introduced a catchword intended to emphasize the importance of the integrity and independence of China. In the name of this new deity, which the English invoked as the heathen used to call on Baal, they sought to form a combination of powers hostile to Russia. But as the Japanese were the first to point out (and it must be said that none else but Russia should be more sincere in their endeavors to uphold the independence of China) a combination of four powers—England, Germany, the United States and Japan—would simply be a fighting machine to clear the way for *English conquest.* In the far East, England has to reckon with Russia's supremacy alone, and once this supremacy is paralyzed the other powers would be helpless against England. On the other hand, as Russia's position in Asia is assured to her by the mere fact of her existence, and all opposition to her must prove useless in the long run, the first thing the English would do after creating an anti-Russian combination of powers would be to come to an agreement with her for the partition of China. At the present moment it is impossible for England to carry out such a plan, as Russia adheres to the principle of integrity, although an inkling of such a possibility has been afforded by the recent Anglo-Russian "railway" agreement. If this famous "agreement" went no further at the outset, it was owing to the fact that England

had shown unmistakably that her "open door" creed was insincere.

While awaiting the results of her agitation for a combination against Russia, England was gradually but surely establishing herself in China. From the very outset it was clearly and persistently demonstrated in the columns of the *St. Petersburg Viedomosti* that the upholding of the integrity of China was not in the traditions of British diplomacy. Egypt and India were living contradictions to English assurances. "The banner with the 'open door' inscribed upon it," I wrote a year ago in a leader in the *St. Petersburg Viedomosti,* "which England waves so furiously before the eyes of the desired anti-Russian 'concert of powers' is nothing else but the scarlet cape of the Spanish bull-fighter, which is meant to blind the bull and make him an easy prey to the aggressor. It only affords England the opportunity of plundering China elsewhere as much as her heart can wish." And I further cited that famous speech of Mr. Curzon's at Southampton (in 1896 or 1897) in which this responsible minister of the Crown acknowledged that one must not take too literally the expression that England stands for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, as *integrity in this case means gradual dissolution.*

Well, hardly a year has passed since I wrote that article, and already England has committed herself to the policy of the partition of China by acknowledging the German "sphere of interest" in Shan-tung, by taking over Wei-hai-Wei, by extending her territory in Kan-lung, on the mainland opposite Hong-Kong, an area of thirty-seven square miles, with a population of 100,000 souls and a very rich soil, abundant mineral wealth and pearl fisheries; she has also invited the Italians to China and given her support to their demands for a lease of Chinese territory in Sammun bay. In the meantime, under cover of the "open door" principle, the English have acquired concessions for 2,800 miles of railway in China, they have been guaranteed the non-alienation of the valley of the Yang-tse, in Shanghai and Hankow; they have successfully opposed (with the aid of United States counsuls and ambassadors!) the applications for concessions made by subjects of other powers in the name of the "open door;"* they are drilling

* As the Rev. Gilbert Reid has wittily remarked in his vigorous article in the *National Review* for December, 1898: "Whenever the Chinese give a concession to somebody the English raise the cry: China is dealing with others—the 'open door' is closed."

the Chinese in Wei-hai-Wei and are planning to organize a Chinese army and navy within their "sphere of influence." Add to this a British subject as Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, and the picture of the gradual absorption of China by England becomes complete.

Do my American readers really think that the Russian railway across Manchuria is such a menace, after all, to China in particular and the world in general? Where would China now be, did England feel no restraint, experience no opposition to her designs from Russia? How far would not Germany push into the interior of China if we were not at Port Arthur? Which, also, is more pernicious to the interests of the Americans: the Russian railway in Manchuria, facilitating transport and supplying influence of no exclusive character, probably to be exerted for the benefit of America, or the annexation by the British of all the principal elements of the social life of China, of all the branches of her industry, trade and administration, thus instituting a practical, if not a theoretical, protectorate of Great Britain over the whole of China? This protectorate will become the more real inasmuch as the English are sure to create industries on a vast scale in the Celestial Empire to compete with the labor of the American workman.

Genuine piquancy is added to the situation by the appointment as Viceroy of India, in close neighborhood to the Empire whose integrity the English intend to protect, of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the very man who in all sincerity acknowledges his belief that *integrity means gradual dissolution.*

Having acquired, under the cover of the "open door" theory, leases of territory and various concessions, the English have now obtained all they wanted, and, casting aside the principle of the "open door," mean to try their luck in a different direction. The "sphere of influence" or of "interest" now comes on the scene.

We have shown how all the time that they were professing an interest in China's integrity and independence the English were always ready to share something or other in China with any one who asked for it, provided always he had no title to his claim and could not support it against the English. Fancy partitioning China with Germany, pegging out claims as if they were in Africa, or with Italy! Would it not be a stroke of luck, especially as it would set Germany against Russia, and as the Italians have no

trade worth speaking of with China, it not being even shown in the commercial reports.* The Italians would remain in Sammun bay and England would begin her conquest of the interior of the country.

For conquest is the real word that describes England's policy in China!

I have tried to show that the policy followed by the British government in China is full of contradictions and ambiguity. There are some good souls in England who in their innocence denounce the Unionist government for the *blunders* it has committed. But, for my part, I thoroughly agree with those enthusiastic patriots who maintain that Lord Salisbury's cabinet has deserved well of the nation. Notwithstanding all the contradictions mentioned and the loud proclamation of the integrity of the Celestial Empire, England is successfully engaged in carving out for herself an empire in China. The attitude of Her Majesty's ministers has hitherto been quite consistent with the advice tendered to them from competent quarters and by authorities on the Chinese question. Such writers as Colquhoun and Archibald Little have invariably counselled the absorption of the best parts of China, *i. e.*, of the Yang-tse valley; journals like the London *Speaker* have pointed out that it would be better to begin the absorption of the Celestial Empire from some nook or corner of it, and we find that the Kan-lung extension granted to England only last July and lately taken over by the Hong-Kong authorities has already given the English occasion to talk of rectifying the boundary line, with a view to penetrating further into the country. The following is the sort of advice which, in veiled sentences, Mr. Archibald Little has been giving to the government: "*If all the other European nations have determined to partition China, and our pacific remonstrances* (*i. e.*, the "open door" pretext) *are of no avail, then, I take it, it is the duty of the Government to see that Britain takes the lion's share,*"† (I wonder what to call the policy of a country that wishes to take the lion's share of a neighbor's territory! As if this wish is not already expressing itself in action. Such exactly has been England's policy.) *if only as a stake and means of bargain for the 'open door' with the rival pow-*

* This is a fresh instance of English insincerity: she opposes Russia on the grounds that the latter's trade with China is small (just as if it could not increase) and yet supports Italy, which has *no* trade at all with that country.

† *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1899.

ers (this is a cover for the real meaning of the phrase, for how is it possible to partition China in the interests of the "open door?) *and further as a means of training the Chinese and enabling them later on to undertake their own self-defence.*" (This is a little better: the English mean to partition China in the interest of her future integrity and independence.) Mr. Colquhoun is still more outspoken in advising the Government "*the construction of a railway system throughout the country, the use of steam navigation on all the waterways, the opening of the mines;*" this eminent writer imparts to these schemes for improving commercial intercourse the aspect of means for carrying out the absorption of the country by England and boldly asserts that "*the province of Czechuan must be the commercial and political object of England. Recent events should induce us to deal, without delay, with the question of land communication between Burma and the Upper Yang-tse, for it is there that must be decided the question of the supremacy of Central China.*" What this guarded sentence means is clearly indicated in another sentence in the same volume: "*It is from Burma on the one hand and from Shanghai and Hong-kong on the other, that England must, by the aid of steam applied overland and by water, effectively occupy the Upper Yang-tse region, the key of our position in China. China has ceased to be a buffer and England must effectively occupy the Yang-tse region and Southern China, if she seriously means to hold her own.*"

This is plain speaking, indeed! *The occupation of the Yang-tse region and of Southern China* is the political object of England. After such an assertion, in what light must we regard the violent diatribes of Mr. Colquhoun against Russia, in which he indulges throughout the whole of his book, trying to represent Russia as a positive menace to the integrity of China and to the world at large, and speaking of her as engaged in a career of purely military quest? Furthermore, Mr. Colquhoun says: "China knows that the policy of England, whatever it may have been, is now one of commercial expansion and development only, untainted by any ulterior designs, and that while England wants Chinese trade Russia wants Chinese provinces." "It was our duty to take China into tutelage," he says further on, and then quotes Colonel Mark Bell: "The latent wealth of China is undoubted. She is of greater value than many Indias; her people are peace-

ful, tractable and easily ruled." What an astounding mass of hypocrisy !

Now compare the policy of England in China, as advised by Mr. Colquhoun, with that of the Rev. Gilbert Reid and Prince Ookhtomsky. " The policy of the maritime nations" (read " England "), says the first named writer, "is to strengthen their position and influence in Pekin, and toward that end to *induce* China—by pressure, if necessary—to adopt measures which would be of advantage to all the world, including herself. Foremost among these measures is the opening of the country to foreign enterprise and capital by means of communications, railways and waterways, for they are necessary preliminaries to administrative reforms."

Whereas Prince Ookhtomsky and the Rev. Gilbert Reid are for strengthening the Chinese government, with a view of rendering it capable of fulfilling its obligations, and through it of bringing peace and welfare to the people—the English, on the contrary, think of strengthening their *own* position in Pekin, they want to *induce* China to adopt various measurses, and mean to improve ways of communication in the country in order to absorb the Yang-tse valley. And in the background are administrative reforms, which signify a sort of practical control of China by the " maritime nations."

The ideas of Prince Ookhtomsky and the measures proposed by the Rev. Gilbert Reid, as representing respectively Russia and the United States, are *conservative* in the best application of the word, they aim at the welfare of an independent nation, while on the other hand the English schemes are *revolutionary* in theory and meant to be carried out by violence in order to pander to the lust of the English for gain and conquest.

Mr. Colquhoun's policy has been adopted by the English government in all its details: the advance from Burma, Shanghai and Hong-Kong was begun at all three points simultaneously. " For the safety of China and India," Mr. Curzon was created Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the " Hong-Kong extension " assumed the character of a formidable advance, and in Shanghai the English were lucky enough to secure the co-operation of the representatives of the United States.

Lord Charles Beresford was sent on a secret mission to China in order to inspect the field of the future military operations of

the English, and has brought back a report, under the title of "The Break-up of China," in which he acknowledges himself a believer in the "open door," at the same time cleverly distributing his lights and shadows and concentrating his attention on Russia's claims in Hankow and Newchwang. The gallant Admiral has not been fortunate in his conclusions, as the pressmen and the politicians of England have changed their mind in the meantime and now prefer the "sphere of interest" policy to any other. The "administrative reforms" devised by Lord Charles Beresford all tend to give England a dominating influence in China, and the "open door" that is to save China is, according to the Admiral, sort of English protectorate over the Celestial Empire.

With a view of securing this protectorate for England, Lord Charles Beresford advocates an alliance between England, Germany, the United States and Japan in the Far East. The idea of the Anglo-Saxon world-supremacy has also been put forward. We shall, however, allow ourselves to ask whether the Latin races fared so well after co-operating with the English in the Crimean war that the Anglo-Saxon races should feel inclined to follow their example? The Crimean war was also waged in the name of the integrity of an empire—the Ottoman one—and in the end England has gained Egypt and Cyprus, while as to the other powers—well, France has her Catholic protectorate in Asia Minor, and Italy, as a legacy from the royal house of Savoy, a share in the keeping of the neutrality of the Mediterranean!

These bare facts will perhaps lead one to pause before accepting alliances proposed by admirals, the more so that England already stands convicted of breach of faith in the Chinese question: she tried to rouse in the United States an enthusiasm for the open door, and in the meantime was working on the lines of a "sphere of influence" policy; she took over Wei-hai-Wei from the Chinese on the avowed pretext of upholding the integrity of China, which, as the English maintained, was menaced by us, and never thought of upholding China's integrity against Germany, invited Italy to take a share in the spoiling of the empire, and yet still keeps Wei-hai-Wei (as she keeps Cyprus, though she neither helped the Armenians nor saved Turkey from dismemberment). *

*The "*Times*" has just published a letter from Admiral Colomb to the effect that it would be convenient to give over Wei-hai-Wei to Germany. Yet these people speak of our attempt on the integrity of Chica, while thinking of giving away territory they have no right to cede to the power which first made such an attempt.

We have dwelt so long on the question of English policy in China because it shows the great gulf separating the conceptions of a Chinese policy entertained on the one hand by Russia and the United States, and by England on the other. The same remark might be made about other spheres of life and thought: to a student of English and American politics it is clear how radically different are the ideas held by these two "cousins across the water." It would lead us too far, however, to enter into details.

My opinion on this subject being firm, I have never been a believer in an Anglo-American alliance, or any other understanding of the sort. In the first place, there is absolutely no ground for it in the respective dispositions of the two nations. Mr. Bookwalter, of Ohio, that well-known American who created quite a sensation in Russia by his powers of observation and ready American wit, bears testimony to the fact that the English movement toward fraternization with the Americans is entirely artificial, has no root in the disposition of the people, and is dictated solely by motives of political speculation. The English only gained credit in Europe by their talk of an Anglo-American alliance and in consequence pocketed Egypt by the fact of their claims to the Soudan remaining undisputed. But what have the United States gained by this talk? "Cuba and the Philippines," say the English, and this is offensive and humiliating for the Americans, who should never forget that England attempted to further utilize their difficulties by forcing on them the Canada commission. On the other hand the idea of a cordial Anglo-American understanding was generated in England by the circumstance of the latter's isolation (not always voluntary), and was forced on the English by their realizing that they could not deal with the Americans in a high-handed way.

Next comes the question: What would America gain by such an understanding? I will dismiss it with the remark that it has hitherto only given rise to such astounding articles as that by Sir Richard Temple in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for September last. He estimates the number of millions of population in the "European" and the "Anglo-Saxon" combinations respectively (221 million whites and 64 million colored, as against 125 million whites and 350 million colored), attempts to compare their areas in square miles, their coast lines, their railways, trade returns, banking facilities, millions of horse power, etc. The re-

sult is a triumphant proof of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon. These are but idle speculations! The author might as well have estimated the respective forces of the beasts of the forest and those of the prairies and deserts, adding up horns, claws, teeth, tails, animal force, agility and density of fur! I should like to see him general in command of the 475 millions of the "Anglo-Saxon" combination!

But Mr. David Mills, Canadian Minister of Justice, goes even further than this in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for last June. "Which shall dominate, Saxon or Slav?" he exclaims, and decides for the Saxon, who loves commerce, as against the Slav, the barbarian, who loves domination. We are so accustomed to fits of blind, uncultured and ignorant Russophobia among English writers that we have come to view them with indifference. But it might be remarked that to *raise the question of domination* is a peculiar feature of the "Anglo-Saxon" temperament, and that the author's political lucubrations are tantamount to a propaganda of race hatred.

"I believe that Russia is the only country in the world which feels nationally friendly and individually interested in America." Such is the just and acute remark made by a fair American, Lilian Bell, which I came across in the "Woman's Home Companion" for March, 1899. It afforded me real pleasure, as, coming from the heart, it added one more to the number of the sypmtoms of goodwill and friendly feeling between our respective peoples. Of late years many Americans have visited our country, carrying away with them the best possible impressions of it and a feeling of being liked by the Russians. The significance of this coincidence of feeling and hearty goodwill has been further emphasized by facts pointing to solidarity of thought and many points of contact in the intellectual region. American books and journals convey ideas freely to the Russian mind, and these ideas find a ready response among us. Our famous writer, Tolstoï, has nowhere roused greater enthusiasm than in America, while Emerson gives ample nourishment to Russian thought. Men like the Rev. Gilbert Reid emphasize this Russo-American solidarity, not only in aims but in appreciation of facts and policies; likewise, his criticism of British policy in China is identical almost word for word with the views which have been expressed in the *St. Petersburg Viedomosti* during the last four years.

Nor is this all. The position of Russia and of the United States in their respective continents is identical. Both are self-contained, self-supporting communities, with a destiny naturally imposed upon them by the prominent place they occupy, each in its own sphere and within its boundaries. Their expansion in their respective continents has been a natural movement, paralleled only in the case of China; it has been peaceful in the main and brought enlightenment and the higher civilization in its train. I have shown elsewhere what the character of Russian expansion in Asia has been. The wars that Russia waged in Europe were carried on in self-defence against the pressure of the Teutonic Order, against the Swedes, the Poles and the Turks. Russia saved Europe from the hordes of Asia, and the mere fact of her growth enabled the Balkan States to throw off the Turkish yoke, the weight of which was once felt as far as the walls of Vienna. The peaceable disposition of Russia in Europe is evident from the fact that during the whole of the present century Russia has never been the aggressor in Europe: * other nations have risen in arms against her, but with no success worth mentioning. Continuing to demonstrate the identity of the positions of Russia and the United States we must remark that both these countries, as well as China, are, each in its own sphere, a *world*, a universe, wherein various races and creeds are brought together into a harmonious whole, and I sometimes think that if ever the union of the churches were to become an accomplished fact, it would be in America. Both countries, too, afford opportunities for liberty in the highest sense of the word, as founded on genuine equality of rights, and certainly realize this idea more than any other country. The Tsardom of Russia rests on a democratic foundation; the Russian Tsars have always fought for the masses against the classes, whenever the latter have shown a tendency to oligarchy and caste exclusiveness. The Tsar is always the Tsar of the Commons, of the common people whom he has freed from serfdom, although it is admitted that existence of the classes is a condition of regular and healthy life for the community. Our nihilists are maniacs in their good intentions, corresponding to the anarchists of Western civilization; as are the latter, so are the former, the expression of some unhealthy symptom in the life of the nation.

*The wars with Turkey, it must be remembered, were waged, not for any purpose of aggrandizement, but solely in defence of the oppressed nationalities of the Balkan peninsula and of Christianity in the East, and therefore Russia was not the real aggressor, even when she was the first to declare war.

The identity of interests between our respective countries springs from their requirements, as self-supporting communities, in the best conditions for the development of their faculties and the fulfillment of their destiny. Russia and the United States have a common interest in seeing the road they follow cleared from obstacles without their coming into conflict with one another. The Russo-American understanding we now advocate is no alliance, no agreement on all or on some points or, indeed, on any particular point, but simply co-operation of a spiritual nature founded on mutual goodwill and a strong inclination to keep the peace on every occasion. We have common foes, bent on mischief, as Americans will soon realize on their own continent; it would be well for us to reach one another a helping hand where needed.

It is not for the first time that such co-operation has taken place between the two nations, nor, indeed, are we the first to point out that identity of the destinies of Russia and the United States which promises so well for our respective futures. Great thinkers, philosophers and historians have remarked this before. We shall quote one of them, the celebrated French historian, Tocqueville, who in 1864 thus expressed himself in his book, "*De la Democratie en Amérique*": "*Voici un fait entièrement nouveau dans le monde et dont l'imagination elle-même ne saurait saisir la portée. Il y a oujourdhui sur la terre grands peuples qui, partis de points différents, semblent s'avancer vers le même but; ces sont les Russes et les Américains. Tous deux ont grandi dans l'obscurité et tandis que les regards des hommes étaient occupés ailleurs, ils se sont placés tout à coup au premier rang des nations, et le monde, a appris presque en même temps leur naissance et leur grandeur. Tous les autres peuples paraissent avoir atteint à peu près les limites qu'a tracées la nature, et n'avoir plus qu'à conserver; mais eux sont en croissance; tous les autres sont arrêtés ou n'avancent qu'avec mille efforts; eux seuls marchent d'un pas aisé et rapide dans une carrière dont l'oeil ne saurait encore apercevoir la borne. L'Américain lutte contre les obstacles, que lui oppose la nature, le Russe est aux prises avec les hommes. L'un combat le désert et la barbarie; L'autre la civilisation—revêtue de toutes ses armes; aussi les conquêtes de l'Américain se font-elles avec le soc du laboureur, celles du Russe avec l'épée du soldat.*" This last sentence shows that Tocqueville could *not* predict all the incidents of the future he had in view, and that he had no knowledge of Russia's

for the most part peaceful record in Asia, no knowledge of the incessant toil of the Russian peasant settler and Cossack in Siberia.

It is highly significant that on all occasions of great importance in the history of the two nations mutual friendly co-operation was always forthcoming, though proffered in various forms. It was so during the American war for independence, again during the civil war, when England threatened the North, and again when Alsaka was ceded to the republic, when she had gained strength enough to hold her own. Russia, on the other hand, secured her possessions at the mouth of the Amoor, in the Far East, in 1846, with the co-operation of the Russo-American trading company, which carried out the explorations of the mouth of the river and established trading relations with the Ghilak natives. In 1851, by order of the Tsar, the Nikolayefsky military post was transformed into a factory of the Russo-American company. It is with profound gratitude that we Russians remember the ship load of corn sent to us by our American friends during the famine of 1891-92.

Is it not also a fact of wonderful significance that just after Germany's raid on Kiao-Chao, which marked our coming to the front in the Far East, the United States should appear in the Philippines and prevent the English and the Germans from disposing of the many tangled questions in Eastern Asia at their will? Even in ceding Alaska according to the dictates of our own policy, we unconsciously benefited the Americans.

Our destinies, following their special lines, are developing in such harmony, are so mysteriously interwoven, that our mere existence is mutually beneficial! Facts have responded to the requirements of the time with more accuracy, more insight and more intrinsic significance than all the lucubrations of politicians on the set theme, that "blood is thicker than water." At the present critical epoch for the Far East Russia and America are again drawn to one another by invisible ties of friendship and goodwill. The question of China's integrity and independence absorbs the attention of all, and it rests with Russia and America, the two countries most naturally and most vitally interested in the normal development of the Far East, to determine the fate of a nation that belongs to the same order of self-contained, self-supporting and typical communities as they themselves, which is a vital part of the Far East, which in the past has developed into

an empire along the same lines as they have, expanding in a natural manner, uniting various elements into a harmonious whole and capable in the future of developing along lines of its own.

All depends on the standpoint taken with regard to China by the powers that now come into contact with her. There are two views held with respect to China: the Russian view of friendly help to an empire tottering under outside pressure—this is the conservative, the Asiatic, the Oriental conception; and the Anglo-German view of aggressive absorption in the name of reforms—which is the revolutionary conception of European outsiders, the Western conception.

I maintain that if America would be true to herself and to her noble traditions she must come over to our side and accept the Eastern conception.

The primary aim of Russia's expansion in Asia, according to Prince Ookhtomsky's formula, has, besides its political and economic basis, a moral one, too, which forms the essence of Russia's mission of culture and enlightenment in Asia. Our close relationship with the Asiatics imparts to our advance in their direction the character of a communion with the sources of our individuality, with the vital creative forces of spiritual greatness which were in a condition of dissolution for want of any inner creative work in the Asiatic native. We seek to unite in spirit with the races which carry in them the seeds of our national individuality. It is a brotherly union with a civilizing influence that we seek—one that has for its object the preservation to the Asiatic races of their originality, with a view to their participation in our common life and to their spiritual regeneration as well as ours. We must not forget that it was from Asia that the glorious principles of truth, of faith and of love were sent into the world for the salvation of mankind. Accordingly, the idea of intercommunion with the Asiatic races should be the object of every Christian and really civilized nation.

Ex Oriente Lux! This was said a long time ago, but the "*Oriens*" here meant exclusively the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, the birthplace of Christianity, which succeeded the civilization of Greece in those regions. It is time for this expression to be taken in a broader sense, for the word "*Oriens*" to receive a wider and a truer meaning. The eastern shores of the Mediterranean have always been in close, direct

and living contact with the Farther East, from which it borrowed spiritual strength, and had only an original *form* for the expression of its spiritual essence. In substance, the latter was identical among the civilized Greeks and the "barbarians," but here the expression of the spiritual essence of life had taken a more perfect form under the influence of the climate, the facility of supporting life, the comparative freedom for intellectual life in consequence of the small amount of physical wear and tear necessary for human welfare, and finally the facility of communication which made the countries of the ancient world the centre of the universe. The forms were different, but the essence and its origin were one with those of the mystical conceptions of the inhabitants of Persia, Syria, Arabia, India, Central Asia and China. The force underlying the life of the ancient world was in reality, and notwithstanding the beauty of its form, a spiritual force proceeding from the Asiatic East (before the Christian era China was in constant communication with Western Asia, Arabia, Persia and India).

It is true that in the Western conception of the ancient history of the Greek and Roman period it is held that the glory of classic civilization lay in the forms of social life, in the realization of the idea of liberty, in republican principles, etc. But I allow myself a different opinion on the subject. In the ancient world liberty meant the subordination of the individual to the state, as representing the popular idea, his absorption by it: in other words, only the *cultured* man—*i. e.*, he who acknowledges the necessity of obedience to a common idea, and not a Jean Jacques Rousseau, seeking to return to a state of nature—was free, because he was free in the only possible way, in the spiritual sense of freedom for the development of thought and of the moral faculties. The forms of social life varied, but the idea of obedience to a common principle remained. Therein lay the greatness of the ancient world and of its civilization. It is so very true that the political forms of ancient life grew more definite, more elaborate, more *perfect*—as it is said—along with the waning of the spiritual power of the countries of the ancient world, as it fell to pieces under the pernicious influence of varied interests. The final development of the ancient political forms coincided with the disappearance of the spiritual power of the ancient state and its ensuing collapse: *the forms could not save when the indwelling spirit was gone.*

The primary source of the spirit lies in Asia; it dwells in the races of the East! This spiritual force has its root in the self-subsistence of the Asiatic continent, in the fact of its being a world in itself.

The nations and races of our modern civilization must therefore look to the East in order to shape the course of their advance, to correct the aberrations they are in danger of in their attempts to gain power for true unity. *Ex Oriente lux!*

All this is true with regard not only to Russia, but also to the United States and all those other countries as well which have inherited the traditions of ancient Greece and Rome, which have applied these principles to their democracies. The political forms inherited from the ancient world by the United States, in order to be *living* forms, the American democracy itself in order to be something *whole* and undivided, must keep in touch with the spiritual forces which are the symbol of unity—yea! which are unity itself—and which underlaythat ancient civilization; the Americans must look far back and far into the Asiatic East in order to shape their progress. As Emerson said: *"He that will do anything well must come to it from a higher ground."*

If the Americans view their progress toward Asia and their participation in the Asiatic question in the way I have indicated, this movement will mean to them increase of power and spiritual renovation, and will be heartily welcomed by the Russians. On the other hand, if they follow the lead of Great Britain and view their advance in the Asiatic East in the Western Anglo-German sense, as that of conquerors coming with the "mailed fist" to subdue the Oriental nations, dealing death and destruction to their spiritual individuality, then will they simply be committing suicide; they will destroy the foundations of their state and endanger their democracy, which will die out as Western imperialism gains ground.

Psychological and philosophical conceptions, it is true, are rarely grasped by the masses, whose advance is guided by some catch-word or truism. But a *"mot d'ordre"* may bear a special meaning and have a moral sense: in this instance siding with England will mean the destruction of China by revolutionary methods—and such destruction is not in the interests of the United States; it will also mean "murder for gain" in the name of trade. On the other hand, co-operation with Russia, the interest of which

in upholding the existence of China is of vital importance, will mean the preservation and strengthening of America's glorious traditions of peace and development along the lines of national conservatism, it will strengthen the true spirit of Christianity and healthy democracy.

May Heaven preserve America from the curse of Western imperialism with which England is now tempting her.

VLADIMIR HOLMSTREM.

P. S.—This article was already finished when the news was received of England's opposition to our demand from China of a concession for a railway to Pekin. This opposition is carried out in the face of the newly concluded "railway agreement!" It would be interesting to know on what this opposition is based; on the principle of the "open door," on equality of opportunity or on the "sphere of influence?" Every one of these principles excludes England's right to interfere in our present dealings with China!

It is also necessary to turn attention to the following facts. England always lifts up her voice in the name of trade, yet she opposes all our projects for railway transport, which is beneficial to the trade of every country, including England; on the other hand, England is planning to utilize the industrial and mining resources of China, although she thereby threatens the commercial prospects of the United States and of the United Kingdom as well. V. H.

"AMERICANISM," TRUE AND FALSE.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BARRY, D. D.

It has been a subject of surprise to many Americans that a controversy which was carried on in France and Italy, and which has now been decided at Rome, should have borne the title of "Americanism." What is the matter in dispute? How did it arise? And under what circumstances has Pope Leo XIII. judged it his duty to publish, in a solemn letter addressed to Cardinal Gibbons, as the representative of the American Hierarchy, that he "cannot approve of those opinions which, taken altogether, certain persons term" by that name. These are questions as momentous as they are reasonable. They deserve an answer; and in the following pages we shall make an attempt to give in outline the story of this chapter in recent events, as well as some explanation of the issues involved. It will then, we trust, be clear that there is a noble and necessary use of the word "Americanism," against which Pope Leo does not in any way set his face; while there is another, not necessary and far from noble, for which those are responsible who have employed it in a sense entirely foreign to the American people, but with a purpose which we shall do our best to unravel as we proceed.

The papal letter is an instruction,—one might almost call it a sermon,—in Catholic doctrine. But the incidents which led up to it have a strong political cast. For Americans, happily removed from the race-hatreds and inherited feuds which make of the continent of Europe a battlefield and an armed camp, it is not, perhaps, easy to take in so perplexed a situation. Yet, in fairness to their Catholic fellow-citizens, who have always deserved well of the Republic, they may not be unwilling to hear the account of this last struggle between Democracy on the one hand, and Imperialism on the other. Such are, in truth, the issues at stake.

Nor has Leo XIII. done anything more calculated to fulfill his programme of reconciliation than when he swept aside, with majestic insistence, the clouds of misunderstanding which had been conjured up by men who detest every form of free government, and who dreamt that they could ruin the leaders of Catholicism in the United States, by fastening on them an imputation of unsound and heretical teaching. That effort has been foiled. The Pope condemns no American prelate; he is careful not to take upon himself the burden of baptizing as American, opinions which run counter to elementary Christian principles; nay, he guards himself explicitly against disowning the word itself, in a passage that will long be cited as the Magna Charta of American Catholic freedom. "If by that name," he writes, "are to be understood certain admirable qualities of mind which adorn the American people, as other nations have their own gifts; and again, if thereby is meant your political condition, and the laws and customs which you enjoy, there is no reason at all to take exception to it." But precisely this, and no other, has been the Americanism of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, Archbishop Keane, and those associated with them, who for years have been insisting that, between the Constitution of the United States and the principles of the Catholic Church, not only does there exist no opposition, but there is a deep and Providential harmony. This, too, was the key note of Isaac Hecker's life, the lesson which he was ever repeating, and his distinctive text as a religious philosopher contemplating the task and the destiny of nations. It has now been affirmed by the Head of the Church, under circumstances in which every human influence had been brought to bear upon him, in the hope that he would unsay or soften, or in some degree modify what his legate, Cardinal Satolli, had proclaimed at Chicago, "Go forward, in one hand bearing the Book of Christian truth, and in the other the Constitution of the United States."*

If this be so, men will ask, how comes a system of false doctrine to have thrust itself in the way, and usurped a name which it desecrates? That is a long but not a doubtful story. We know the writers who have done this thing; we know why they have done it. The literature—if a series of violent and uncritical diatribes may be so termed—in which their platform lies open

*Satolli: "Loyalty to Church and State," original American edition, p. 150.

to the world, can be read in more than one language; and melancholy reading it is.

To comprehend how it arose, we must look back to the year 1887, or even earlier, and take a view of the Papal policy on both sides of the Atlantic. The starting point is fixed by those measures, which Pope Leo designed as a means of reconciling the church with the French Republic.

Thereby he gave the death-blow to Legitimism,—that singular Jacobite apparition in the nineteenth century,—but by the same stroke he created the "Irreconcilables," *les refractaires*, who declined his guidance and held on in their entrenched isolation. It was whispered in their councils that the Pope had been brought round to Democracy by American prelates, on whom he was then showering his favors. We all remember the episode of the "Knights of Labor," saved from condemnation by the Cardinal of Baltimore. Then came the setting up of a University at Washington; the many gracious acts which accompanied the centenary of the American church, and the despatch of a Papal delegate to the United States. Every sign foreboded a new and Democratic era. Old things were passing away.

But there was a mighty Power across the Rhine, which looked on with rage and misgiving at a change so full of danger to its own *prestige*. Was Europe going to be Republican, and the Pope to bless popular constitutions? Words of warning, of menace, escaped from Imperial lips. In a celebrated interview at the Vatican, as is credibly reported, the young ruler of Germany, who had learned his lesson well, intimated that he had no wish to renew the *Kulturkampf*, but the Pope must not strengthen the hands of Democracy, or consequences would follow. We have seen, during the late war, who was the most determined antagonist of the United States, short of actual hostilities; and now it is said that the stream of German emigration is to be guided from New York to South America,—signs these, which cannot be misconstrued, of an uneasy feeling at Berlin that the great Western Republic is infecting all nations with its passion for free institutions and its hatred of an absolute, even though paternal, government, such as William II. exercises *von Gottes Gnaden*. Thus in Germany was the motive-power, in France the material, of an assault upon American principles, with Rome and the Papacy as a possible conquest,—all in the interests of Imperialism.

Much more could be stated which, one day, will doubtless come to light. But enough is here set down to give the reader some indication of causes, deep and formidable, which will account for an explosion so sudden, at three different centres, of fury against "Americanism," as a disturber of European peace. The Legitimist, the Imperialist, "the man of yesterday"—the party which in France has pursued Dreyfus to extermination; which in Italy is accused of coquetting with Socialists to overturn the monarchy; which has learned nothing and forgotten nothing since 1848—saw itself confronted with a new enemy, and that enemy America. The Franco-Latin world had been shaken to its foundations by the triumph of an English-speaking race over Spain in Cuba. And if anything was to be undertaken by way of safeguard or revenge, American Catholics stood in the front, the first line of battle, and resting on Rome. At Rome, accordingly, they have been assailed.

But the focus of debate was in Paris. Ever since the Pope had urged French Catholics to rally round the Third Republic and make the best of it, a movement had been going on which, while drawing to itself many of the younger clergy and some of the more eminent, had called forth a reaction as determined as it was powerful in the press and elsewhere. The "young Catholics" were bent on reconciliation wherever it was compatible with orthodox principles; and though, in the province of Bible criticism or historical investigation, they could not look to America for guidance,—since America is not the home of such studies,—yet in a certain largeness of spirit, in a temper at once candid and virile, it did appear to them that the New World set them an example. There was an outburst of enthusiasm, not unlike the Anglomania of a century ago, for American ideas and persons. Archbishop Ireland, who is an eloquent French orator, was requested to explain before an audience not unworthy of him, how it came to pass that the Church flourished across the Atlantic so marvellously, and what was the secret of its success. He replied by pointing to the freedom from state interference in matters of religion, or, as we may say, the Church's happy self-government, under a constitution which made Cæsarism impossible. He did not touch on the burning question of the Concordat. Everyone is aware that, by a single vote and in one sitting, the French Chamber could suppress what is termed "*le budget des cultes*," in other words, it might, and perhaps will, some day or other, disendow

if not disestablish the Church in France, without warning or remorse. But, evidently, on so delicate a theme, neither Archbishop Ireland nor any foreign Catholic could offer an opinion.

In the boundless deluge of pamphlets and articles which have strewn the Paris boulevards since Americanism became a fashionable topic, we shall find no contributions from Americans. The parties to this quarrel were French, Belgian, Italian or German. The American Bishops whose names have been most frequently shot at during this battle have kept silence. M. l'Abbé Klein did, indeed, translate into French the "Discourses" of Archbishop Ireland. By and by, a French version, compressed and not in all respects accurate, of the "Life of Father Hecker," was given to the world anonymously, with a preface from M. Klein's pen. The influence of these translations was certainly great. Unhappily, also, in passing from an English to a continental medium, phrases and ideas which we understand at home in one sense, and that perfectly innocent, were taken to imply another system, with which they had nothing in common. Belonging to the sphere of practice, they were seized upon by theorists and carried up into the region of dogma; politics were transformed to pure theology; the expedient was termed the absolute; and misunderstandings were multiplied by the fatal French habit which constructs on a basis all but imaginary an edifice wholly hypothetical. For these things Americans are not to blame; and good sense can only shrug its shoulders when logic is employed to refute experience, or to read into Engilsh authors a meaning which is unknown to our cast of thought and is merely metaphysical.

For the extravagances, aberrations, and headlong flights of rhetoric, therefore, in which either of these French parties have chosen to indulge, they alone are responsible. Yet some connected with America, doubtless, were behind the journalists who stirred up a quarrel, in semblance dogmatic or spiritual, though in fact as mundane as politics could make it. Interests were clothed in the garb of principles. Nor were personalities long absent. When the *Univers* took Pope Leo's advice and acknowledged the Republic, a new journal was started, *refractaire* to the backbone, which, with unconscious humor, called itself *La Verité*. In the columns of this newspaper, as of others like it, Americanizers, Jews, and Freemasons are classed together; the abuse of

logic is cultivated as a fine art; and so amazing are the delusions which it fosters that an Englishman, reading it, cannot be surprised when he is told that, in such an atmosphere, the imposture of Diana Vaughan sprang up to its shameful height. Only those who are well acquainted with this curious kind of journalism,—it is sixty or seventy years old,—can form an idea of the fantastic judgments which it is ever putting forth on men and things.* There has long been indigenous to France an English legend; the time seemed ripe for an American one. We may read it in the pages of M. l'Abbé Charles Maignen, whose pamphlet, entitled "*Le Père Hecker, est-il un Saint?*" gave the signal for an assault which was followed up in all the organs of Legitimism.

Archbishop Ireland, as being loyal to American Democracy, could never be put down nor his credit taken away. But could not the attempt be made to fasten upon him, Archbishop Keane, and Cardinal Gibbons the imputation of unsound doctrine? All these were champions of liberty,—the good old English freedom which has its roots in the Catholic Middle Ages, and is the corner-stone of American institutions. Liberty might be rendered into French as "lawlessness," into Italian as "Liberalism,"—anarchy in conduct, free-thinking in dogma,—and the feat was accomplished. In what did the true Americanism consist? In this, according to the Archbishop of St. Paul, that there is nothing in the Constitution which a Catholic may not accept; that he does not aim at pulling down the smallest part of the edifice set up by Washington and his successors; that he has never dreamt of a political ascendency (were it even possible) which would deprive any citizen, on religious grounds, of his rights; that he is ready to live and die with America and for America. Moreover, with Cardinal Satolli, he recognizes that the Americans are, on the whole, a Christian nation; he respects their virtues; he urges upon his fellow Catholics to rival them in manliness, sobriety, honest public service; and he knows very well how pressing is the need of such exhortation, when the millions of Europe are flung without education or guidance upon the American shore. He does not talk of ideal states and conditions no longer existing around him, but of this Western world in which his lot is cast. If the "young French," or any others, believe that their country is passing into

* See its latest specimen—a model of reasoning *à rebours*: "*L'Americanisme et La Conjuration Antichretienne*," by M. l'Abbé Delassus, *directeur de la Semaine Religieuse de Cambrai*.

a similar phase and stands in need of the like counsels, let them see to it; that is their concern. Nor can he refuse to tell them what methods have succeeded best with him, although fully aware that the Continental nations seldom possess the temper of the men that among ourselves have built up a true religious and social peace. Not a single American has ever thought of dictating to French or Italians their political programme. If there is something in the air favorable to his ideas, he cannot help it; he would not if he could. Suppose the older social conditions of Europe doomed to disappear; shall an American regret their passing? But, in his own mind, Religion is safe; he feels it and he glories in it.

Safe, however, on one condition; it must not seem to endanger the Constitution. Old Protestant hatred still breeds men, neither few nor feeble, who are straining their utmost to abolish the Catholic free schools, to tax their charitable foundations, to ostracize their candidates for office. And these, if they could give momentum to their prejudices by the cry that "Catholics are traitors," would perhaps achieve a good part of their desire. That is why the Bishops in question have maintained, and do maintain, with Hecker and Brownson,—nay, with Cardinal Satolli and the Pope himself,—that, in the words of the Papal delegate, "the State, in so far as it is free and progressive, need fear nothing from the Church; but, on the contrary, ought to expect great benefit from it." And again they insist, as he did in 1893, that "a study of the history of America, the constitutional organization of our Government, and the sentiments of its founders, as expressed in the writings of Washington and our other great men, only confirm the impression that the life and essence of our institutions are in perfect harmony with the sentiments of Leo XIII. on the subject of human liberty."*

Such is the true Americanism. Now for the false. It has been constructed by men like M. Maignen, according to a simple but effective recipe, which consists in taking words apart from their drift and context, reading into them the maximum of false interpretation which they will bear, mingling therewith any extravagances which have been uttered by persons who have no sort of connection with the parties accused, and then crying triumphantly: "Behold the latest plot against Rome!" M. Maignen finds

*Satolli, pp. 75, 218.

that Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland express their admiration for Isaac Hecker as an exemplary priest and sound American. It follows, by the rules of his peculiar logic, that they agree in every particle with Hecker's mysticism, to which they make no reference. Cardinal Gibbons, with the assent of his colleagues, the American Archbishops, is present at the Congress of Religions in Chicago, and opens it with prayer. It follows that he is "indifferent" in matters of faith, and holds every religion to be as good as his own. Archbishop Keane reads a philosophical essay on the same occasion, in which he traces the idea of the Incarnation through various imperfect phases in heathen cults, until it is realized and wins the homage of mankind in the Person of Christ. At once he is set down as preaching a monstrous form of "evolution;" he becomes the confederate of a certain "Romanus" whose articles are unknown to him, and whose temper and teaching he would be the first to repudiate. No matter; by dexterous,—or shall we say, unscrupulous?—dovetailing into one of all these scattered elements, an "American" theology is built up, which disowns the supernatural, sacrifices Catholic doctrine to the spirit of the age, and is the harbinger of Antichrist. Having written his book, M. Maignen seeks an Imprimatur from the Cardinal at Paris. Cardinal Richard refuses it. He applies to Father Lepidi, Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome; and Father Lepidi allows his volume, reeking with personal charges against members of the Hierarchy, to appear in the capital of Christendom, armed with his licence.

It was inevitable that Archbishop Keane, who was there on the spot, should protest to the authorities against a defamatory libel. He had suffered already for his Americanism, though it was not mystical, and was simply patriotic. His brilliant career as Rector of Washington University had been brought to an end by machinations of which this is not the place to tell the story. Still, he had not opened his lips in self defence. He now urged upon the Secretary, Cardinal Rampolla, that an Imprimatur to M. Maignen's book, publicly given, should be publicly withdrawn. The Cardinal assured him that it was not his doing, or the Holy Father's; that no one in Rome suspected Mgr. Keane of heterodoxy, and that Father Lepidi had acted on his own judgment. Father Lepidi declared that a licence to print was no approbation; it merely signified that the book did not seem to teach anything

contrary to faith or morals. The Archbishop replied that a series of unfounded charges against members of the Episcopate seemed to him *contra bonos mores;* and he insisted that either he was the victim of calumny, or else unfit to be tolerated within the pale of Catholicism. The Imprimatur was not withdrawn.

Two books were now prominently in question,—the French "Life of Father Hecker," with its preface by M. l'Abbé Klein, and the pamphlet issued by M. Maignen, in which, as it seems, had been embodied articles written by M. Peries, formerly a professor at Washington, and not on the best terms with the authorities who had dismissed him. The sum of their contention was that Hecker, and with him all the Americanizers, had fallen into gross heresy on the subject of the inward life and the relation of individuals to the Church; moreover, that they had endeavored to make converts by keeping back essential portions of the creed; that they set the natural virtues above the supernatural; that they upheld, in principle, the separation of Church and State; that they despised religious vows; were bent on overthrowing the religious orders as useless and unsuited to the age; and constituted an extreme and deadly peril to Catholicism, which must be met immediately.

There is much in a name; there is more in an indictment so cunningly fashioned as to alarm many interests and unite their partisans against a supposed enemy. "Americanism" had become a war cry. The Legitimist joined with the Imperialist; some bishops were terror stricken by the defection of a number of priests in France, and by the tactics of M. Charbonnel, who had made a tumultuous exit from the sanctuary; theologians asked whether the mysticism of the "Life of Hecker" was not exaggerated; among the religious orders some believed that their vows were looked down upon and their existence threatened. The Society of Jesus opened fire upon "Liberalism," an ancient enemy; the Dominicans were solicitous for the credit of the Master of the Sacred Palace. There was another palace in Rome, too, that of the Spanish Embassy, whose tenants were not idle. The high Roman society was led by Spaniards, and its tone was violent against America. M. Maignen received a letter of praise from Cardinal Satolli. To a second Cardinal was attributed a *brochure* which did not spare American ideas. The doctrinal campaign was proceeding vigorously in the Latin countries; but while the

Bishops of Nancy and Annecy joined in it, the Archbishops and Cardinal Gibbons, who had been so freely dealt with, held their peace.

It is, perhaps, time to say a word concerning the "Life of Father Hecker," now become the centre of attack. Yet not very many are needed. When the present writer took occasion to review it, on its first appearance in English, in 1892, he certainly did not see in its pages the errors which would have consigned it to penal fires. It then bore the Imprimatur of Archbishop Corrigan. For himself, he thought Isaac Hecker a man of rare simplicity and religious earnestness, who was led on by obedience to the light within, until he had found the Church and submitted himself to it, body and soul. Hecker was German by descent, and mystic by temperament. He wrote a popular style, without the technicalities of the professor, and his meaning must be gathered from the whole of his publications, nor should one part be taken and another left. It is inconceivable that a man who had always on his lips the word "criterion," or touchstone, to designate the Church's function in regard to spiritual experience, can have meant to disown her authority. As little can we imagine that one who was ever telling men to "find the synthesis,"—that is to say, the true union of inward life and outward ordinance,—and pointing to Catholicism as its fulfilment, should have stultified his reasoning and confounded his practice by leaving individuals to follow their private judgment, unchecked by bishop or confessor. Even M. Maignen quotes the aphorism in which he sums up his general rule of conduct; "the Holy Spirit," he declares, "is the immediate guide of the soul in the way of salvation and sanctification; and the criterion or sign that the soul is guided by the Holy Spirit, is its prompt obedience to the authority of the Church."*

Explicit enough, one would say, were any language capable of resisting a malign interpretation. But Hecker's mystical views did not, in any case, attain the publicity, or exert the influence on his fellow-countrymen which some French writers have attributed to them. They were his private opinions, and nothing more. As regards the catch-word "Americanism," though it occurs in the "Life," its origin must be sought elsewhere. It came up, we are told, during the course of that movement, in 1884 and the fol-

*Maignen, p. 111.

lowing years, which was associated with the name of Cahensly. Some German emigrants to the United States,—a section, not the whole of them,—petitioned at Rome for German-speaking Bishops, and demanded a sort of local autonomy, as if meaning to remain separate, they and their children, from the country which had opened its arms to them. There was a great outcry. Archbishop Ireland, pleading for the unity of Church and people, maintained that the newcomers must "Americanize" themselves; and, thanks to his efforts, combined with those of other prelates, and to a strong public opinion, the party of separation was defeated. A German Catholic Church in the States became impossible. But, in the disputes which followed, German critics of the Archbishop retorted upon him the name of "Americanism" as a stigma; nor did they fail to daub it over with inventions of their own. Thus it grew to be an ambiguous formula, patriotic on the lips of those who employed it as a synonymn for loyalty to the Constitution, but redolent of "Liberalism" and all evil things when the extreme German party used it as a weapon of offence. Now, "Liberalism," as understood in Rome, is a false doctrine, anti-Christian and subversive. Nor had Democracy itself, for many years, a grateful sound in the ears of men who sighed for the absolute governments which a Revolution had overthrown. Yet the Church, by her theologians, had affirmed, as did Cardinal Satolli, that "Democracy is the best balancing between authority and liberty."* It could not be laid under anathema. Nor could freedom, or the "civic virtues," or the rights of conscience, or the duty of individual and social development. What, then, could be done by the opponents of Democracy? They could give the name of "Americanism" to a false system of doctrine and implore the Holy See to condemn that. So the name would lose its honor; the tide of democratic progress would be turned back; and between Catholics in the United States and the Constitution a great gulf would be fixed. As in Europe, so in America, there would be citizens holding aloof from State service, or not allowed to share in it, on the ground of their unconquerable hostility to the laws under which they were living. And native Americans would be compelled to remodel their fundamental statutes, or to see in Catholics an alien people and shut them out from office and authority.

*Satolli, p. 260.

The Irreconcilables of Europe do not shrink from creating or perpetuating this state of things. They will live and die in opposition, however loudly the Pope may urge them to take their share in public affairs. It is their business to exaggerate, to sow dissension, to shut every avenue which might lead to social peace. For they reason that if things can be brought to their worst, they will mend. Their policy is one of catastrophe and disaster. If Hecker's "Life" had not been given in French, they must have invented some other opportunity for dragging before a church tribunal the democratic leaders whom they feared as well as hated. At the Congress of Fribourg, in 1897, Mgr. O'Connell, an American prelate resident in Rome, published, in a short essay, some observations upon "Americanism, a new idea in the Life of Father Hecker," calling attention, not to any mystical doctrines, but to the character and consequences of American law, as contrasted with the Imperial Roman. He described the flourishing condition of Catholics in the United States, and went on to say that they enjoyed there a form of government at least as favorable to the Church as any on the continent of Europe. These were matters of experience, patent to all. But the Irreconcilables care nothing for experience. They fastened eagerly on the identification suggested between Hecker, the mystic and religious, whom they were assailing, and "Americanism" as a "new idea." Mgr. O'Connell doubtless meant that the idea of liberty, found in our ancient laws, was new to them. But they, transforming politics to theology, drew up their indictment. M. Maignen's book came out in Rome as the manifesto of orthodox France against heretical America.

The parties, we have said, on one side were Imperialists, Spaniards, men of various orders in religion, and good people alarmed by symptoms of change in France, and a general apprehension that infidelity was at the doors. Who were on the other? American Catholics, attached to their Constitution, innocent of dogmatic or mystic novelties, and anxious only to enjoy their Providential freedom. The Pope was called upon, not by them,—for what had they done that could deserve his censure?—but by the alarmists of every shade, who clamored for a pronouncement which, as they intended, should stop the mouth of patriotic Archbishops and make of Democracy a thing forbid. Rumors filled the air. It was said that the French, perhaps even the English,

"Life of Hecker," would be pilloried in the *Index;* and then that Pope Leo had reserved the matter to himself; that he was writing a letter which would decide it; that the letter was written and on the point of being despatched. Mgr. O'Connell, after a conversation with Father Lepidi, sent him a brief note in which, distinguishing between the real political Americanism defended by himself at Fribourg, and the figment conjured up by M. Maignen, he affirmed his former conviction, but rejected this new-fangled heresy as despicable. His letter was so given to the world as to make it appear that he had rejected "Americanism" and taken back his argument.

The words which Mgr. O'Connell did write are so much to the purpose that we will venture to translate them. He had said, in his translated letter, "as regards that which people call 'Heckerism,' or religious Americanism, not only have I no concern with it, but I despise it." Three days later, July 14, 1898, he developed this theme as follows: "They (the anti-Americans) talk first of something that they call religious Americanism, the scope of which is to bring into the Church a new phase of religion and dogma, after the fashion of an article written, as is supposed, by an Englishman, who signs himself 'Romanus,' under the heading of 'Liberal Catholicism,' and published in the 'Contemporary Review.' Then they put forward a particular kind of religious subjectivism in all its branches, and call that 'Heckerism.' They will do their best to fasten these two things upon us. Now, I must tell you, Very Reverend Father, for myself, that not only have I nothing to do with anything of the sort, but that I look upon it all as stupid and despicable; and I am convinced that every good Catholic in America would say as much, were he examined on the subject."*

At last, Archbishop Ireland appeared in Rome. It is commonly said that in preparing what was afterwards published by Leo XIII.—the Brief which begins *"Testem benevolentiæ"*—the Holy Father took as his ministers, Cardinal Satolli and Cardinal Mazzella, both of whom had resided in the United States. Equally common is the report that none of the American Hierarchy was called into consultation; while certain French prelates, like Mgr. Turinaz, had expressed themselves emphatically on the subject of Americanism. The Archbishop of St. Paul made his

*Text in Delassus, pp. 304-305.

protest. He asked to see the text of the letter prepared. But it did not fall under his eyes until it was published in the "*Osservatore Romano.*" Archbishop Keane laid down, in extremely clear language, to Father Lepidi and Cardinal Rampolla, the meaning which he, and those like-minded with him, had always put on the word,—a meaning not doctrinal but political. The chief of the American Episcopate, Cardinal Gibbons, wrote a letter to the Pope which is said greatly to have affected His Holiness, and in that letter the Cardinal denied that any prelate in the United States had held such views as were attributed to some of them during this controversy. When, under such circumstances, the Brief was made public, Cardinal Rampolla assured the Archbishop of St. Paul that it had been so framed as not to touch him; and the Archbishop replied that he wanted no more. Adhesions poured in from every side,—from the Paulist Fathers, Archbishop Keane, M. l'Abbé Klein, and from the Archbishop of New York. The incident was closed without a single defection or the least token of revolt. Let us ask ourselves what is implied in so profound a peace, where heresies had been imputed which, had they had any life in them, must have rent Christendom asunder?

First, it is remarkable that while certain Archbishops and a Roman Cardinal were charged by name with pernicious views in so many journals, none was sent for by the Holy Father, and no explanations were asked of them. Two alternatives, and two only, are therefore conceivable. Either they were so manifestly orthodox that the judgment of the Holy Father did not in any way strike at them; or they were condemned by implication, without a hearing, or any opportunity of defence,—in secret, and on the evidence of avowed enemies. The latter alternative is simply incredible. If there be a writer in Europe who will charge the Supreme Judge of Christendom with conduct so atrocious, we do not envy that man. He is doing his best to stain the memory of Leo XIII. with a moral assassination. But his contention is hollow and false. Where no trial has taken place, no sentence can be pronounced. Cardinal Rampolla's assurances to the prelates in question leave them unscathed and secure. They never taught the amazing errors which need only to be recited in order to be flung contemptuously aside by every Catholic; for, indeed, as Mgr. O'Connell wrote, they are "despicable" in their wanton denial of

truths, which we have always known, as well as abhorrent to the religious instinct of all of us. Let them go back whence they came, to the Father of Lies.

But, secondly, the Papal document does not condemn Isaac Hecker. It passes no judgment on the "Life." Much has been said and done to twist into a sentence against the man, or his English biography, words most carefully framed so as to rule out of court these unprofitable wranglings. "It is known to you," writes Pope Leo, "that the Book of the Life of I. Hecker,—especially owing to those who have undertaken to translate or interpret the same in a foreign tongue,—has excited not a little controversy, on account of opinions brought in touching the method of the Christian life." That is all. "Opinions brought in,"—by whom or in whose pages, the Pope does not determine. And criticism of the volume would here be quite out of place. For we are required to affirm, not that Hecker said certain things, but that, whoever said them, they are contrary to the Church's teaching;—which we do with all our heart. We may take our own view of the personal and historical question: that which the Holy See insists upon is the doctrinal.

Again, it is manifest that, while expressing their full and unreserved assent to the Papal pronouncement, neither Archbishop Ireland nor Archbishop Keane has retracted one iota of that patriotic and political Americanism, so eloquently proclaimed by Cardinal Satolli when he was Pope Leo's Delegate in Washington, and their constant teaching. Both repudiate the false Americanism made up of errors and extravagances, which, as the Archbishop of New York observes, had endeavored to find a footing under that specious name. And he, too, implies that the word has a proper and lawful use. John Ireland, who has fought so bravely on behalf of a loyal Catholic people, devoted alike to Church and Constitution, is therefore well warranted in exclaiming that "to-day there is light." Not even M. Maignen can henceforth charge the great Archbishop of the West, or his friends and fellow-workers, with errors they denounce and abhor. That they never held them is known, best of all, to every one who has shared their counsels, or seen their daily exertions to plant the Catholic religion in men's hearts, and restore to it the social and civilizing influence which, for the good of mankind, it should ever wield. Leo XIII. affirms the unity of Church and doctrine;

the privileges and services of the religious orders; the supernatural as above the natural; obedience to authority; the need of wise direction; and the claim of Catholicism to be recognized as the one Divine Revelation by individuals and society. It is well. These things have always been dear to the men whom journals calling themselves Christian would associate in a secret alliance with the revolutionary forces of Europe. But, delusions swept away, the prospect of the future lies before us, and it is exceedingly fair.

The nations of the North and South are drawing together; America has a great mission; Democracy is the new track upon which history will pursue its course. The English-speaking races have energy, freedom, science, but also sects and divisions, and need of religious unity. The French and Latin have an unbroken Christian past, the forms and doctrines of the faith; besides art and manners, and a certain beauty of life, as fascinating as it is simple. Will the abounding energy be always separated from the gracious forms? We cannot believe it. The old Religion, the true Religion of Humanity, is indispensable to real progress. Once get rid of the political bugbear, and we are in sight of a great Eirenicon, or message of peace; for under democratic social conditions the Church can flourish, as the home and sanctuary of the Divine Spirit. If we study Pope Leo's encyclicals as a whole, they offer us this hope of reconciliation. Bishops, clergy, laity, religious, all may claim their share in the movement. When we speak of Christendom, we mean the genuine historical Church; in one word, Catholicism; when of Democracy, we mean self-government, as in Washington and Lincoln. It will be to the everlasting honor of prelates like Ireland, Keane and Gibbons, that they have shown the world how they can be at once fervent Catholics and loyal Americans. If that is Americanism, they certainly have Leo. XIII. for their master. They can afford to be misunderstood while their work prospers. But henceforth, though many assail, none will misunderstand them. By their previous efforts the danger of warring Catholic communities in America has been averted; their adhesion to the Papal Letter is but an avowal of what they have always cherished. They may smile now at the Irreconcilables; and who can question that their great Motherland will take them to her heart of hearts? For in the name of America they have undergone a moral martyrdom.

Last of all, the utter quietness with which in the United States the Pope's letter has been received, is no slight argument in favor of those who, like Bishop Horstmann, of Cleveland, have assured the Roman authorities that errors touching the method of the Christian life had not been spread among their clergy or people. Archbishop Ireland repels as a slander the abuse which in Europe has dishonored a noble name; and the fact of so immediate and universal an adhesion speaks for itself. There was no difficulty in assenting, for no article of faith had been denied, nor any laudable practice called in question. And so the Holy Father writes confidently that if, by Americanism, "be meant the doctrines" on which he has animadverted, "can there be a doubt that our Venerable Brethren, the Bishops of America, will repudiate and condemn it as the greatest insult to themselves and all their people?" That is precisely what has come to pass. *Causa finita est.* But there always was, there now is acknowledged by the Pope himself to be, a true Americanism, and it will march to victory under the banner of Leo XIII.

WILLIAM BARRY.

UNIVERSAL PEACE—FROM A WOMAN'S STANDPOINT.

BY BARONESS BERTHA VON SÜTTNER.

I HAVE been requested to write a contribution to these pages with the above title. The subject of Universal Peace occupies my thoughts and actions so completely, and the opportunity of addressing myself to a circle of American readers is so welcome to me, that I was most willing to comply with the wish of the Editor, although I should certainly have chosen another title. For although it is self-evident that everything that a woman writes must be written from a woman's standpoint, it does not agree with my principles to treat the problem of peace and war exclusively, or even principally, in its relations to the feelings and lives of women. Such relations certainly exist, and it will be of great service to the progress of the peace movement if women, as such, will oppose the institution hateful to mothers, and if women's associations (as daily occurs more often) will place the questions of peace and arbitration on the order of the day at their meetings. But I believe that more and more women, who reflect upon this important subject, will leave the specifically feminine standpoint, to judge of this, so eminently the universal concern of humanity, from a more general point of view. It is only too natural that women should hate war, which robs them of the support and the joys of their existence, and for that very reason until to-day this hatred has done nothing towards the struggle against war; on the contrary, only such women as could triumph over their natural feelings of abhorrence, who, putting aside their own grief, could incite to war, or even themselves perform warlike deeds, only such women were brought into prominence by history; only these were praised, because, overcoming their egoism, they had performed their duty by performing brave deeds of sacrifice.

Women who cry, "War must cease because *we* suffer from it, because *we* may lose our dearest by it," these, so long as war was looked upon as natural and serviceable to the fatherland, certainly stood morally lower than those who said: "What matters our misery, the common weal comes first;" or those who bade their sons: "Return home victorious or dead."

Any opposition arising from particular interests, whether it be the interest of rank, class or sex, is deficient in ethical causes, and has therefore also no ethical efficacy. The great influence that women are beginning to exert to-day on questions of social progress, arises from the fact that they have stepped out from their limited sphere of sex, and have learned to judge these questions in their importance to universal humanity. The woman who was capable of becoming an enthusiast for war and joyfully sacrificing to it the supporter of her home and her beloved sons, certainly stood higher than she who was wanting in such powers of sacrifice; but on a far higher level stands the woman who opposes war, not because it threatens *her* home, but because she has comprehended that it is an evil for the whole human race. Not because they are daughters, wives, and mothers, do modern women wish to undermine the institution called war, but they do it because they are the rational moiety of a humanity that is becoming rational, and comprehend that war represents a check to the development of culture, and that from every standpoint—the moral and the economical, the religious and the philosophical—it is harmful and to be condemned. The New Woman alone will work successfully for the abolition of war. The woman of yesterday, in spite of isolated complaints and warnings, did the contrary: she incited silently or aloud to war—silently, by the admiration which she cherished for heroism, and the pleasure which she found in uniforms; aloud, by direct encouragement to fight.

The following episode has been related to me. It was before the Polish insurrection, in the year 1863. In the house of an aristocratic lady the *élite* of Warsaw society were invited to dinner. After the meal, in the smoking-room, the gentlemen were talking over the political situation. The leaders of the subsequent insurrection were among those present. The question was seriously discussed, whether it was possible to enter upon a movement of insurrection with any prospect of success. The conclusion was arrived at that under the existing circumstances such

a movement would be hopeless, and would only result in bloody massacre and increased severity instead of deliverance, all agreeing that the plans for a rising must be given up, at least for the moment. Nothing was to be said to the ladies of this resolve on returning to the drawing-room, for it would certainly incur their disapproval. One of the gentlemen, however, was faithless to this resolution. He let the secret out. "What! not possible!" cried the women in chorus. "That can only be a jest—no Pole is capable of such cowardice! Who could propose anything so disgraceful?" Of course it was only a jest," agreed the others, who would have found the contempt of the women intolerable, and on the following day the revolution, which resulted so unfortunately for Poland, was set in motion by the same men who had resolved among themselves not to attempt a rising, but who could not endure to displease their wives.

One may presuppose that among the many motives which in the future will work against militarism and war, the following powerful motive will be found: the change in women's favor. When once a higher reward of love is granted to men for the heroic deeds of peace than for those of war, when they know that they will only earn the admiration of the best women by working for the new ideals of justice; and, on the contrary, will arouse the abhorrence of noble women by supporting the system of force, then one of the strongest motives which now drive young men into the profession of arms will be overcome. The true and most important connection between the woman's question and the peace question is this: the realization of the ideals of peace presupposes that the whole of humanity should rise to a higher level than that upon which it now stands in an overwhelming majority. In order that the element of force and oppression, which governs the history of society in the past and in the present, should yield to the element of right and freedom, a higher type of man must be evolved. We are now witnessing this evolution. It is, however, not apparent only in one sphere, but in many at the same time, and especially strongly in the sphere of the women's movement. To the attainment of the ideal towards which modern endeavors are moving, the unimpeded development is necessary of all mental germs in the whole human race. None of the gifts shared by all may be suppressed by reason of supposed unsuitability to the race, or class, or even sex; and the virtues, the larger diffusion of which

is to characterize the new type, must be no longer divided into two halves; gentleness and moderation on the feminine, courage and intellectual power on the masculine, side.

No; every person will have to exhibit these virtues, no matter to which sex one may belong. Just as at the present day there are many common qualities, without which neither woman nor man can lay claim to esteem, such as honesty, cleanliness, diligence, love of truth, sense of duty, in the same manner does the new ideal of perfection exact all human virtues from all human beings at the same time. With the removal of other privileges those of crime must also cease, and man shall no longer pride himself on his excesses. Courage, that model virtue, first of the lion, then of the savage, then of the hero, lastly of the soldier always ready for battle, must lose its halo, and must not be practised only by men to the point of contempt of life, but will be required in hours of danger, in life's difficult situations in a like measure from the perfectly human woman. The human race will not be left alone to the care of woman, but every perfect human being must disdain to be a slave to the pleasure of the senses without love or in treacherous disloyalty. Thus it will happen by the falling of the fetters which one sex has borne so long, that not it alone, but also the other will rise to a higher human dignity. Exactly the contrary will take place of what is dreaded by the opponents of the emancipation of women: the woman will not assume gross masculine defects, the man will not sink into womanish effeminacy, but both united, among them the best, the strongest, and the most intelligent, will form models of a nobler race.

It is unimaginable that a more highly developed cultured humanity, in which both sexes have equal rights in the decisions of society, should uphold the institutions of war. A certain amount of compassion, of sensitive abhorrence of all that is hard and cruel, in a word—of noble humanity, must exist in the cultured community. Men console themselves with the thought that these qualities, so necessary to the existence and dignity of society, are furnished by the feminine sex, and maintain their right to hardness and roughness, a right which is most freely active in war. But when the woman rises to an equal level, must she also become a soldier, and shall she lay aside those virtues which are not compatible with the profession of arms? Shall all gentleness vanish out of the world? That is impossible. Therefore the woman

must renounce equal rights. This she will never do; it is much simpler for the man to renounce the profession of arms.

The complete hideousness of unrestrained gross conduct, which passes as permissible and occasionally as quite delightful in the masculine sex, such as drinking, brawling and excess—the complete hideousness of this conduct is plainly visible when one imagines a woman given to such behavior. On the other hand, many weaknesses of character are counted as contemptible in men, and excusable, if not charming, in women—as cowardice, weakness of will, and thoughtlessness. Now, when woman lays aside these "lovely" faults, when she shows energy and self-confidence, some certainly praise her for her *masculine* character, but others at once give utterance to the fear that, with the laying aside of the feminine defects, the feminine virtues will also fall into abeyance. But that is not the case: both sexes must lay aside those faults which disgrace, and practise those virtues which ennoble, humanity.

And now, after protesting against my views being supposed to arise from a specifically feminine standpoint, I will say what I think about universal peace; but first, I should like to give a picture of universal war, as I see it* from the war of the future, so long prophesied and so splendidly prepared.

A war in which all the great military States of Europe took part would surpass all horrors that have hitherto taken place, in the same degree as the present weapons of destruction and those still to be invented surpass the club with which Cain may have slain his brother. In such a war an amount of murder and destruction and savagery would be contained, such as was not in a hundred battles of ancient times. The progress that has been made has not only increased the power of destruction a thousandfold, but also that which is to be destroyed has become a thousand times more valuable, and therefore the injury would be proportionately greater.

The accelerated, incalculable improvement and increase, the technical development that has grown to colossal dimensions, which leads to such fabulous results when directed to the increase of property and happiness, to what equally gigantic results of misery must these not lead, when applied to the principle of the *destruction* of property, happiness, and life: millions of combat-

*See my "*Maschinenzeitalter*." III. *Auflage*. *Pierson's Verlag*.

ants rush upon one another, and the fighting begins at ever greater distances. Instead of the spear, that only flew a short distance, instead of the later bullet that hit the enemy at a few hundred paces, the death-bringing bombs now whistle through space at a distance of miles; long before the two combatants can see each other the vanguard covers the field. But when and how will the decision take place? "Until one or the other side is so weakened that it gives up the fight." That was in former times the answer to this question. Now both sides rage with equal force. The weakening keeps equal pace. Hundreds of thousands are fallen, but new hundreds of thousands advance, and the decision is not a step nearer. A vanquished, flying army? That exists no more, for no longer are mere armies sent forth, but whole nations. They fight with each other for the sake of a strip of land; but meanwhile the entire land is devastated, depopulated and ravaged on either side. All crops are trodden under foot, all labor suspended, all hearths desolated; one cry of pain from frontier to frontier, and still no decision. Every village a heap of ashes, every field a burial ground, and yet the fight still rages; under the waves of the sea shoot the torpedo boats, to sink mighty steamships; in the clouds rise armed and manned air-balloons against another aëronautic force, and from the height of a thousand feet mutilated warriors shower down in bleeding fragments; mines are sprung and bridges are hurled into the waves with their loads of men, horses and carriages; powder magazines fly into the air; long lines of trains run off the rails; hospitals blaze; and still it is not decided. Army, reserve, militia—the aged, children, women—one after the other is slaughtered; what still lives becomes the prey of famine, of the infallible pestilence, and the war is over. But it is not decided. The tremendous magnitude of the impending war—a magnitude which may be determined with mathematical certainty by reason of the present ever-increasing number of combatants and technique of weapons, might instil a certain admiration and satisfaction, if the love of and rage for fighting had increased in proportion to its means; if the value of human life had sunk in the esteem of the individual in the same degree as in the calculations of material by the administrators of armies; if finally the *gain* of war had increased as much as the inevitable losses. But the reverse of all this is the case. Hatred and love of fighting give place to civilization, growing gentler and constantly

spreading; the value of life rises with the embellishments and alleviations afforded by daily advancing progress; and lastly, as regards the advantages of the final victory, a strip of land or a heap of fortress stones, or the absolutely illusory "Fame"—these things, powerless to enrich or to make happy, sink in an ever greater disparity to those sacrifices, increasing to the uttermost, which they render necessary.

So much for the approaching (or, it is to be hoped, not approaching) war. As regards universal peace, which may now not be so remote—for at the present time a conference is assembled in this name, called together by the most powerful military ruler in the world—people are by no means clear as to its foundations and aims. Most persons believe that members of Peace Societies imagine under the name of universal peace a condition of general harmony, a world without fighting or divisions, with undisputed frontiers settled for all time, and inhabited by angelic beings, overflowing with gentleness and love. It is an old custom of the enemies of any movement to represent it in a false light, to attribute absurdities to it which it has never asserted, and then to attack them with cheap sarcasm and obvious refutations. So also here. The friends of peace do not desire to found their kingdom on impossibilities, nor on conditions that might perhaps prevail thousands of years hence, but on the living present and living humanity. The avoidance of all disputes is not demanded—for that is impossible—but that the disputes should be settled henceforward by arbitration instead of by force, as was hitherto the case. This level of culture has already been attained by the individuals of organized states: that it should be attained also by the states themselves in their relations to each other, is the aim and object of the whole peace movement. Thereby one right would certainly be lost—a right which, although it bears the proud name of sovereignty, is in truth a great wrong; the right of one state to attack another. But if ten persons agree among themselves to desist from mutual attack, each exchanges one-tenth of his lost chance of plunder for nine-tenths of assured safety. Immutability of existing frontiers and social arrangements is demanded as little as the avoidance of disputes. For this, too, would be contrary to nature. Obstinacy, bearing the proud title of Conservatism, which opposes all natural alterations and displacements, is itself the cause of all forcible revolt. Just

as in private life, the individual's possessions are protected from robbery by a civilized commonwealth, but the possessor is not guaranteed for all time, and the poor are not prevented from gaining possessions. Rich and poor families grow or die out, increase or decrease in fortune; new groups are formed, drawn together by natural selection; a growing population must overflow the frontiers; forms of state belonging to a lower level of culture must be supplanted by the civilization of those culturally superior. *Elasticity* is the only quality which ensures peaceful duration or painless and imperceptible transition from one form to another. The world should remember this, now that it has learned the law of evolution, and knows that all life and development is the work of adaptation.

But to contemplate peace and war from a general standpoint is what philosophers and politicians have done from the earliest times. To work out plans and propositions, by which the ruling state of war may be replaced by the establishment of international justice, is a labor which has been carried on systematically for the last ten years by the various groups of the League of Peace, and the inter-parliamentary union. An entire literature already exists on this subject, and by consulting Dr. Evan Darby's "International Tribunal"* and Dr. Benjamin Trueblood's lately published work, "The Federation of the World,"† a complete knowledge of the ideal and practical aims may be gained, as also of the results already acquired.

But now, at the present moment, when the work of peace is placed in the hands of an inter-governmental conference at the Hague, furnished with powers to realize the resolutions passed, it is no longer fitting to draw up theories of the abstract idea of universal peace: now everyone sympathizing with the great cause, and especially such as are in immediate proximity to the conference, are compelled to concentrate all their interest upon it. And, therefore, I will close these lines with a few thoughts, which, quite apart from the "woman's standpoint," might bear the title: "Universal Peace and the Conference at the Hague."

It appears to me that in the criticism and discussion of this unique phenomenon, this unprecedented historical event, the importance of the fact that such a Conference is sitting is too much

*London Peace Society, 47 New Broad Street.
†Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899.

forgotten. One either loses oneself in the question: "What will be discussed?" and subjects every item of the programme to a minute technical criticism, or one enquires: "What will be the result?" and indulges in more or less hopeful, or more or less sceptical, conjectures and prophecies. One forgets to contemplate the overwhelming fact that such a Conference has been called together by an autocrat in our ultra-military times, and in which every State takes part.

Apart from all that will be achieved by speeches, propositions and resolutions, the significance and the effect of the event itself must be of the greatest influence, and the first official Peace Conference appears like a miracle in the history of the world.

Among the many arguments brought against peace movements on the part of sceptics, the most powerful used to be: "What is the use of private exertions?" Rulers will never agree to restrict militarism, which is the support of the throne, or to abolish war, which is the *raison d'être* of militarism. Autocratic Russia itself presented the most serious menace of war. "Suppose you attempt," was the scornful remark, "to get the Tsar upon the list of your societies; then you might speak!" Now, the Tsar stands at the head of all peace movements, but the opponents set aside the circumstance that the most obvious of their ten ordinary arguments has been refuted, and, undismayed, employ the nine remaining ones against the Tsar himself.

People do not only forget to observe the magnitude of such an event as the meeting of an inter-governmental Conference; they also forget, in speaking of the subjects under discussion, to open their eyes to the importance of them. They know what the point in question is, but they do not realize it. Like a person ignorant of music before a symphony of Beethoven, like a three-year-old child before a picture by Raphael, so do people stand before the chronicle of the Conference. They hear and see, but the awe of comprehension does not thrill through them. "Universal Peace!" How few can comprehend the harmony and the glory that lie in these words. How few reflect, while discussing the problems lying before the Conference, *what* is really at stake: the happiness or ruin of themselves and their children! For, that the *régime* of international justice would shower an undreamed-of abundance of moral and material benefits upon the civilized world, and on the other hand, that continued military equipments and

the eventual employment of the increasingly deadly weapons of war *must* lead to ruin and annihilation, can be denied by none. Thus it is nothing less than our highest happiness or deepest misery which is being discussed in the *Huis ten Bosch.* But the world looks on as though it were a question of customs duties or weights and measures; many boast of "being indifferent to the matter." They think thus to prove their superiority, and only show that they do not understand. Not only without but within the Conference is there an uncomprehending majority. Among the delegates, as well as among the Governments that sent them, most are as indifferent, in some cases as hostile, as unintelligent, generally speaking, as the ordinary public towards the idea of universal peace. But that matters nothing: the fact remains that an international parliament is now assembled in the name of this idea; the spirit abiding in the idea, and inspiring the originator as well as a number of the delegates, will exert its power upon the indifferent, the hostile, and the uncomprehending, and will penetrate the world.

The true significance of the Conference is contained in the following words, addressed by the President, von Staal, to the delegates at the opening of the first sitting:

"To seek the most effective means of ensuring to all nations the benefits of a real and lasting peace, that is the chief aim of our deliberations according to the text of the circular of August 24.

"The name 'Peace Conference,' which the instinct of the nations, anticipating the resolution of the Governments, has given to our Assembly, this name well describes the principal object of our labors; the Peace Conference must not be faithless to the mission laid upon it; it must bring forth a tangible result from these deliberations, which is awaited in confidence by all mankind."

All mankind? Not yet. A great portion of it, that which still holds fast to the thousand-year-old institution of war, be it through personal interest or the power of imparted prejudice, hopes that the Conference will produce no result which may endanger war; a still greater portion, the dull masses, expect nothing at all. But those who really have confidence in the progress of culture, who, in agreement with the originator of the Conference and his faithful fellow-workers, are convinced of the necessity of the present ruinous system giving place to another, these latter will note these words of the President of the Conference; and in case of disappointment, in case the Conference were faithless to its

mission, would raise the demand for fulfilment so loudly and continuously that at length all mankind would be carried away by it.

But such disappointment will not take place. That may be boldly said beforehand. The proposals already put before the Assembly vouch for the earnestness and sincerity of the work which has been begun. They are a proof that the following sentence from Staal's speech is no mere phrase, but the expression of noble resolve:

"Diplomacy, following a universal law, is no longer an art in which personal skill plays the principal part, but is striving to become a science, which must possess fixed rules for the settlement of international conflicts. That is to-day the ideal aim that it must bear in view, and great progress will indubitably be made, if diplomacy succeeds in laying down some of these rules at this Conference. We shall also particularly endeavor to codify the practice of arbitration and mediation. These ideas form, so to speak, the essence of our task, the chief aim of our exertions; 'to prevent conflicts by peaceful means.' "

These words faithfully echo the instructions given by the Tsar to his ambassador. And already much has been done in the specified direction. It is clear that other powers had come to the Conference with plans equally far-reaching if not more so, and the subject of an "International Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration"—this wildest dream of the Utopians—has already been discussed and even in many points unanimously accepted.

The propositions offered by the representatives of Russia, England, Italy and the United States are known through the newspapers. To the opponents of the peace movement that have lately pointed out with special satisfaction that America, that stronghold of efforts for peace, has lately entered military channels, to these the plan sent by the American Government must have caused remarkable stupefaction. With these proposals, with this energetic and open participation in the work of peace, the American will again fill that position in the history of civilization with which the friends of peace in the whole world have always credited him: the Pioneer of peace and freedom.

A tangible result will be produced by the Conference, something newly created, constituted, permanent, that can be developed and expanded. And besides this, a direct result, how many indirect ones? The whole world must now take part in the question, and the various branches of the social organism, the Church, Art, Literature, the Press, are drawn into the service of propagandism. Gifted men like Stead and Bloch, now resident

at the Hague, have an opportunity of a field worthy of their labors. Stead has prevailed upon a Dutch daily paper to publish an article on "War against War," which plays the same part towards the Conference as the weekly paper for the English, "Crusade of Peace." Bloch is giving lectures, illustrated by views, offering a *resumé* of the great six-volume work in which, supported by dates and facts, he proves that the war of the future is a technical impossibility, an "Utopia." Even if the general public has not comprehended the marvellous significance of the meeting of the Conference, perhaps it will be capable of perceiving the significance of positive results. Facts and successes are always more powerful than the most glorious theories, however irrefutable. And the positive results will be of various kinds. One brings another with it. The question of neutralizing the States, the question of the coalition of neutrals, and lastly the question of disarmament, although the two former are not upon the programme, and the latter seems to have been momentarily put aside —will come to the front. Disarmament and a check to military equipment, these were the chief motives of the Tsar's manifesto. To avert the ruin and misfortune brought upon nations by "armed Peace," was mentioned as the object for which remedies were to be found. When once these remedies—international justice, etc. —have been found, the object can no longer be evaded. I believe that the decision of the Conference upon the question of disarmament will offer a startling resolution, or at least a declaration of principle, which will be binding in the future. One need not fear to be confounded when prophesying agreeable surprises.

Truly, I venture to assert with confidence, the progress from the first of the past eight Peace Congresses in 1889 to the Hague Congress of 1899 has been far longer and more difficult than that leading from this Conference to a complete attainment of its aims; *i. e.*, to the abolition on principle of the institution of war. In the midst of our endeavors for universal peace the Tsar's initiative fell like a bombshell; but now, even were it in the near future, the inauguration of lawfully guaranteed peace would appear to those qualified to judge no longer as a surprise, but as a fulfilment.

BERTHA VON SÜTTNER.

The Hague, June, 1899.

ENGLAND AND THE TRANSVAAL.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

THE failure of the Bloemfontein Conference is a disappointment that may prove a tragedy. President Krüger and Sir Alfred Milner, the Governor of Cape Colony, met to discuss the Transvaal question with every external circumstance pointing to a happy issue. The time, the men and the place were all well chosen. In the neat and compact capital of the Orange Free State, the Boer President was among friends of his own race, and the British representative was not among enemies. Both commissioners had behind them the free trust of their respective governments. The President, with the help of his more liberal followers, could have forced upon the conservatives of the Old Boer party any agreement he had cared to sign. It was a good omen, after all these years of obstinate warfare, that he had consented to a meeting at all. It was a better omen that he had declared his willingness to discuss "all, all, all, except the independence of the Transvaal." Sir Alfred Milner, as Lord Cromer's right-hand man during the most arduous years of the reconstruction of Egypt, proved himself second only to his chief in farsightedness, tact, determination and strenuous common-sense; and nothing he has done or said in South Africa has caused the Boers to mistrust him.

The portents of international politics were even more propitious. One may doubt whether there has been since Majuba Hill, whether there is ever likely to be again, any such favorable chance for a peaceful settlement of the great issue of South Africa. To Mr. Chamberlain, the success of the conference meant the restoration of personal credit in a matter that has brought him little but discomfiture. Unquestionably, before risking another rebuff, he must have convinced himself that in a friendly debate lay some hope of getting this troublesome mole-hill finally cleared

away, and himself left free to make his mark on English history as the first Colonial Secretary with a policy of his own. The people of Great Britain, still somewhat humiliated by memories of the raid, were never less inclined to be overbearing or more anxious to reach a just and pacific solution. There was nothing in the political situation in Cape Colony but what would quiet President Krüger's suspiciousness and urge him to moderation. His own kinsmen, the Dutch colonists, are there in control of the government, their racial sympathies all on his side, as against forcible interference in the domestic affairs of the Transvaal, their rough business sense counselling justice to the Uitlanders for the good of South African trade. Nothing was to be feared from the masterful empire-builder through whose "keen, unscrupulous course" Great Britain has lost much, even if she has gained more. At the time the conference met, Mr. Rhodes was not even in South Africa. From Germany came no encouragement to obduracy. The Kaiser, indeed, has long since done penance for his telegram, and given the Boers to understand that he can no longer afford to be their friend; and unless everything short of official confirmation is to be disbelieved, the Anglo-German agreement of last summer makes provision for the transfer of Delagoa Bay from Portuguese to British hands, and so cuts off from the Transvaal its last hope of reaching the sea. Even the French who have capital invested in the Rand, have of late put aside their Anglophobia and have been calling upon President Krüger to set his house in order. England and the Transvaal were thus left face to face, with the path towards a reasonable adjustment of their differences made as smooth as possible. That the conference, with all these circumstances in its favor, should have failed, and failed without a step being gained towards harmonious compromise, is a fact that must cause the gravest apprehensions.

The conference broke up over the eternal franchise difficulty, which, while it is certainly the *crux* of the whole dispute, is only one of many points of controversy that will have to be straightened out before long. What is known as the suzerainty question is almost as important and considerably more interesting, because more abstract, and I do not apologize for going backwards a little way into history to get its proper bearings.

When Mr. Gladstone made peace with the Boers, a few

weeks after the defeat of Majuba Hill, he restored to them their former independence, subject to the suzerainty of the British Government. This suzerainty was very clearly defined by the second article of the Pretoria Convention of 1881. It consisted of a right to appoint a British Resident, to whom was given a vetoing power over the policy of the Republic towards the Kafirs—a very necessary provision, for the Boers make Deuteronomy their text-book on all native questions; a right to move troops through the State in times of war; and a right to control and conduct all diplomatic intercourse with foreign powers. Some such restrictions were necessary to make the surrender palatable to the British public, but neither Lord Derby, then Colonial Secretary, nor his successors cared much about enforcing them. The Transvaal was held to be a *damnosa hereditas* before the discovery of gold, and the suzerainty clauses were thrown in to save England's face. They did not work well. The Boers chafed under an arrangement that kept them from dealing with the natives in their own way, and disputes became so frequent that Mr. Gladstone proposed a revision of the convention in 1883.

The conference that led to the signing of the London Convention of the following year attracted very little notice. The British public was tired of the whole business. The spirit of Imperialism had not yet descended on the Colonial Office. The Boers badgered and badgered and got almost everything they wanted. All but complete independence was granted them in domestic affairs. The title of Resident was dropped to gratify their susceptibilities, and the British representative at Pretoria became a sort of consul-general on a reduced salary. The word "suzerainty" was omitted as offensive to Boer sentiment. The convention regulated the western boundaries of the Republic and pledged the Boers not to seek an extension of them. It laid an inderdict on slavery or any "apprenticeship partaking of slavery." In one clause only did the British Government assert its external authority. "The South African Republic," says this clause, "will conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen." This clause again was intended chiefly for home consumption. It was often disregarded by the Boers, and it was not thought important enough to be

pressed home by the Colonial Office. The Transvaal in 1884 was a large but barren tract of ground, barely sufficient for the support of 100,000 stock-raisers. It had but a small connection with British interests. The one clear thing about it to the mind of Downing Street was that it had given England more trouble than it was worth, and that the best thing to do was to leave it alone.

But the finding of gold caused British officialdom to change its attitude with speed. Thousands of Englishmen, Australians and Americans swarmed into Johannesburg, and in a few years converted a bankrupt and disorganized state into the second gold-producing country of the world. The Transvaal and its bewildered burghers woke up to find themselves the centre of European intrigue, and the London Convention was discovered to be a document of capital importance.

It is, I think, clear by the terms of the clauses I have quoted that the South African Republic is not an independent state. Its freedom of action is circumscribed both within and without its own territory. Its boundaries, at any rate on one side, are not only fixed, but fixed immutably. In that direction it is forbidden to expand. It cannot, under the clauses of the convention, introduce slavery, either openly, or in any of the veiled forms under which the institution is still countenanced. Especially, and this is the hinge of the whole convention, is its liberty of negotiation and diplomacy placed under restrictions. Now, no state can be properly called independent which is prohibited from managing its foreign affairs in its own way. The Transvaal is free to arrange treaties with the Orange Free State. With all other countries, as with all native tribes, to the east or west, its relations are ultimately controlled by the British Government. The exact word to describe the position in which the two countries stand to one another is hard to find. "Suzerainty" is a doubtful term of loose application in popular parlance, and of uncertain standing in international law. The word has simply been adopted as a convenient one to define the peculiar relations of England and the Transvaal. To employ it adds nothing to the real efficacy of the convention of 1884; to drop it does not diminish British authority in any way. Call that authority by what name one will—suzerainty, control or the right to veto—the fact remains that the Transvaal, in some most important branches of its national affairs, is finally subject to Great Britain.

The dispute between the two governments over this point is, therefore, at bottom largely verbal and sentimental. Whether the amount of control possessed by Great Britain over the Transvaal constitutes a suzerainty cannot be settled, until we know exactly what a suzerainty is; and that nobody can tell us. The really important thing to know is that so long as President Krüger accepts and acts up to the terms of the London Convention, he is bound to the clause which carries with it the veto of the British Government on all the diplomatic negotiations of the Transvaal, except those connected with the Orange Free State.

It is one thing to believe in the reality of British control, and quite another to approve its necessity. The first is a question of fact, the second of policy and opinion. Great Britain stands committed to the maintenance of the London Convention by the supposed necessities of her position as the paramount power in South Africa; and, after the coquetting between President Krüger and the German Emperor that followed the Jameson raid, the fear of foreign intrigue is too strong for any British ministry at present to allow the Transvaal the same latitude in foreign, as it enjoys in internal, affairs. The fear may seem unreasoning; to many it does seem unreasoning; but, though less potent to-day than it was three years ago, it is still vivid enough to make the preservation of the convention appear a sacred duty and any revision of it a sacrifice of imperial rights. There is room for a good deal of regret that this should be so. The London Convention has attained a quite undeserved and factitious sanctity in the eyes of English people. From seeing their government constantly at work defending it against real or alleged breaches, they have come to think it something very well worth defending. It is spoken and written of as a sort of Magna Charta of British dominion in South Africa, without which Cape Colony, Natal and the whole of Rhodesia would fall a ready prey to some designing power in alliance with the Transvaal. The question of its real value and of the possibility of revising its hasty clauses has never been squarely considered. Yet there is not much, either in its inception or after-history, to command such perfervid adoration. It was hurriedly and carelessly drafted to bring to its quickest end an issue of which everyone was wearied; it was so little thought of that the Boers might claim it has lapsed through frequent unrebuked violations; above all, it dealt with a state of affairs that has altered in every particular

since its promulgation. Wherein does its peculiar virtue consist? Most Englishmen would answer, truly enough, in the clause that regulates the external affairs of the Transvaal. But what, after all, is that clause worth? It has irritated and humiliated the Boers without benefiting England in a single essential. It has forced the British Government to an undignified and unproductive watchfulness over the doings of Transvaal emissaries abroad. If it was designed as an effective check on foreign diplomacy, then the intimate approaches of Germany proved its worthlessness to demonstration. It is, of course, impossible to believe that any power that thought it worth while to negotiate a secret treaty with the Transvaal would be deterred from doing so by the London Convention; and equally impossible to imagine that, if any such treaty were to be negotiated, the Transvaal would submit it to the approval of the British Government. The obstacle that keeps foreign nations from intriguing with the Transvaal for the overthrow of British ascendancy in South Africa, is not a fifteen-year-old piece of parchment, but the strength and position of the British Empire; and that strength and position would remain what they are and be a deterrent of undiminished persuasiveness, were the convention cancelled to-morrow. Either there is the possibility of foreign interference in South Africa, or there is not. If there is, the London Convention is no safeguard against it. If there is not, the London Convention, or at any rate its most prominent clause, is superfluous.

As a matter of fact, we know now that neither Germany nor any other power had serious thoughts of taking upon itself the tremendous responsibility of an attempt to oust Great Britain from South Africa. The true danger to the British position comes from quite another source, from the continued want of harmony and confidence between the English and the Dutch, due to the present turbulent condition of the Transvaal. A civil, not a foreign, war is the menace to be dreaded. It is in the power of the Boers to end the uncertainty that paralyzes commerce and provokes racial antagonism and unrest from Cape Town to the Zambesi by reforming their internal administration; and, as an inducement to set about the task, a guarantee of independence would be far more persuasive than the pointed summonses of the Colonial Secretary. It would seem to be at once an act of magnanimity and good policy if the British Government were to renounce its

claims to a suzerainty and, if need be, abolish or revise the convention, in return for the grant of those concessions to the Uitlanders which can alone make the Transvaal a contented and friendly state. The Boers are keenly anxious to have their status as a nation placed beyond question. It galls them, as it would gall any high-spirited people, to find themselves, after all these years of struggle, still in a position of semi-dependence. From the British and imperial point of view, there is nothing in the London Convention to compare with the vital obligation of securing justice for the Uitlanders, and inducing the two races to live side by side in peace. Its abolition would involve the surrender of no right of guardianship over British subjects in the Transvaal that the ordinary law of nations does not already secure to the British Government; and the withdrawal of the suzerainty claims, which are an incessant source of bickerings between the two peoples, and bring no real profit to Great Britain, would do more than anything else to reconcile the Boers to an adequate measure of reform. On the bare terms of the London Convention, as a matter of technical legal right, it is more than doubtful whether Mr. Chamberlain is strictly justified in protesting against any of the features of the President's domestic policy. Yet no one can doubt that, had the convention been non-existent, the protests would have flowed in just the same, and possibly with greater force and boldness. The convention, at best, throws but a dubious legality upon a course of action already founded on broad principles of duty and justice. It really hampers, rather than aids, British ministers in their endeavor to transform President Krüger's fascinating mediævalism into something approaching a modern system of government. No sooner are the Uitlanders shackled with fresh fetters, than a brilliant and quite interminable debate springs up between the law officers of the Crown and the legal luminaries employed by Mr. Krüger, as to whether the new imposition is or is not a breach of the convention; the fetters, meanwhile, remaining where they were placed. The net workings of the convention have all along favored the Fabian tactics which the President knows so well how to pursue; and, but for one point, he would probably be quite well satisfied to let it remain as it is. That point is the limitations contained in the convention on the full sovereignty of the Transvaal; and to sweep those restrictions away and place the Republic on an equality with Great Britain, there

are probably few concessions which he would not be glad to make. There seems at all events to be here an opportunity for an honorable and satisfactory bargain. An independent Transvaal, with the Uitlanders admitted to the franchise, would be no more a menace to the British position in South Africa than is the Orange Free State.

Sir Alfred Milner, of course, went to Bloemfontein with no such heroic proposals in his portfolio. In the present state of England's attachment to the convention, one has to admit that no such proposals are possible. National dignity, pride of possession and fears of foreign interference are too keenly aroused to brook the seeming humiliation of retreat, even from a false and unprofitable position. Too much zeal has been spent on the defence of the convention to make its surrender seem anything but a gross betrayal. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the conference foundered in part on this very rock. The President proposed that certain of the matters in dispute should be submitted to arbitration. Sir Alfred Milner was obliged to answer, in effect, that on any matter of real importance there could be no arbitration between a suzerain state and its dependency. Such pistolling diplomacy does not make for a peaceful issue. The concessions that will have to be granted to end the veiled warfare that threatens to disrupt the Transvaal and bathe the whole of South Africa in blood, cannot be expected to come from one side only. It is the President's misfortune to have put himself morally in the wrong on almost every point of domestic policy. That does not relieve Great Britain from the obligation of considering whether it would not be an act of mingled wisdom and generosity to make the task of extrication as easy as possible. The renunciation of suzerainty is the only adequate reward in sight that will atone for the comprehensive surrenders required for the reorganization of the Republic's internal economy. It would remove, in great part, the fearfulness of the Boers lest, in yielding to the demands of the Uitlanders, they imperil their own independence; and it would show, as nothing else can, the sincerity and honesty of purpose which animate the English people in their dealings with the Transvaal.

In the Transvaal itself the situation is almost too fantastic for serious presentation. The Uitlanders, seven-eighths of whom belong to the English-speaking race, outnumber the Boers by more

than two to one. They own half the land and contribute nineteen-twentieths of the public revenue. It is through their brains and energy that the Transvaal has been raised from bankruptcy into its present prosperity. They are citizens of the most progressive countries in the world, accustomed to self-government and intolerant of any encroachments upon their liberty. The Boers have altered little, if at all, since the days when the Dutch East India Company planted them at the Cape, except to add some of the vices of the nineteenth century to the ignorance of the seventeenth. "In some of the elements of modern civilization," says Mr. Bryce, a witness of inspired impartiality, "they have gone back rather than forward." A half-nomad people, of sullen and unsocial temperament, severed from Europe and its influences for over two hundred years, living rudely and contentedly on the vast, arid holdings where their sheep and cattle are pastured—each man as far as may be from his neighbor—disdaining trade, disdaining agriculture, ignorant to an almost inconceivable degree of ignorance, without music, literature or art, superstitious, grimly religious, they are in all things, except courage and stubbornness of character, the very antithesis of the strangers settled among them. The patriarch Abraham in Wall Street would hardly make an odder contrast. The Uitlanders have an even greater share of the intelligence of the country than of its wealth. Nevertheless, they are kept in complete subjection to their bucolic task-masters. They are not allowed to vote, except for a legislative chamber that cannot legislate; they have no voice in the spending of the money taken from their pockets; they see millions of dollars lavished on the secret service and fortifications at Pretoria, while Johannesburg remains a pest-hole; their language is proscribed in the schools and law-courts of a city where not one man in a thousand speaks anything but English; a clipped and barren dialect, as much beneath pure Dutch as Czechish is beneath Russian, is enthroned in its place; and their children are forced to learn geography and history from Dutch text-books after passing the elementary standards—the President, with a directness that would have come home to the late Mr. Dingley, seeking to popularize his native *taal* by a tax of one hundred per cent. upon foreign books.

It is grotesque to think of Englishmen and Americans being treated in this fashion, and it is quite beyond imagination that they should rest passive in such a house of bondage. The restric-

tions on franchise and education fall hardest, not on the capitalists and large mine owners, who are mostly absentees, but on the lawyers, doctors, business men and the working classes who have settled in the Rand district less as a speculation than to make it their home and earn a living and bring up their families. The recent petition from the Uitlanders to the Queen was entirely the work of professional men and laborers. Neither Mr. Rhodes, nor the Chartered Company, nor the capitalists had anything to do with it. It was a genuine and thoughtful protest from the average working immigrant against the intolerable oppression to which he is subjected. Even raids and poets laureate cannot weaken the solidity of these grievances. "Diggers," ventured an Australian Premier, "have no country." That may hold good for Coolgardie and the Klondyke, but not for the Transvaal; for gold-mining in the Rand is less hazardous and uncertain than elsewhere. A payable reef once found, there is little anxiety of its suddenly petering out. Its owner can reckon with some confidence that deep borings will show the same percentage of gold to rock as appears near the surface; and this unique assurance makes it possible to speculate approximately on the duration of the mines. The opinion of the most competent specialists seems to be that the district, as a whole, will not be exhausted for fifty, and possibly not for seventy or eighty, years to come. This puts the Rand on quite a different footing from the gold-fields of Australia and California. The foreigners who have rushed to Johannesburg are, for the most part, genuine settlers, men who look forward to spending their whole lives either in the employment of the mine-owners, or in the ordinary trades and professions that gather round the centre of a great industry. They are not of the order of speculative transients, whose interest in their new resting place ceases with the discovery and exhaustion or sale of a "lucky strike." In other words, they have a country; and that country is the Transvaal; and as men who have taken up a permanent residence in it, they demand, not unreasonably, that it should be made politically and socially endurable.

Before the discovery of gold any settler in the Transvaal could secure the electoral franchise after a residence of two years. The Boers welcomed the money that flowed into the exchequer when the value of the Rand district became known; but they took instant alarm at the stream of capitalists, engineers, traders and

miners—all speaking the tongue of their hereditary foes—that threatened to overwhelm their independence. To preserve the political *status quo*, they raised the probationary term of qualification for the franchise, first to five years and then to fifteen. In 1890, as a sop to the inevitable clamor for representation, they created a Second Volksraad for the members of which aliens might vote after taking the oath and residing for two years in the country. As the Second Volksraad is not allowed to discuss matters of taxation and as all its decrees are subject to the approval of the First Volksraad—which can legislate without requiring the assent of the inferior chamber—the concession is not worth much. At present no immigrant can vote for the First Volksraad unless he has passed the age of forty and lived for at least fourteen years in the country, after taking the oath and being placed on the government lists, lists on which, according to Mr. Bryce, the local authorities are nowise careful to place him. Even the niggardly reforms proposed by the President at the end of last May were negatived by his burghers. Practically, the Uitlanders are disenfranchised. In every other state, Dutch and English stand on the same equality. In the Transvaal, the English are treated like Kafirs. They have not only taxation without representation, but taxation without police, without sanitation, without schools, without justice, without freedom of the press, without liberty of association. Johannesburg is ill-paved, ill-lighted and abominably deficient in drainage and water-supply, because it is English. The courts of law have been prostituted to the whims of the Legislature, in defiance of the written Constitution of the Republic, that thereby the English might be deprived of their one legal remedy against injustice. Education, except in the Boer *taal*, is forbidden above the third standard, in the hope of forcing the English to unlearn their native tongue. And these indignities are put upon the men who are the source of all the country's prosperity, and its saviours from internal dissolution.

There can be little doubt that, had President Krüger yielded to the demand for the franchise when it was first made, he would have to-day, in the gratitude and contentment of his new citizens, the best guarantee for the independence of the Republic. The suspiciousness and conservatism of the Boer character dictated a policy of refusal and delay and unfulfilled promises, from the effects of which the state has been saved more by the mistakes of its

opponents than by the President's own shrewdness. If the existence of the Republic seems to be imperilled to-day, President Krüger has chiefly himself to thank for it. His resistance to a just demand has driven the Uitlanders, by a process common to most political agitations, to put forward other and less reasonable claims. A section of the excluded settlers has started the theory, based on Great Britain's suzerainty, that the taking of the oath of allegiance to the Transvaal does not involve the surrender of British citizenship. If the contention were sound, President Krüger would be well within his rights in refusing the franchise to all such hybrid citizens. But the argument will not hold water for a moment. Mr. Chamberlain and all the best legal authorities in England have condemned and disowned it. A British subject on swearing the oath of allegiance to the South African Republic, or any other state, forfeits at once all his rights of British citizenship, and becomes, suzerainty or no suzerainty, a foreigner. It is a pity a contrary plea was ever urged. It has only served to misrepresent the intentions of the average Uitlanders. As a body, the Uitlanders demand, firstly, such an alteration of the present franchise law as will give them at least an effective minority representation; secondly, permission to educate their children in their own tongue; and thirdly, a rearrangement of the tariff. The present tariff mulcts the whole of Johannesburg for the benefit of a few Boer farmers, and forces the price of the necessities of life to an inordinate figure. Between the omnipotence of a few large capitalists and the fiscal exactions of the Boers, which press as hardly upon Natal, the Orange Free State and Cape Colony as upon Johannesburg, the middle and working classes in the Rand district, in spite of the high rate of wages, are hard put to it to make both ends meet.

The capitalists have grievances of their own, which their enormous influence in a country of poor men has managed to keep well to the front. The nature and continuance of these grievances show to what lengths the distrust felt by the Boers towards the British will carry them, even to the detriment of the national exchequer. The government of the Transvaal has made it its policy to hamper in every way the development of the mines from which the public treasury is filled. A French expert has calculated that better legislation and administration would decrease the cost of production by about thirty per cent. Heavy

duties are levied on machinery and chemicals; the tariff more than doubles the price of maize, which is the chief food of the native workmen; and the liquor laws, by making it easy for Kafirs to get drunk, reduce the supply of regular labor and greatly increase the number of accidents. But the loudest complaints are directed against the dynamite and railroad monopolies, from the first of which the state derives not a penny in compensation, and from the second a mere fraction of the sum that goes into the pockets of German and Dutch stockholders. The dynamite monopoly was granted to a German firm some years ago, and securely hedged around by a prohibitive duty on the imported article. The usual consequences have followed. The dynamite is poor in quality and nearly fifty per cent. higher in price than it ought to be. The Netherlands Company, which owns all the railroads in the Transvaal, joins in the merry war of extortion with a series of outrageous freight charges. Taken altogether, these impositions make a difference of three or four per cent. on the dividends of the best mines, threaten the prospect of any dividend on the second best, and make it useless to persevere with those of a still lower grade; the state treasury, of course, suffering in proportion.* One most unwholesome result of this policy is that the rich mines, which can bear the exactions, buy up the poorer ones that cannot, and so tend to bring almost the entire Rand into the hands of two or three capitalists.

It must not be supposed that President Krüger has carried with him the unanimous support even of his own countrymen in making repression the keynote of his policy. There has always been among the Boers a small and liberal minority that favors reforms, and sees in the persistent refusal of the franchise a weapon of offence placed in the hands of their enemies. This minority is still further incensed by the President's importation of Hollanders to fill the government offices, and by his reckless defiance of the Constitution in making the Supreme Court subservient to the Volksraad. Nor have the more enlightened Dutch of Cape Colony and the Orange Free State stood unreservedly on the side of their northern kinsmen. It is true that if any attack were made on the independence of the Transvaal, their racial sympathies might bring them to the support of the Boers; but they are

* I am indebted for these and other facts to Mr. Bryce's "*Impressions of South Africa*," a book the value and thoroughness of which are hardly to be inferred from the modesty of its title.

hardly less desirous than the Uitlanders of seeing the unrest at Johannesburg put an end to. The heavy tariff on wool, wines, brandy and food-stuffs all but closes the richest market in South Africa to their staple exports; and they, like everyone south of the Zambesi, feel the effects of the discontent that radiates from the Transvaal, paralyzing commercial enterprise and development, and wrapping the whole country in a cloud of uncertainties. While opposed to any forcible interference with the domestic affairs of their kinsmen, they have used their influence more than once, but never with much effect, in the direction of peace and moderation. The President's strength lies in the aptitude of his appeals to the spirit and prejudices of the Old Boer party. These stalwart conservatives concentrate all their hatred and contempt for foreign ways and customs upon the British, the only enemies they have known. It was to escape from British rule that their forefathers struck out from the Cape, across the wilderness, and founded a Republic of their own. The incidents of the Great Trek in the thirties, of which the President is the last survivor, are still held in patriotic memory. The British annexed the newborn state under pledges delayed so long that the Boers took up arms to enforce them and won back their old independence. The British stopped the expansion of the Transvaal on the north by occupying Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and on the west by pouncing upon Bechuanaland. It was with British gold, and under the command of British officers, that the raid of 1895 was planned and carried out. Small wonder that the Boers saw and still see in the demand for the franchise only another British plot to rob them of their independence. The Uitlanders had come into the country uninvited and undesired, seeking only gold, and with full warning that it was a Boer Republic they were entering. By what right could these strangers of yesterday claim to be put on a level with the old burghers, who had fought and bled to keep the state free from alien control? And what Boer, looking to the past experiences of his people with the English, could guarantee that their capture of the franchise would not lead to their capture of the entire state, that the Republic would not become an English Republic with an English President, and its original founders a despised and oppressed minority?

It would have been a high achievement in diplomacy if Sir Alfred Milner could have persuaded the President, and through

him the Boers, that their fears, if not baseless, are very unlikely to be realized. So long as the reasonable grievances of the Uitlanders are met with an obstinate *non possumus*, the Transvaal runs the risk of perishing suddenly and in violence. The danger can only be avoided by altering the franchise laws to give Johannesburg a voice, not necessarily a preponderating voice, in the government of the country; and by removing the barriers upon the education of English children in English. A revision of the dynamite and railroad monopolies, and a rearrangement of the tariff schedule, would give the capitalists all the privileges they care for, and at the same time add largely to the revenue of the Republic. It is clear that the old suspicious policy of denial and opposition has only endangered the security it was foolishly meant to safeguard. The best hope for the independence of the state must lie in the happiness and contentment of its citizens; and that contentment can only be reached by abolishing racial discriminations and putting British and Boer on an equality before the law. Under a *régime* of frankness and conciliation, the two peoples will be able in time to forget their former animosities and come together in harmony and good-fellowship, as they did in the early days of the American colonies, as they still do in Cape Colony. The newly enfranchised citizens, no more the victims of a mediæval oligarchy, will then be as little tempted to hoist the British flag over Pretoria as the French in Canada to return to their old allegiance. The people of England have no hostility towards the Boers, and no ambition to annex their country. They have, on the contrary, an uncomfortable feeling that, in their clashes with the Transvaal, the British reputation for fair-dealing, which so long as it is deserved is the backbone of the Empire, has not been altogether maintained. They admire the old President's pluck and shrewdness and wish him well in his struggle, even where they have to condemn his methods of carrying it on. They cannot find much in his policy that is defensible except its object, and yet they feel that, were they in his place, they would have done much as he has done; and it is because they are sincere in wishing the Transvaal to outlast the life-time of its rugged champion, that they look to him even at the eleventh hour to overcome prejudice and rebuild his state on the only foundation that has in it the promise of permanence.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS. A REPLY.

BY MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER.

In an article called "The Curse in Education," published in the May number of this Review, Mrs. Rebecca Harding Davis wrote:

> "Has the public school done its work? Has education been always an unmixed blessing to America and Americans? This question cannot be answered so easily and positively as loyal sons of the Republic may suppose."

On the contrary, a very positive answer to this question is self-evident. No agency devised for the mental and moral improvement of mankind—no system of education, ethical training, or religion—has always, or has ever, done the whole of its purposed work; the results actually achieved by such an agency have never yet been blessings unmixed and unalloyed with evils; and we cannot expect that they will be while men remain men.

We should be unreasonable if we applied an absolutely ideal test to our public school system. But, on the other hand, we need not pause to judge it by the lowest practical test. That is, we need not marshal all available facts and arguments, and then discuss whether the public school has done America more good or harm. Indisputably, the blessings it has bestowed far outweigh the curses. If we try to fancy what the condition of our land as a whole would be if it had had no free schools, the imagination shrinks from the first outlines of the picture. And if any city or district be individually considered, no really valid exceptions to the general rule will be found.

Mrs. Davis wrote of an Acadian settlement in Louisiana, as she had seen it fifteen years before—a "lonely corner" where, with "no railways, no school houses, no politics, and no newspapers," the people, few of whom could even read and write, were singularly

good and happy; and she deplored the position taken by a lecturer at the North, who urged that schoolmasters should be sent to this idyllic village, "to open the way for railways, business, and civilization." If such a community could have been fenced in with barbed wire and placed under a strict taboo, it might have continued moral and contented without any schooling. But it was not a normal community in our day and land. It was a "survival," an anachronism; and, as such, inevitably destined to change. In other ages, other lands, there have been true gentlefolk who could neither read nor write. Such persons are unthinkable among ourselves; and so is the perpetuation of pastoral ignorance and innocence in any locality. Business and the railroad, politics and the newspaper, cannot be kept from touching any corner that happens still to be lonely in the modern white man's world; and, little as we may like the kind of civilization they sometimes bring with them, it would hardly be improved by the elimination of the schoolmaster.

Mrs. Davis's real contention, however, was that our educational system does not work as well as it might and should. This may be acknowledged. Yet it is dangerous to dwell exclusively upon its defects without indicating how they may be cured. It is dangerous, also, to lay upon the broad back of the public school all the responsibility for conditions that spring from a variety of causes. And there is a growing tendency toward both these mistakes. Mrs. Davis thinks that the school house is a "fetish" in our eyes—that we believe wherever it stands "a life-giving ichor goes out of it, which will conquer not only ignorance but poverty and crime." Perhaps all Americans once felt thus. But now, whatever the faults and the shortcomings of a community, whatever the follies and the sins of its young people, many persons lay the whole blame upon what they call our craze for "over-education." Because of this craze, they tell us, the hill towns and even the valley farms of New England are abandoned to nature or the immigrant, while the sons and daughters of the soil flock to the towns. Because of it, good servants are hard to find even in our largest cities. Because of it, early marriages grow fewer, and simple, strenuous home life is despised. Because of it, our men are becoming insanely ambitious and our women morbidly discontented, the professions are over-crowded, the trades suffer for recruits, and public life is contaminated by the domination of the

unfit. In short, if our school system is still our fetish, we have relapsed into a barbarian way of treating it. We praise and thank it sometimes; but often we beat and spurn it because the rain does not fall, the fish will not bite, or the hunter breaks his leg.

Mrs. Davis is not by any means the first who has pronounced upon an American village such a verdict as she passes on the one that she calls X—. By the clearness of her description I recognize X— as a place in which I lived for six or seven summers as Mrs. Davis's neighbor. But I do not think that its condition is due to the presence of "the three huge school houses and the free library," or even to the fact that they are not as good of their kind as they ought to be. The whaling and coasting trades which once nourished X—, and fostered activity, self-reliance, and intelligence in its inhabitants, are dead; but they were not killed by over-education. Many similar villages exist along our coasts, and those that possess no academies or libraries do not breed a more active or a happier type of man or woman than grey, little, derelict X—. They also are survivals, anachronisms, although in a different sense from the Acadian settlement. They must change or they will perish of dry rot; and, while the school should do more than it now does to help them to change advantageously, other influences must assist in the work.

The reasons why any American community, large or small, dissatisfies the loyal lover of the Republic, or why any class of its inhabitants does not always think and act as sound sense and good morals would prescribe, are very complicated. It is dangerous to exaggerate the share of blame that should be laid upon the public schools, or upon the beliefs they represent, because we may thus be led into one or the other of two opposite errors. We may come to despise our school system, and, therefore, to neglect its improvement if not its maintenance; or we may be tempted to expect too much from it, and, in consequence, to confuse and weaken its proper work by laying upon it burdens that it ought not to bear.

Mrs. Davis's article is, I think, a sign that the first-named danger is a real one. The second is illustrated by the people who, in these latter days, still cry out that the public schools should teach some dogmatic form of religion, or at least that vague and indefinable thing called "undogmatic Christianity," or, at the very least, some formalized code of "Christian morality." To ask this

is to ignore one of the great principles upon which our State and Federal governments were based. If, as Mrs. Davis says, our grandfathers were more religious than we, nevertheless they were very careful to sever religion from politics, and from those practical matters which they put under the control of the State, leaving to the individual the duty of caring for his own and his children's souls in his home, and through such religious or ethical institutions as he might choose to support. The full liberty in religious belief and practice that the fathers of the Republic thought absolutely essential, cannot be combined with any form of religious instruction controlled or authorized by the State.

Again, there are many persons who declare that the public schools should teach the manual trades. If so, logic demands that they should also teach the professions and the arts, the highest forms of specialized knowledge and the simplest handicrafts—that they should assume the whole work of secular education. But even to think of this is to mistake the real reason why our free school exists and is supported by general taxation. It exists primarily for the sake of the State, of society, of the public, not for the sake of the individual child as such. It is bound to teach him such things as are needed to fit him for active and honorable life in the Republic, but not, specifically and completely, such as may be desirable to prepare him for the conduct of his personal career. And even in fitting him for life in the broader sense, it demands the intelligent co-operation of the home and of professedly ethical institutions. If it does not get this, its own work will be hampered; the home, now considered the foundation-stone of society, will lose its value by abdicating its influence over the young, and thus losing its cohesion and stability; and the churches will deserve to be abolished as cumberers of the ground. Of course, no system of education, although avowedly and necessarily based upon what Mrs. Davis calls "book learning," is sensible which confines itself to the information drawn from the printed page; and no kind of secular education is good which cultivates nothing except the mind. Yet there is a valid distinction between courses of training for the mind, for the body, and for the conscience, heart, and soul; and some specialization in the manner of giving them is needful, unless—borrowing certain ideas from the ancient Spartan, and some from the modern socialist—we think that the State should have absolute control of every child, from a very early age

until he is started upon a self-supporting adult career. Unless we think thus, it behooves us to see that the State does not infringe, within its schools, upon the rights of the family and the church, or weaken the feeling of the child that he must in great part depend upon himself for practical success in life; and, on the other hand, it behooves us to strengthen the school by seeing that other educational agencies do their own work well, and that the efforts of all are harmonized and correlated.

I have acknowledged that our school system, even within its proper province, does not educate our children as well as it might and should. The pleasantest and, I think, the most instructive way to point out some of its deficiencies will be to indicate the directions in which it is being improved. Of course, I cannot speak of it as a whole—as the school system of the United States; there are too many differences, in school law and school practice, between one State and another, and between the towns in each. So I shall speak chiefly of one portion of the City of New York—the Borough of Manhattan and the Bronx, which, long a laggard with regard to the improvement of its school system, is now trying to bring it abreast with the foremost in the land. These, I may pause to explain, are no longer, generally speaking, to be found in New England. There are good schools and school systems in New England; but the Middle West is now our educational leader.

One hopeful sign to be noted in New York is the improvement of the sanitary condition of the school house—the closer and more intelligent attention paid to cleanliness, lighting, heating, ventilation, plumbing, and the care of the children's out-door clothing. Another such sign is the effort to accommodate every child who may ask for a seat in the schools. And a third is the effort to bring into them all the children who now neglect the opportunities they offer—to deal helpfully with truants, to prevent the withdrawal of pupils before they finish the legally prescribed term of attendance, and to induce them to remain for still longer periods.

Here I may cite a few figures.

The average age of graduation from the primary schools of Manhattan and the Bronx was recently computed to be 10 years and 8 months; and, in April, 1899, their registers showed the names of 131,366 children. In the grammar schools the average

age of graduation was found to be 14 years, 9½ months, and their register showed 90,511 names. Buffalo is another city with a large foreign population that needs to be Americanized as well as instructed, and here the falling off in attendance long before the school course has been completed is even greater than in New York. In October, 1897, 37,884 pupils were enrolled in the primary grades of the Buffalo public schools, less than half this number—16,380—in their grammar grades, and only 2,494 in the high schools.

Again, in Newark, New Jersey, in October, 1898, the registers of the public schools showed 6,382 children enrolled in their lowest primary grade, as against 965 in their highest grammar grade, (from which the average age of graduation is 14 years, 8½ months), while the senior class of the high school contained 110 pupils, and the total enrollment in the classes of the normal school was 98. And in the schools of Flushing, Long Island, a town of about 10,000 inhabitants (now a part of the Greater New York), the primary departments recently contained 826 children, and the grammar departments 450, while there were 160 pupils in the High School.

These figures ought to soothe the breasts of the people who say that we are "over-educating the children of the poor," and that State instruction should be merely of an elementary kind; and they certainly show that, in our cities at all events, "over-education" cannot be responsible for many of the evils so often laid to its account. But they are figures that excite regret and alarm in the minds of those who believe in a general need for true education, as distinguished from elementary instruction; and also of those who realize that the public school of to-day must train its teachers of to-morrow. Neither in right nor in wisdom can the State assume that private enterprise will supply it with a teaching force sufficient in numbers and adequately prepared. I need hardly say that a great deal more than an elementary education must be given to the men and women who are to instruct our children even in the most elementary branches, and to help to train them during the most impressionable years of their lives. And if it be true, as Mrs. Davis says, that "New England is filled with women competent to teach, standing in rows waiting for a vacancy," nothing of the sort is true in New York City. Here the demand just now is greater than the supply, although during the past year unusual efforts have been made to meet it.

It is well indeed that high schools have recently been established in New York, standing midway between the grammar schools and the free colleges, lengthening the term of school life, and solidifying, while extending, the advantages it offers.

At the other end of the line from these, we find in Manhattan recently established kindergartens which are being rapidly increased in numbers. For the little children of the very poor, whose home training is deficient and whose playrooms are the streets, they are priceless blessings. And they do much more than merely shelter these children in their earliest years. They stretch their hands into the home, as the schools for older children cannot so easily do, and bring it into closer relationship with the school; and they emphasize the truths that something more than book instruction must be given, if even this is to be successful, and that something more than the mind must be trained, if even this is to be properly developed.

The fact that a recognition of these great truths has spread through our whole school system, is partly due to the influence of the "kindergarten spirit"—of the educational ideas upon which the sub-primary department is based. "The whole boy should be put to school." "Character building is the task of the school." These are relatively novel precepts, yet they have already become hackneyed by much iteration. They mean that, while secular knowledge must remain the school's chief aim, and "book learning" its chief tool, the body, and the conscience, heart, and soul must be considered as well as the mind, and that right conduct, personal and social, must be taught as well as words and figures, dates and facts. In short, they mean that what Mrs. Davis says ought to be done is at least beginning to be done. Our children are being taught to assimilate and to use their knowledge, as well as to acquire it.

One of the agencies now employed toward this end is physical training—not the mechanical military drill that once seemed likely to grow popular, but is detested by good educators as physically inadequate and sometimes hurtful, and as morally opposed to that true spirit of discipline which means teaching a child to govern himself—but gymnastics and "organized play." There are gymnasiums and roof-playgrounds in the new school buildings of Manhattan, and the law directs that none shall hereafter be built without an adjacent ground-space for open-air exercise.

Another agency for moral and physical as well as mental development is manual training. "Trade teaching and art teaching," cry some, "or, if not this, then evidently a waste of time." Neither the one nor the other. Manual training is not trade teaching or art teaching, any more than instruction in reading and writing is the teaching of authorship. A deft hand, ready to do the mind's bidding, is almost as essential to useful, happy living as an eye acquainted with the conventional signs for transmitting thought. But this is the least part of the gain. To train the hand means to train the powers of the eye, and to bring the muscular and nervous systems into working accord. Some kinds of manual training give the whole body useful exercise. All kinds rest the brain and relieve the body after purely intellectual work, while cultivating them in another fashion and developing the creative instinct. And they teach directness of purpose, concentration of effort, accuracy of observation, and also mental and moral precision and honesty. The teacher, and even the pupil himself, may think that a book lesson has been learned when it has not been, or that an idea has been mastered when it has been only half grasped or wholly misunderstood. But this cannot happen with manual work. A tangible thing is done, and rightly done, or it is not. A stitched seam is straight, a leaf is correctly drawn, a carpenter's joint is true, or it is not. Neither deception nor self-deception is possible in the workshop, and the spirit of accuracy, system, conscientiousness, self-reliance, and helpful co-operation that it develops is carried over into the other class rooms. Moreover, the workshop may cultivate taste as well as skill; and, although it does not teach trades, it celebrates the dignity of manual labor, and often develops individual likings and aptitudes for it. The same is the case with the lessons in "domestic science" given to girls. They are not taught to be "professed" cooks or dressmakers. But their fingers, eyes, and palates are trained; the importance of cleanliness, neatness, order, and exactness is impressed upon them; respect for household work and interest in it are awakened; and these great benefits are augmented by such instruction in hygienic and alimentary laws as could hardly be made to seem practical and important without the help of the cooking-stove.

Again, it is now understood in our schools that the text-book cannot do its work well without the help of other books, and that

school life should foster a habit of self-instruction, or, at least, a habit of finding rest and recreation in good literature, which will profit the pupil all through his later years. Reference and lending libraries are being established in the schools themselves, and they are being brought into close practical touch with the free libraries of the city.

The influence of the study of nature, as a broadening and a softening moral force, is being more and more clearly seen, and also the fact that it cannot be brought to bear upon our walled-in, cooped-up city children, unless they are enabled to see and to handle, and to watch in their processes of growth, all such natural objects as can possibly be brought into the school-room. And so it is with the divine influence of beauty, although as yet only in a rudimentary degree. The old school houses of Manhattan were frankly ugly, inside and out. The new ones are doing their best to be beautiful, and in many ways reaching this aim. As yet, the school authorities do not attempt to adorn them with pictures and casts. But unofficial friends of the school—notably the Art Committee of the Public Education Association—have begun this work; and they would not lack funds to carry it on more vigorously if the people of New York could only understand the immense educational value of simple and inexpensive but good works of art, not merely in making the school attractive to children that live amid squalid surroundings, but in stimulating their interest in their lessons, and in refining, civilizing, and inspiring their poverty-stricken little souls. It is hard to fancy a child who never sees any pictures, or to guess how his teachers can instruct him in certain branches. Yet there are thousands and thousands of children in New York who see none at all, excepting newspaper cuts, theatre posters, shop advertisements, and the little prints in their school books.

The study of physics, in which much more attention than formerly is now paid to questions of hygiene; the study of history, now understood to be a nursing-ground for intelligent patriotism; the study of civics, in regard to which, of course, the same is true, and even geography, as it deals with the men of other lands, their customs, and their systems of government—all these are agencies for moral as well as mental training. In his Report for 1897-1898, the Superintendent of Education in Buffalo writes that it is now generally acknowledged that a public school should give the young

"some direct preparation for citizenship;" and his suggestions to teachers are illuminative:

> "Do not be satisfied with merely giving instruction. Try to inculcate a high standard of public duty, the obligation of patriotism and civic pride, a sense of danger to the country arising from official corruption. Show the need of placing public interests above private gain. Insist on the principle that every office exists solely for the benefit of the people and never for an individual or party. . . . The instruction is to be conversational rather than formal."

The same hand writes, again, of the general exercises held daily in all our schools:

> "These exercises should have a clearly marked ethical tendency, and should consist of short talks on current topics, historical and biographical sketches, the reading of choice selections, the recitation of poems, the mention of philanthropic enterprises, simple celebrations of important anniversaries, etc. The design of these exercises is to give children sound and clear notions regarding their duties to God, their country, their neighbors, and themselves."

Thus, the definite teaching of ethics is established in our schools, and in more ways than these quotations indicate, although no formalized moral code is, or ought to be, taught in them. The responsibility for ethical training must lie with the teacher. Textbooks cannot do such work, for it must be specially fitted to the needs of the moment and of the individual child. Of course, in the giving of any lesson, individual capacities and temperaments should be considered; and, as Mrs. Davis points out, the greatest difficulty in public education is that it is obliged to "cultivate human souls *en masse*." But, while this fact is more keenly appreciated than it used to be, and the effort to meet it by a greater individualizing of instruction in all branches of knowledge is among our signs of progress, nevertheless it is a peculiarly prominent fact as regards the training of the pupil in right conduct and worthy ideals of conduct. The direct influence of a human personality is the only efficient inculcator of righteousness.

For this reason, especially, it is well that the need for thoroughly qualified public school teachers is more generally recognized than it used to be, and that the meaning of the term is being broadened and deepened. There was a time when "a gift for teaching," what was called "a natural knack with children," added to the possession of good text books, was thought a sufficient endowment at least for a teacher of the elementary branches. Then it was perceived that a teacher ought to be taught how to teach,

and for a time the pendulum swung too far; the desirability of certain innate qualities was forgotten. Now, at last, it is seen that, while a teacher must indeed be made in a very complete sense, while she must not only know books and how to teach their contents, but also must know human nature and child nature, she ought, furthermore, to have certain personal characteristics that may be strengthened into a deep sense of the varied responsibilities of her calling, an intelligent, loving sympathy with childhood, and a profound recognition of the truth that right thinking and not mere book learning, that wisdom and not mere knowledge, is the end and aim of education. For "useful lives and honorable citizenship" our children must be trained, writes the Superintendent whose words I have already quoted. This is the ideal that the school teachers of our country now have set before them. May the home and the church more and more intelligently assist them in a work which the school cannot accomplish single-handed!

The inevitable limitations of the class-room are now recognized by the school authorities; and they are broadening their work in many ways which cannot fail to react happily upon the class-room itself. For example, during the winter of 1898-99 the School Board of Manhattan and the Bronx conducted thirty-one evening schools and four evening high schools in which the instruction was adapted to the needs of adults and of young people forced to work in the day time; and their value to the immigrant is proved by the fact that 4,604 of the pupils who were admitted could not read, while 10,742 required special instruction in the English language. During 1898 the Board also provided for adults, in forty-one school assembly rooms and other halls, 1,595 free evening lectures upon a great variety of interesting and instructive subjects, including the duties of citizenship, and they attracted a total attendance of more than half a million persons, the majority of whom were men of the working classes. During the summer months, the Board conducts vacation schools for its children, in which many useful and entertaining things are taught, but not book-learning of the conventional kind; and it also opens the playgrounds of many of the schools, under intelligent supervision, for more purely recreative purposes. It means to extend its instructions in "organized play" to the little frequenters of the recreation piers, and, if the city authorities permit, of our large parks as well.

And it has granted to the Public Education Association the playgrounds and some of the class rooms in two school houses, to be used on winter evenings by children's clubs.

This last-named work, it is hoped, will spread very widely. It is a presage of the time when the public may be allowed a more general use of the costly buildings that it owns, during the hours when the schools are not in session. And it is one of the signs that, beyond professedly educational circles, a widespread movement to better, to aid, and to supplement our schools has begun.

In Manhattan, this movement is not of more than five years' growth, but it is already vigorous and influential. It shows in that activity of the free libraries to which I have already referred, in the co-operation with the schools of the "Settlements" that are centres of light and of education in the broader sense in many of our poorer districts, and in the close attention that the newspapers, with ever-growing intelligence, now pay to school affairs. It shows, also, in the establishment of such non-professional societies as the Public Education Association, the Kindergarten Association, the Outdoor Recreation League, and the City History Club. The first of these devotes itself wholly to studying the condition and furthering the welfare of the schools, and to keeping the press and the public awake with regard to them. The second started free kindergartens before our school authorities realized the need for them. The third induced these authorities to open the school playgrounds for summer use, and works diligently in many ways for the healthful amusement and physical development of the people. And, it may be added, the Children's Aid Society, with the help of popular subscriptions, established the vacation schools of which the city has now assumed the charge.

These are some of the patent signs that as a whole the people of New York have awakened to the immense importance of the public school, to the fact that the future of the city depends upon it, and to the allied fact that it cannot flourish rightly unless the best thought and the deepest interest of the community are directed upon it. Similar signs may be read in a great many other American cities and towns. And if many rural districts lag behind, they open a fertile field of effort for the summer visitor, who now so often complains of their intellectual and moral shortcomings.

I cannot speak at all of the gradual yet far-reaching improve-

ments that are being wrought in the curriculum of our public schools, and can merely note in passing the happy fact that its methods of discipline are being revolutionized, so that free, cheerful, and almost self-governing companies of children may replace those strictly ruled, physically repressed, and often mentally cowed bands which were formerly the average teacher's ideal of a "well-drilled" class. But I must say a final word from the standpoint of one who, during the past five years, has had a personal acquaintance with the New York public school and, outside its walls, with those classes of the population that most deeply need its help. The more I have studied it, the more distinctly I have come to understand the difficulties with which it has to cope and the way in which it is often isolated in its effort to cope with them, the more clearly I have realized the difference between the average child that it now turns out and the average parent of foreign or even of American birth, the longer I have reflected upon the picture our crowded and polyglot poorer quarters would present if it did not exist—the more I have been impressed, not by its defects but by its merits, not by its failures but by its successes, not by the deficiencies of its teachers but by their unselfish devotion and the educational intelligence they often display, even when their scholastic equipment is not of the best. Any reader who will take the same practical method of inquiring into the question will soon be brought, I think, to agree with me that "a life-giving ichor" does indeed go out of our public schools, even in their present imperfect estate. And, seeing how steadily and rationally they are being improved, he will believe that, while they may never "conquer" ignorance, poverty, and crime, they will win victories greater than any that have yet been won or can yet be foreseen in the ceaseless battle that imperfect humanity must wage against these three terrible foes. Surely it is foolish to lose faith and courage because, in less than a century, the American free school has not done all that the home and the church, active ever since the birth of civilization, have failed to accomplish. But a cautious person may well shrink from predicting what it may do, even within the next hundred years, lest he be accused of airy optimism by those who have fallen into the mistake of blaming popular education for many of the social evils and shortcomings which, in fact and in truth, it is doing more than any other agency to uproot and to cure.

M. G. Van Rensselaer.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GREATER NEW YORK.

BY BIRD S. COLER, COMPTROLLER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

THE Greater New York, an experiment in merging nearly one hundred municipal corporations into one harmonious whole, has now reached a stage of progress at which it is possible to discover and correct errors of detail, and to determine with a fair degree of accuracy the present and prospective benefits of consolidation. The final test, which will determine the success of the experiment, will be the establishment of a form of city government that will be more satisfactory to the people as a whole, and less expensive to the taxpayers, than was the administration of public business by the various municipalities that have been consolidated into one. A large majority of the population of the new city do not pay taxes, and they will judge the new order by the general and visible benefits, and the application of local government to themselves and their personal affairs; while, on the other hand, the taxpayers will be influenced in their conclusions by the burden of immediate expense, rather than by the development of conditions that may ultimately affect the value of their property. The disinterested observer and the student of municipal government, however, will look beneath and beyond the unavoidable confusion of the beginning when they come to measure the finished structure.

In determining the question of the success or failure of consolidation comparison cannot be made. The form of the experiment was unique in the creation or building of cities, and the men who made the charter had no precedent to guide them. In preparing a charter for the consolidated city, the commissioners closely followed the general form of government that prevailed in the original city of New York, making such additions and modifications as seemed to them best adapted to the new condi-

tions. The charter had scarcely gone into operation, however, before it became evident that many mistakes had been made and that changes were essential to the perfection of local government. As was anticipated, the change was an expensive one at the outset, and the cost was increased by acts of questionable legality, which those who created the new city had taken no measures to restrain.

When the act of the Legislature creating the Greater New York became a law, there was an immediate rush on the part of many of the small municipalities that were to be merged into the city to obtain the greatest possible amount of immediate and prospective benefit. Local public improvements, on a scale impossible under the conditions about to pass away, were undertaken, and bonds were hurriedly issued and sold, with complete disregard of consequences, as well as indifference to the prospective rights of the larger city. Extravagant contracts, intended to bind the city for five, ten and even twenty years, were entered upon with no apparent purpose other than to benefit favored local or individual interests. Such methods on the part of town and village officers resulted not only in great confusion at the very beginning of consolidation, but added a large sum to the current expenses of the city, caused higher taxation and left a legacy of costly litigation that may not be ended for ten years. The almost bankrupt condition of Brooklyn and Long Island City and the necessity of temporary loans for meeting current expenses during the year 1898, while adjustment of assessments and taxation was in progress, added materially to the cost of government during the first and second years of consolidation, the money borrowed in 1898 having to be repaid from taxation in 1899. At the outset of consolidation, the combined bond and contract indebtedness of the new city considerably exceeded the constitutional limitation of ten per cent. of the assessed value of real estate, which caused some delay in carrying out projected public improvements, and much criticism and questioning of the wisdom of the step that had been taken. The Greater New York was, to some extent, handicapped at the beginning by a financial condition that might have been wholly avoided by the exercise of better foresight on the part of the framers of the charter. This condition, however, did not at any time seriously affect the credit of the city; and, during the past twelve months, the bonds of the municipality have sold in the open market for higher prices than had been obtained

for many years for similar securities. To-day the bonds of New York City, considered as investment securities, rank almost as high as those of the National Government. This fact is the best proof that consolidation has not injured the city's credit.

Solvency and credit having been firmly established, official and public attention may now turn, with greater interest, to the details of government, and errors in the plan should be remedied with as little delay as possible, lest they become permanent and serious defects in the structure. In this outline of changes suggested by actual experience of the conditions created by consolidation, it is not intended to criticise the Commissioners who drafted the charter. They planned well, and in many essential features the charter is admirable, and will probably remain without radical change so long as representative government endures. But in detail there is much room for improvement.

The graver mistakes in the plan of government provided by the charter may be classified under two heads:—too much government, and unnecessary division of authority. There are too many departments; too many bureaus and too many officers. Authority should be centralized, responsibility fixed beyond possibility of evasion, details of administration simplified and the machinery of government reduced to the smallest scale consistent with perfect operation. No matter what division may be made of the duties and powers of municipal administration, local government really reaches the people through four channels; police, sanitation, public education and taxation. To the poor and the ignorant, the policeman and the sanitary inspector represent the authority of city government, the public schools the visible benefit of the system. The most direct and economical application of the four chief functions of local rule must, therefore, be best for the people and for the corporation. Directness and economy in the management of the business of the city are possible only through centralization of power and responsibility.

Experience with the government of Greater New York has already demonstrated that cities do not require local legislative bodies. The bicameral Municipal Assembly, created by the charter, should be abolished, and its limited duties divided among the several administrative departments, as a matter of economy, and to expedite the transaction of public business. Only one body should be left with very limited powers, similar to those formerly

possessed by the Board of Aldermen in the city of New York prior to consolidation. The creation of a local Legislature, with obstructive power over the appropriation of public money, was in the nature of an experiment in municipal government—or, rather, a revival, under somewhat new conditions, of a plan which experience had frequently proved to be a failure. It was claimed by the advocates of the plan that such an elective body, directly representative of the people, would act as a check upon the Executive and all administrative departments, insure careful investigation and the fullest publicity of all matters affecting the general welfare. In brief, the Assembly was to prevent extravagance and safeguard the rights of the people. The charter provides that all appropriations for current expenses or public improvements shall be approved by both houses of the local Legislature, by a three-fourths vote of all the members. This provision has made it possible for a few members in each house to combine to delay or defeat appropriations necessary to carry on the public business, for no better reason than motives of personal or political interest. The Municipal Assembly, therefore, has developed into a mere obstructive body, with well-nigh unlimited negative power, or at least enough to defeat the best plans of any honest, competent and progressive administration. As a law-making body, this branch of the government need not be considered, because it has made no laws. The hopeless confusion of local legislation resulting from consolidation with ordinances of the former cities of New York and Brooklyn still in force within their respective territorial limits, still persists, and, although nearly two years have elapsed, no effort has been made to bring order out of this chaos. The duties of the Assembly, as fixed by the charter, consist largely of mere details of administration, which should be left to heads of departments and special bureaus. One feature of the business of the local Legislature, however, is worth more than a passing notice. The charter permits the Councilmen and Aldermen to make rules and regulations for the keeping of stands on the sidewalks and stoop lines of the streets. These stands may be used for a great variety of business purposes, and in many cases the privilege is a valuable one amounting in reality to a franchise for the free use of a portion of the public highways. As a matter of business, the city should derive a considerable revenue from this source; the privilege should be a matter of permit and license, a

simple commercial transaction, carried on through a suitable bureau. The Municipal Assembly has the power, or at least has assumed it, to grant such privileges by resolution; and the keeping of a stand on a street corner has become a matter of political patronage, instead of a business franchise yielding a revenue to the city for the use of public property.

There is, in reality, scarcely any duty devolved upon the local Legislature which could not be discharged by a bureau of some department with profit and advantage to the city, and the powers of this body, as already stated, are largely obstructive. The cost of the Municipal Assembly for the current year is $196,552, and more than half of this amount could be saved to the taxpayers without detriment to the public service. The addition of one or two small bureaus, and an extension of the powers of the Bureau of Licenses, would carry on the work now done by the Assembly, and the privileges given away as personal favors or political rewards could be made to yield a revenue of $500,000 a year.

A second and less expensive experiment was the creation of borough officers, a system that, if carried out to its logical conclusion, would forever maintain sectional divisions, develop and encourage local interests and jealousies, divide authority and responsibility, to a limited extent continue five nominal municipalities within one real one, and defeat the chief purpose of consolidation, if that purpose was to make one great and undivided city within a specified territory. The Charter Commissioners were evidently in doubt as to the wisdom of the plan, because they hesitated and stopped short of placing in the hands of borough presidents and boards actual power to do anything. The office of borough president, instead of being accepted by the public as a place of honor and importance, is regarded rather as an expensive joke on the taxpayers. The possibilities of the plan of subgovernment by boroughs, as outlined in the charter, are too extensive to be considered at length in this paper, but the principle is wrong, if consolidation is to be permanent, successful and satisfactory. If Greater New York is to become the imperial city contemplated by the men who conceived the plan and worked it out with the patience and earnestness of belief in its success, there can be no divided government within its limits, no placing of one section as the rival of another. Divisional lines must be obliterated forever.

The salary of the five borough presidents and their clerks, together with their incidental expenses, amount to $51,300 a year. The sum is not large, considered as an item of the budget, but the city receives absolutely no material result in return. The powers of the borough officers are so limited that a brief repealing clause is all that is necessary to remove this contradictory, useless and confusing attachment of consolidation. The repeal of the chapter of the charter that created borough presidents and boards will save to the taxpayers $51,300 a year, without in the slightest degree disturbing the general plan of government.

The borough system is not only a failure, as a working force in the public system, but experience has not sustained the theory on which the Charter Commissioners were acting when they created borough boards and a city Legislature. That theory was to build around the city treasury on the one hand, and the rights of the people on the other hand, a series of bulwarks or safeguards against possible corruption in office. A public treasury is never protected by an increase of patronage, the cost of which must come out of the funds that are to be guarded. The rights of the people of the city are always safer in the hands of a capable and conscientious Mayor and Comptroller, endowed with ample power carrying with it full responsibility, than they can possibly be when left to the care of a multitude of irresponsible office holders, whose own personal and political interests must of necessity be confined to a district or a borough.

The creation of boroughs, and the accompanying establishment of interior and sectional governments in form, without power, and the installation of a city Legislature were the chief departures or experiments incorporated in the charter. They have both failed so completely that they should be permanently and entirely abolished with as little delay as possible. Various bureaus and offices continued from the plan of government that prevailed in the former cities of New York and Brooklyn are no longer required, and they should be gradually abolished, the nominal duties devolving upon them being divided among other departments. In this way, several hundred thousand dollars a year may be saved in salaries alone. It is not possible, within the limits of this paper, to go into a detailed review of the work of all city departments and bureaus, and point out the particular places that might be abolished; but it has been demonstrated that,

as the government of the consolidated city gets into smooth working order, there can be a gradual reduction of officers that will ultimately result in a large annual saving to the taxpayers.

In addition to the changes in the charter already suggested, amendments should be made in that instrument such as would vest in the Board of Estimate and Apportionment absolute control of the financial interests of the city. The fictitious safeguards of the public treasury having been swept away, as above indicated, centralized, responsible and economical city government would then be in sight. After all, the best safeguard of the money and of the rights of the people is the election to office of honest and capable men. While the civic pride of the New York public may not have reached the ideal in development, it would be preposterous to say that a thief, or even a man of questionable character, could be elected Mayor or Comptroller of the city. With honest executive and financial officers the treasury will be safe, and government can be simplified to a condition where it can be applied to its proper functions without circumlocution, and with such economy as will satisfy the most exacting critic.

The first step towards this ideal condition in Greater New York should be to increase the power of the Mayor, and to fix upon him, beyond possibility of evasion, responsibility for his administration. His power of removal over his subordinates should be absolute throughout his term. The power of the Comptroller over the finances of the city should be extended, so that no claim, not founded in express contract, should be paid, no bonds issued for any purpose and no appropriation authorized without his approval. Such power would serve as an effective check upon the Executive branch of the government. Without money to spend there can be no extravagance.

The next important step should be to enlarge the powers of the Board of Estimate, which, under existing provisions of the charter is called upon to approve every important contract, as well as to regulate the budget and authorize the issue of bonds for all public work. This Board is now composed of the Mayor, the Comptroller and the President of the Council, elective officers, and the Corporation Counsel and the President of the Tax Department, officers appointed by the Mayor. With this membership, the Mayor is the controlling power in the Board. With the votes of the two officers appointed by him he can outvote the other officers

elected by the people. The membership should be so changed that a majority of the Board would be composed of officers elected at the polls. This need not hamper the Mayor or curtail his power in any essential particular, and it would satisfy the public to have the control of the city's finances vested in elective rather than appointed officers. The charter should be so amended as to make the Corporation Counsel an elective officer, and thus leave the Board of Estimate with only one member who would be an appointee of the Mayor.

The powers of this Board could be safely enlarged until it became a semi-legislative body. It should have power under the charter, by a unanimous vote of all its members, to build bridges, sell franchises, open new parks, construct public buildings, make and enforce through the proper department any regulation necessary for the public welfare. Its resolutions should be final, and to the routine business of all departments it should be in the nature of a court of last resort. The power of this Board to act in any emergency should be well-nigh unlimited. It should be empowered to control all business affairs of the city without assistance from the State Legislature. The Board of Estimate is in theory, and should be in reality, the Board of Directors of the municipal corporation, with all the duties and powers implied by such a relation to the public business. No act involving the expenditure of city money should require the intervention of the State Legislature, and appeal to the State should be made only in exceptional cases. All public business before the Board of Estimate, or any other board or department of the city government, should at all times be transacted in open sessions. Public hearings should be had on all important questions before a final decision is made, and taxpayers should be invited and encouraged to attend sessions of the Board and to express their views at the hearings. There is never much wrongdoing in the open, and corruption in city government could not escape detection under this system of publicity in the transaction of city business. In addition to compelling honesty, the plan of inviting public scrutiny of everything done would tend to relieve the public mind of possible doubt and suspicion, and would establish a better and more satisfactory relationship between the city officers and the public. A condition of perfect understanding between the governing power and the governed would obviate friction, would en-

sure universal public approval of every movement for the general welfare, and should in time bring about the best system of municipal control that the ingenuity of man can devise.

This condition of open government is possible only by a centralization of authority, as outlined for the Board of Estimate. Heads of departments should have a large measure of control over their subordinates and the minor details of the work they are to do, but in every case they should be the agents of the Board in control of the finances. The Board should have the power to control and prescribe the form of contract specifications, and this power should be exercised in the case of all important contracts.

Another experiment in the charter, the Board of Public Improvements, should be either abolished or modified. The plan for carrying out public work under which this Board was created has some good points and many objectionable ones. Chief among the latter are the extra expense and delays caused by the new system. The cost of the Board of Public Improvements for the current year is $209,500. This entire sum could not be saved to the city by abolishing the Board, because the same work would have to be done by several departments, but there would be a large saving of salaries and much useless red tape would be dispensed with. If the Board of Public Improvements, under the present charter provisions, plans a new bridge, a new small park or any other public improvement the actual work must be done by contract, under the supervision of the Commissioner or engineers of the proper department. Money and time would be saved by having the plans made under the supervision of a head of department in the first place, the plans to be approved and the contract awarded by the Board of Estimate.

The actual receiving, handling and paying out of the city's money are surrounded by such a perfect system of check and responsibility that the theft of any considerable sum is impossible, without collusion between a large number of responsible officials in the offices of the Comptroller, the Mayor and the Chamberlain. The money raised by taxation is paid to the Receiver of Taxes, a bonded officer; by him accounted for to the Comptroller, and then transferred through the Chamberlain's office to the banks and trust companies designated as city depositories. At every stage of transfer, it is guarded by trusted and bonded officers.

No warrant for the payment of city money for any purpose is

drawn until proper vouchers have passed through the Auditing Bureau of the Finance Department. The system of examination in that bureau is so thorough that a serious fraud could not possibly escape detection. After the vouchers have been approved by the Auditor, the warrants are numbered, registered and checked before they receive the signature of the Comptroller or his deputy. All payments are by warrants on the Chamberlain, who is the city's cashier. The warrants, after being signed by the Comptroller, are carried to the office of the Mayor, where they are checked and where a record of them is entered in a book. They are then signed by the Mayor's confidential clerk, returned to the Comptroller, then transferred to the Chamberlain, who signs a check on a bank, which in case of payrolls passes through the office of the City Paymaster. The amount of money received and paid out every year is largely in excess of $100,000,000. No State, city or private corporation in the world handles as much actual cash in a year as passes through the Finance Department of the city of New York. The fact that no warrant has been lost or stolen, and that no error of any kind has occurred in the handling of the vast sums that have been received and paid out since consolidation, is abundant evidence that the present system of handling the money of the city is well-nigh perfect. There should be a change, however, in one department. Under the present system, the appropriation for the Police Department is paid over in twelve equal instalments. The payrolls of that department do not pass through the Comptroller's office. The Inspectors and Captains act as paymasters for the police. While no thefts or errors have been charged against the department, the system of paying out money should be uniform. The police payrolls should be inspected by the Auditing Bureau, and the money should be paid out by the City Paymaster. With this change, the system of handling the money of the city would be nearly perfect, and the loss or theft of any considerable sum would be impossible.

Another proper step in the direction of centralization and economy would be to reduce the number of Commissioners. There should be a single head for each department. In this matter the charter is not consistent. There are four Police Commissioners and one Fire Commissioner, one Commissioner of Highways and three Commissioners of Docks and Ferries. No person familiar with the business of the city departments would seriously contend

that one man could not direct the affairs of any one of them. Eleven or twelve commissioners, at $5,000 a year, could be dispensed with at once without detriment to the public service. There should be no divided authority in any department, and then there would be no evasion of responsibility. No department, under the existing system, or the plan herein outlined, can be anything more than a subordinate branch of city government to execute the policy of the administration. Therefore, a voting board in charge of docks, highways or parks is useless and expensive. With absolute authority over the appropriations, and the finances of the city centralized in the Board of Estimate, and unlimited executive power vested in the Mayor, there can be no co-ordinate branch of government, and a board or commission at the head of a working department is, therefore, a palpable absurdity. Exception might be made, however, in the case of the Board of Health, because of the peculiar duties and powers of that department.

The proposed changes in the form of city government would save to the taxpayers almost $1,000,000 in salaries and incidental expenses at the outset, and the centralization of power and simplification of method would lead gradually to other and larger economies.

The amendment and perfection of the charter by the State Legislature, along the lines suggested, would give to the Greater New York a simple, direct and economical form of government, by which the public business could be carried on under the ever watchful guardianship of the people themselves. The officers elected would not be hedged about and restricted by unnecessary forms of law. They would have ample power to plan and execute public work for the public good and for the material advancement of the great municipality committed to their care, and, at the same time, they would be compelled to assume the fullest responsibility for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them.

BIRD S. COLER.

THE RELATION OF THE PRICE OF PIG IRON TO COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY.

BY GEORGE H. HULL.

In the recent enormous advance in the price of pig iron, the people of the United States have another opportunity of studying the cause of such advances, and realizing the controlling and disastrous effect they have upon business of all kinds throughout the entire country. It is well known that this advance is not an unusual occurrence, being only a repetition of what took place in 1854, 1864, 1872, 1880 and 1889. It was not disturbed finances, or loss of confidence, which turned the tide of prosperity in those years. It was the advance of from one hundred to three hundred per cent. in the price of pig iron. The loss of confidence and disturbed finances came months afterwards, and were the effects of the turn in the tide. Each of these advances, and its results, were object lessons, from which we might have learned much, if we had seized the opportunity, while the cause and its effect were passing before us.

The advance of 1899 is a fact of the present moment. It is here, the evidences of it are everywhere around us, and, if history repeat itself, the events which follow its culmination will be a vivid and instructive picture.

Let us study these results and fix permanently in our minds the truths they demonstrate. To do this intelligently, we must first appreciate the importance of iron in this age, and how much more thoroughly it enters into all business advances and improvements, than any other article. It is used in the preparation of the food we eat, in the manufacture of the clothing we wear, and in the building of the houses which shelter us. The pipes which conduct water, gas and other substances under the surface; the

ever-increasing net work of rails which lie on the surface; the vehicles of transportation on land and sea, and the machinery of war and peace, are composed almost entirely of iron. Its consumption is a correct measure of the wealth and civilization of any people. It is the chief element of national growth and power, and each year it becomes more and more necessary to every business enterprise of mankind.

In this paramount dependence of civilized man upon iron, he is but following nature, in whose realm nothing lives, moves or exists without it. It is in the water which bubbles from the earth; it is in every drop of blood which flows through the veins of life; it is in the rocks and soil under our feet, in the vegetation about us, and in the heavens above us. The meteors which fall from the skies are composed almost entirely of iron. It is known to exist in large amounts in the heavenly bodies, and the gases of which iron is composed are found to make up largely the masses of vapor which float in the firmament, and which, by the forces of nature, are solidified into worlds.

The use of iron in the United States is in its infancy. Its consumption is progressing each decade with a cumulative force. Fifty years ago, one hundred pounds were consumed in the United States, annually, for each one of its inhabitants; ten years ago, there were three hundred pounds for each person, and to-day, we are consuming iron at the rate of four hundred pounds yearly for each one of our seventy-five millions of inhabitants.

Whatever restricts the consumption of iron limits, to that extent, the growth of the people in wealth and prosperity.

The wealth of a people consists of the accumulation of what their labor has taken from the earth and fashioned into useful and marketable articles and commodities. With a minimum number of the able-bodied men of the land employed, their combined labor would be barely sufficient to produce what the whole people consumed, and under such conditions there would be no increase in wealth. With every able-bodied man employed, wealth is rapidly and steadily accumulated; every man has some surplus for the comforts and material possessions, as well as for the necessities, of life; and every man is adding to his property, and to the wealth of the nation. This creates the wonderful demand which absorbs everything that can be produced. Every factory, every means of transportation, and every business, are driven to their utmost

capacity. The demand is enormous, because the earnings of the whole people are enormous. They cannot get their orders filled as fast as they get the money to pay for them. While this condition exists, the business of the country is on a safe and firm foundation. You cannot over-do such prosperity; it has a safe limit, and that limit is reached when every worker is employed. It is the natural condition of an industrious people: it is, in effect, simply the whole people at work, consuming what they need from day to day, and accumulating the surplus results of their labor, in the form of permanent possessions.

Nothing short of war, pestilence or famine, should check such a condition, and yet without any of these causes, it is invariably checked in this country after a few months' duration. Is it merely a conincidence that this has occurred, in each case, a few months after an abnormal advance in the price of pig iron, or is there some connection between the two? Is one the cause and the other the effect? This is at least a clue—let us follow it. In the centre of growth in this country, iron advanced from nineteen dollars to fifty dollars a ton in 1854; from eighteen dollars to seventy-five dollars in 1864; from thirty-five dollars to sixty dollars in 1872; from twenty dollars to forty-five dollars in 1880; from nine dollars to seventeen dollars in 1889; and iron which was sold a few months ago at six dollars in Alabama, is selling at twelve dollars to-day, with an advancing tendency and a visible supply of but six days' production.

There are thousands of articles produced all over the country in which the price of iron plays so small a part, that their manufacture would continue, whether iron was six dollars or sixty dollars a ton; but the duration of prosperity depends upon the continued growth of the great enterprises, and, in most of them, the price of iron is the chief factor. Many of the enterprises are known to pay but a small revenue upon a normal cost of construction. It is the stoppage, one by one, of such as cannot be continued at famine prices for iron, and the discharge of the workmen employed, which brings a premature end to each of our commercial revivals. This end does not come suddenly, nor does it come at the time when the price of iron advances; consequently, the general public do not connect the two. The cause and the effect are separated by several months. The reason why the important undertakings do not feel the effect and stop, at the time

the advance in price takes place, is that they have all the material they will require for months ahead contracted for at normal prices. It is when these normal-price contracts are exhausted, and the people who furnish the capital for these undertakings come to face the question of continuing at famine prices for iron, or suspending work until they can resume at reasonable prices, that the fatal blow to prosperity is felt. This comes at a time when there is no lack of money and no lack of confidence; on the contrary, business is at the very height of exhilaration and confidence. With these stoppages comes a curtailment in the consumption of lumber, stone, brick and other materials which follow in the wake of iron consumption; more men are discharged, and the blight has commenced its fatal work.

This turn in the tide is not noticed at first; the community at large is still busy trying to catch up with its orders. We each hear occasionally of some work which has been discontinued, but what we hear makes no impression; we think it an isolated case, if we have time to think of it at all; whereas it is typical of what is taking place quietly all over the country. Soon manufacturers commence to catch up with their orders. There is a lull in the demand. Next, they commence to pile up some of their product, which a few months before they could not turn out fast enough to supply the demand. Next month witnesses a further increase in stock; this goes on until some have more than they can carry. These make an effort to sell, and are surprised to find little or no demand; most concerns have over anticipated their wants, and are more anxious to have their old purchases postponed than they are to make new ones. Finally, some forced sales are made; the prices realized show a heavy decline; this occasions comment; others become anxious about their stocks; the pressure to sell increases; more stocks are forced off; larger reductions in prices are made; the uneasiness grows, and soon there is as great a scramble to sell as there was a few months before to buy.

Prices are soon at a figure that would justify the great enterprises in resuming their extensions, but confidence has gone. The great profits which stimulated these enterprises a few months before, are supplemented by great losses; failures increase; all business takes the alarm, and a panic is the ultimate result.

Whatever is responsible for the stoppage of the great improvements and the discharge of the men employed, is responsible for

changing a natural condition of prosperity, to an unnatural condition of adversity.

If it is not iron, what is it? There is no other article of importance which is subject to such a condition of inadequate supply or excessive advance in price. It is profitable to carry lumber for seasoning purposes, hence we have a stock of two or three years' production, piled up in every town, city and village; extraordinary demands can be made on this stock without inordinate advances in price. The output of brick and stone can be increased quickly to meet any demand, by increasing the force in the brick yards and stone quarries; buildings can be put up to-day, exclusive of the iron used, at an advance of five to ten per cent. It is not food or clothing; there is no great advance in any of these articles. Pass in review every other article, and you find no such famine and famine prices as take place in pig iron from time to time. The more it is studied, the more one will be impressed with the conviction that the unnatural price attained by iron is the cause which puts a stop to our natural flow of prosperity.

Every great staple, except iron, is either carried in large quantities, or its output can be increased to any desired degree, at short notice; consequently, we have no famine or famine price in the other staples. The average stock of iron carried in the United States, during the last ten years, has been less than twenty-three days' product, and it takes practically a year to build new furnaces. What wonder, then, that as the books of consumers fill up with orders for months ahead, they become alarmed about the supply of iron, and in the scramble that each one makes to get enough to supply his individual wants, the price is carried to enormous figures.

The only remedy for this evil, is to carry an ample supply of iron. This remedy will be supplied in a simple and natural way as soon as the iron men of the country recover from the mistaken idea that a twenty-three days' stock of iron is over-production. It will be hard for the uninitiated to believe that such an idea prevails, but it is a fact. A score of efforts have been made, during the last twenty years, to restrict production. The writer was at the head of one of these efforts in the year 1884, and had no idea, at the time, of what an unwise thing he was attempting.

The iron men of the country who have suffered from these inordinate advances in former years, made a heroic effort to check

the advance of the last few months; but, with the small stock usually carried in this country, it is not in the power of any man or any number of men to stop these excessive advances. The only possible way to stop them is to have the iron on hand when the country wants it. To attempt to check the advance, by quoting at low figures what you have not got to sell, or to sell at low figures iron to be made in future months, is worse than useless. This does not satisfy the consumer who must have it now.

No sane man in this age would build an engine without a governor, or a rolling mill without a balance wheel; and yet the most important interest of this country is without such a regulator. What we need is a balance wheel to the iron business—some system for accumulating stocks of iron in times of plenty, to be drawn upon in times of great activity. It is of the first importance to this age, and to the generations that are to follow.

How can this be done?

Experience proves that it will not be done by either the producer or the consumer. Each one finds employment for all his money in his legitimate business. In the grocery, drygoods and many other branches of business, the wholesaler and retailer come in between the producer and consumer, and they become the carriers of large stocks; but there is no such middle element in the iron business. Iron goes directly from the producer to the consumer. There is, therefore, no natural medium for carrying large stocks of iron, and no medium can be successfully established, unless it is made profitable to the carrier.

At one time, there was no profitable system for carrying large stocks of grain, cotton, mineral oil, etc., and, during that time, these articles were subject to enormous fluctuations in price. Means of storage existed, but even then the carriage was attended by loss of the cost of storage and interest, and the price of these articles was inordinately low at the time of harvest. Later on, certificates representing these articles came to be dealt in on Exchange; as the dealings in these certificates grew to be large, this carriage, through modern exchange methods, became profitable, and the extreme fluctuations in price were eliminated. The most pronounced instance of this change is found in the price of mineral oil, which fluctuated during the nine years before it was dealt in on Exchange from 52 cents to $7.88 per barrel at the wells, as against a fluctuation of from 64 cents to $1.06 during the nine

years after it was dealt in on Exchanges. The largest stock carried during the first period of nine years was five hundred thousand barrels; the average stock, after it was dealt in on Exchanges, was thirty-six million barrels. In other words, before Exchange dealing existed, a stock of five hundred thousand barrels carried the price down to 52 cents; after Exchange dealings were inaugurated, a stock, seventy-two times as large, was easily carried, with 64 cents as the lowest price reached. Could there be a stronger illustration of the beneficial effect of Exchange dealings?

A three weeks' stock of pig iron in the United States during dull times, carries prices below the cost of production. With active dealings in pig iron on Exchanges, a six months' stock could be easily carried, without forcing prices to as low a point.

For thirty years out of the last fifty, the stock carried in Scotland, by Exchange dealing alone, has amounted to more than six months' production, and at one time, for five years in succession, the stock amounted to more than twelve months' production. Great Britain for the last hundred years has been the chief source of the world's iron supply. Hereafter, the United States will be the chief source of supply, and should fortify herself with an ample stock to meet her own and the world's demand. A six months' supply could be easily carried by Exchange dealings; such a stock would prevent the abnormal advances from which the business of the country now suffers, but would not prevent a wholesome advance of from ten to fifteen per cent. Such moderate advances would give great prosperity to the iron manufacturers but would not check the growth of our great enterprises. Our seasons of prosperity would be reckoned by years instead of by months.

There is a general impression on the part of the public that Exchange dealings enlarge the fluctuation in price of the article concerned, but this is totally without foundation. During the summer of 1889, an expert accountant was employed to investigate this question; the different Exchanges gave free access to their books for the purpose; all the general commodities dealt in were investigated, and in every case it was found that the extreme prices reached before they were put on Exchanges had not occurred afterwards. In place of large fluctuations occurring weeks or months apart, there were small fluctuations occurring many times each day, but, as in the case of oil cited above, the extremely low and extremely high prices were eliminated. The

fluctuations in the price of pig iron in Scotland, where it has been dealt in on Exchange for fifty years or more, as against its fluctuations in the United States, where it has not been on Exchange until very recently, gives a reliable comparison of the effect of these two conditions.

A forced sale of 20,000 tons in the United States during the last twenty years under normal conditions, would have caused a decline in price of from twenty-five cents to fifty cents a ton; the same amount forced off on the Glasgow Exchange would have caused a decline of perhaps a half penny. On the occasion of a very depressed market, within the last three years, a forced sale of 10,000 tons in the United States caused a decline of two dollars a ton; 30,000 tons were sold on the Scotch Exchange at the same time at a decline of one penny and a half per ton.

There is no lack of capital for the carriage of surplus stocks of iron. Nearly one-quarter of the entire wealth of the United States is represented by certificates dealt in on Exchanges. The amount of new certificates added each year to the Stock Exchange alone is about four hundred millions. A stock sufficient to insure the business of the country against these iron famines, would not absorb one hundredth part of the additional money which goes into certificates each year. The cost of carrying iron is only about one-fourth as much as the cost of carrying grain, cotton, oil and other staples. The former requires only an inexpensive fence in the open air, the latter require expensive elevators, warehouses and tanks.

With active exchange dealings in iron, this country, during the last five years, could have accumulated an ample supply of iron, prices would not have ruled so low during the dull periods, and would not now be so high nor the stock so short as to cramp the business of the country.

In this age, an ample supply of iron, and stability in its price, is second in importance only to a stable government. We may avoid the disasters resulting from a scarcity of money in times of an extraordinary demand by inaugurating a flexible currency system, but we cannot build flexible furnaces.

GEORGE H. HULL.

THE LOGIC OF OUR POSITION IN CUBA.

BY AN OFFICER OF THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION.

We want Cuba. It is not necessary to demonstrate the fact that a large majority of our citizens are in favor of adding that island to our territory, and expect that in some way this result will be accomplished. Its annexation will be for its benefit, our benefit and that of the world at large.

But how can annexation be accomplished?

The plain answer is, "only through an affirmative vote of the Cuban people." If we properly interpret American standards of right and justice, our people will not support an administration attempting annexation by force. We can only succeed through the good will of the Cubans themselves.

How can we obtain their good will? Will the Military Occupation effect it?

There are some who are so fatuous as to answer this question in the affirmative. They believe that to the feeling of gratitude which the Cubans owe us for their deliverance from the Spanish tyranny there will be added thankfulness for the reforms we are accomplishing. They believe great quantities of American capital will seek an outlet there, so transforming and enriching the island as to create a desire for Union. They think that by drifting something in our favor is sure to turn up. These people belong to the class whose opinions coincide with their wishes.

None of these hopes is being realized. On the contrary, a feeling of irritation against us is growing up and increasing each day that our occupation continues. In the unsettled state of affairs as to future government, laws and conditions, capitalists avoid the island as though it were a pestilence.

Is it likely that time will bring a solution to these difficulties?

Not while the military control continues. Every day the irritation increases. Every day votes for annexation are lost.

If we hope for the eventual annexation of Cuba, we should at once fix an early date for our withdrawal from the Island, and for the redemption of our pledge to the Cubans and to the world. If necessary, we can ask the Cubans for their opinion about annexation before we go. But, whether we do or not, we will then withdraw with honor; and we shall leave in the hearts of the Cubans a sense of obligation that, added to a community of interests, should some day bring about the union.

II.

"The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, *except for the pacification thereof*, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and the control of the island to its people."

This is our solemn pledge. It matters not that it may have been unwise to make it. It matters not if all the nations of the earth should urge us to break it. We must keep it. We have, what few nations have, a national conscience. We must keep our pledges or else our word will be forever valueless, our professions of right doing forever disqualified, our pride in our integrity forever wounded. Cuba is not worth such a price.

There can be no doubt that the "pacification" of the island is now accomplished. City for city, the towns of Cuba are more peaceful and orderly than those of the United States. There never was a more docile, quiet people. When the reorganization of the army was being considered, last December, the chiefs of our army were almost unanimously of the opinion that 50,000 men would be required in Cuba. At present, 12,000 is the number fixed upon by the Government. These troops have practically nothing to do. All reports of "Bandits" are zealously forwarded to the United States by correspondents, and half of them are lies. The country is as quiet, as "pacified," as it ever has been or ever will be. The "pacification" has been "accomplished." It is time for us to "leave."

"But," say some, "if we withdraw our troops there will be anarchy, and we would be responsible to the world for it." It is remarkable how this responsibility, unpledged, seems to cloud the

other responsibility, pledged by solemn promise. Our responsibility to the world! Are we not responsible for all these petty republics in South and Central America—does not anarchy *rule* them, and do we not say to the world, "Hands off?" Why, then, should our conscience be so troubled about Cuba?

"But," say some, "the Spaniards in Cuba will all have their throats cut." We deceive ourselves. The Spaniards there do not need our help. They are forgetting their hate for Cubans in their overwhelming hate for Americans. And, in their crafty way, they are exciting the suspicions of the Cubans against us. They hope to make common cause with them against us, to force them into an attitude of hostility to us, and, independence once achieved, to throw Cuba, as far as trade relations go, into the arms of Spain. Of course, there may be some Spaniards, red-handed murderers of the awful days of Cuban torture, who are now protected by our arms, and who must, in case of independence, flee the country. We need have no pity for such men.

Looking at the chances of disorder in the Cuban Government from a selfish point of view, we need have no concern. There is a large class of Cubans who say, "We have fought twenty years for independence, and we are determined to have it; but we are afraid we cannot govern ourselves, and, as soon as we find that out, we shall be ready to vote for annexation." A venal government in Cuba in times past, administered by Spaniards, has not kept American money out of Cuba, nor would a venal government administered by Cubans. The failure of the Cubans to govern properly, then, would hasten annexation, as would also their failure to make permanent the reforms our military government is inaugurating in the face of so much opposition.

III.

It is difficult for the average American to understand fully the nature of the irritation caused by our military occupation. In the first place, it must be remembered that we are an alien race. Our methods of thought, of speech, of action are different from theirs. Brusqueness is our characteristic, politeness theirs. We offend them without suspecting it. We ride rough-shod over their prejudices without knowing it.

The officers of our army, generally speaking, in their dealings with the Islanders, have adopted, as far as practicable, the Castil-

ian form of courtesy; but this cannot be said for the men. There is a variety of our *genus homo* who likes nothing better than to show his contempt for a foreigner, especially a "Dago," and there is no question that he has largely taken advantage of his opportunities in Cuba, and is still doing so. The soldier is seen everywhere, in the finest hotels and restaurants. If he wishes to make himself disagreeable, all classes of people are exposed to the annoyance. Insults from the soldiers are fiercely resented by the Cubans, but they say nothing. The matter would be less serious were such things reported to the authorities. They are not, and this is because we are *the successors of the Spanish Army.*

The same reason may be given for the intense fear of our soldiers shown by the Cuban lower classes and rabble. It has one good effect, in that a mob of the largest proportions will at once disperse on the arrival of a few of our burly braves. But it often results in our men escaping the consequences of their misdeeds.

The same fear of the military, born of the Spanish rule, extends to larger matters. For instance, it has been easier for a military commander, desiring to use private property for military purposes, to take possession of it at once, than to look up the owner and the terms. In such a case, the owner might be a long time in making his complaint.

As might be expected, the fact that our officers and men are ignorant of the Spanish language, has not diminished these difficulties. Arguing from the effectiveness and excellence of the military government in the Southern States during the period of reconstruction, it was urged that a military government in Cuba would be most desirable. But in the South our commanders knew the language of the people; they had a multitude of counsellors, good and bad; they understood the civil laws, the methods of raising revenue for the municipalities, and so forth. If they went astray, they were at once apprized of the fact. In Cuba almost none of the military governors speaks the language fluently; few can even read a newspaper. Almost all of the Cubans who speak English are in positions under the United States or in search of such positions, and are likely to color their views so as to make them palatable to Americans. Thus, the difficulties the American commander has in learning and dealing with the situation are vastly increased, and the timidity of the people as to making suggestions leaves him practically in the dark.

With these drawbacks, there has been no modesty on the part of our military commanders in tackling the problem of civil government. In each province, the civil governor, and in each city, the mayor, is subordinate to the military commander, who has usually a large staff zealous for employment, and the army at his back. Starting with street-cleaning and the control of the police, one by one all the functions of executive government are likely to be taken up, and happy is the civil magistrate who is not forced to acknowledge, as a mayor of an important town recently claimed, that the civil government of his city had become merely a bureau of information for the military governor. Such is the tendency in all the large cities; no matter how good the civil government is, the military commander is in a position to deprive the mayor of much of his authority. The mayor in such a case is liable to say: "Well, if the Americans want to run the city, let them run it," and sulk. The military commander does his best, but, none the less, the city is deprived of the services of a functionary who knows the people, their language, conditions and customs, and in some respects the city must suffer.

There appears to be no limits set, by law or regulation, to this authority to interfere in the civil government, and there is no way in which we can tell how far this interference takes place, in any town garrisoned by troops. As a matter of fact, it is, in a majority of cases, entirely unnecessary; and the best governed cities are likely to be those where this interference is reduced to a minimum.

One reason for this is that the military commander, in his zeal for certain reforms, such as street cleaning, for instance, is likely to forget that there are other functions of the city government which need careful oversight.

The situation is complicated, too, by the poverty of the people, the debts contracted by the cities during the war, the abolition by the military authorities of certain taxes which were sure sources of income, and the failure to substitute others as effective; the robbery of the people by means of franchises granted by the Spaniards, and which are practically continued by the order of the American government that no new franchises should be granted.

A military government at best is a tyranny. The best military government is the one which interferes least with the autonomy of the civil government. Our military government in Cuba,

as a means of *rapprochement* between the two peoples, is a failure. And the extent to which this is the case is indicated by the remark sometimes now heard in Cuba, that, as between the American military control and the Spanish military control, the Spanish was preferable. This remark is an over-statement, begotten of disappointment and chagrin; but it holds a terrible suggestion.

IV.

In pursuing the subject, it is impossible not to look back without regret on our wasted opportunities. In view of our pledge, it was as certain on January first as it is to-day that we could gain annexation only through the will of the Cuban people. What have we done to gain it? What should have been our policy?

The most logical course would seem to have been to give Cuba, as far as commerce is concerned, the rights and privileges of an American State; that is to say, to form with Cuba a customs union; our tariff being applied in Cuba, but with free trade between Cuba and the United States. In a word, we should have appealed to them through their own pockets.

The immediate result of such a policy would have been to increase largely the profits to be derived from Cuban sugar and tobacco. As was the case in Hawaii, large amounts of American capital would have been brought in for investment. Deserted plantations and mills would have been again in operation, and money and work plentiful.

Nothing of this kind was done. The opposition of a few of our tobacco and sugar men seems to have prevented reciprocity. Cuba's tariff and other laws are still Spanish. She still levies a tax on our products, and pays to us taxes on her imports.

In addition, as a result of our military occupation, capital finds the Island in a state of transition; the laws in a state of uncertainty. The ordinary opportunities for investment are absent. And so the plantations remain grass-grown, the sugar mills silent, the wharves rotting and deserted, and the people, poor creatures, with haggard faces, still starving, still asking, "How long, O Lord, how long?" And, worst of all, we who control the destines of the unhappy island cannot answer them. The administration waits for the action of Congress. But it is doubtful if Congress will be more merciful than the administration.

Another thing that would have aided the cause of annexation,

and which so far has received no attention, is the education of the Cubans in the knowledge of our laws and institutions. Judging from their newspapers, the Cubans have but the vaguest ideas of popular government.

Misleading statements regarding the favorable attitude of the Cubans toward annexation are constantly being sent from Cuba to our daily papers. It is difficult, however, for a resident to discover any very strong leaning in that direction. The futility of these statements is shown by the fact that there is not one of the leading newspapers in Cuba which advocates annexation.

V.

To conclude: We are in a false position in Cuba; a position the outcome of which may result in wounding our national pride.

We have the choice of two alternatives: Shall we drift, or shall we decide?

To *decide*; to carry out our promise at once; to take our troops out of Cuba, leaving the people to govern themselves until such time as they may prefer annexation—that seems to be our proper course.

To drift means a struggle with a tremendous problem under disheartening conditions; trying to help this people in the face of daily increasing opposition, ingratitude, irritation, suspicion. It means a postponement of the settlement of problems connected with the material prosperity of the island. It means a failure to fulfill a solemn pledge.

Judging from what we know of the ease with which revolutions are gotten up in Spanish-American countries, to drift may mean eventually a *revolt*.

And, no matter how large or how small a revolt against us in Cuba might be (it often happens that the smallest bands are the most difficult to deal with), no glory would be ours in quelling it, whether we lost in the struggle tens, or thousands, or, like the Spaniards, tens of thousands of men. And it will be time then for the enemies of our Republic to laugh. For the Spanish will seem to have made good their claim that the war of 1898 was one of pure aggression, inspired by the lust for territory.

It is certain that the question of Cuba overshadows in gravity any other question now confronting this country.

THE TERCENTENARY OF VELASQUEZ.

BY CHARLES WHIBLEY.

THREE hundred years ago was born at Seville the great painter whom Madrid honors to-day. Nor could the Tercentenary have fallen more opportunely, since at the very present time of defeat it serves to emphasize the imperishable glory of the past. As is suggested in the commemorative verse, composed by the Duke de Rivas, the laurels of war no longer adorn the brow of Spain, but neither time nor reverse can ever rob her of Cervantes, now the whole world's heritage, or of Velasquez, that exquisite master who conferred immortality upon a King of supine will and not undisputed grandeur.

And it is but just that these honorable ceremonies should have been celebrated at Madrid, for though Velasquez was a son of Seville, it was at Madrid that he did his work and established his renown. From the time when, young and unknown, he sought the patronage of the King, he never wavered in his allegiance to the capital, and though the demolition of Joseph Bonaparte long since scattered his ashes to the winds of heaven, it was there in the parish Church of San Juan that he was buried. Moreover, it is not only that you may best admire his works in the Museum of the Prado; the atmosphere and color of Madrid are the atmosphere and color of his pictures. Doubtless the city itself has woefully changed since the painter exhibited his first portrait of the King, the first of so many, to the admiration of the Calle Mayor. But time cannot change a landscape nor utterly deform the plan of an ancient city. The Plaza Mayor is to-day much the same as it was when the Inquisitors discharged their grim duties in its midst, and when Prince Charles sat by the Infanta's side in one of its balconies. The blue sky, too, which hangs above the town is eternally inalterable; the parched Manzanares is still the

subject of the ancient jest, the Guadarrama wears to-day the same aspect which it wears in the pictures of Velasquez. Here, too, dwelt the Court, whose dignity the painter celebrated, and whose great men, princes and warriors, he set, immortal and distinguished, upon his canvas. Indeed, there was an obvious appropriateness both in the place and the method of the ceremonies; for it is no *fête* of the people which we have witnessed; rather a punctilious court has done honor to a punctilious courtier.

The life of Velasquez is obscured by the veil of mystery, which is commonly drawn over the greatest men. Of his private sentiments we know nothing; if he cherished any theories concerning the practice of his art, they have not come down to us. We can only arrive at his character by negatives, and we are entitled to the belief that he lived for sixty years without exciting envy, or promoting ill-will. He was so far above the others, that envy was disarmed, and he was so happy in the triumph of his art, that there was no room for malice in his brain. Moreover, he was assuredly of a constant temperament, and not even the fealty which he owed his King persuaded him to turn his back upon the disgraced Olivares, first architect of his fortune. His own portrait, which he painted several times, is more eloquent than the records, and reveals to us a true Spaniard, of rare intelligence and native aristocracy. Spanish in dignity, Spanish in pride, Spanish in reserve—such was Velasquez; and this impression, suggested by our scanty knowledge, is heightened by his familiar aspect. The hair brushed wide over his ears, the noble forehead, the strongly-marked eyebrows, the arrogant mouth—these are the tokens of a hero rarely endowed, a hero whom we may worship with humility—who after three centuries still confers glory upon his fatherland, and wins for a country, humiliated in war, the constant respect of the whole world.

But while Velasquez the painter is revealed only in his works, we can follow the career of Velasquez the courtier from the moment when he arrived unfriended in Madrid, until he returned for the last time to the capital, weary and ill. It was his great good fortune—and truly he was fortunate in all things—to win the admiration, the devotion even, of Philip IV. Now, Philip the Great was neither a discreet statesman nor a valiant general. He mounted the throne when the Moors, the wisest blood of Spain, had been driven from the country. He witnessed disaster after

disaster with the serene resignation which is still his nation's birthright. Portugal renounced her allegiance; the Catalans revolted with the obstinate independence which has always distinguished them; Naples with no better leader than the madman, Masaniello, threw off the yoke; yet the Spanish King, shorn of his Empire, lost neither his pride nor his grandeur. If he could not triumph in war, he might still be glorious in peace; and so, closing his eyes in characteristic insolence to ruin, he conducted the life of the Court with a grave splendor and serene magnificence which were not equalled even in the France of the Great King. The life of Madrid was not gay, since austerity governed the Monarch, who was never known to laugh; but it was grandiose, and its very fanaticism was informed with a kind of elegance. To this Court, then, Velasquez came, young and untried, nor did he wait long for promotion. The King appointed him instantly his own privileged painter, who alone should be permitted to portray the royal features, and the Prado is all the richer to-day for the King's restriction. Indeed, whatever be said of Philip's rule, it is certain that he was a patron of genius. Under his auspices, all the arts were widely and generously encouraged. The drama of Spain touched its golden age; poets were honored not merely for their sugared sonnets of official compliments. And Velasquez, that he might pursue his craft in peace, was lifted above the necessity of competition; he received a pension, and had his studio in the Alcazar, where the King visited him at his pleasure, and kept his own separate chair; moreover he was promoted with all possible speed; his emoluments were doubled, his dignity increased; now he is appointed Usher of the Court, now he receives the crowning compliment of all, and is styled *Aposentador*, or Lord Chamberlain. Nor were his duties ever humiliating; on the contrary they were such as could best be discharged by an artist; it was for him to arrange pageants, and to design processions, and one can imagine with what admirable skill he grouped the crowds and spaced the soldiers. In his hands truly, the great personages who did honor to King and Court must have become mere details in a vast and splendid composition; and here again Philip displayed a royal wisdom. For once at least in the world's history a supreme artist moved men and women as the materials of a delicate, if transitory, art.

But while the King employed Velasquez for the embellish-

ment of his own dignity, he did not forget his favorite's advantages, and treated him, while still under thirty, as the great painter of Spain. When Rubens visited Madrid with all the prestige, not only of his art, but of England, whose emissary he was, Velasquez was deputed to display for his delight the royal treasures. Together, the painters visited the King's Gallery and the Escorial; for once the Spaniard surrendered his privilege, and the Fleming was permitted to paint the portrait of Philip; unhappily the letters which passed between the two are lost, and we are forced to fall back upon the ancient tradition, which declares that they met in reciprocal esteem, and parted without influencing each other. But what a theme is here for an Imaginary Conversation! What a splendid foil for the luxury and magnificence of Rubens must have seemed the sedate tranquillity of Velasquez! And if Rubens had nothing to teach his colleague, at least he persuaded him that Italy was the cradle of the arts; and presently, under the auspices of Philip, Velasquez set forth upon the first of his pilgrimages. How he travelled to Milan with Spinola, whom he afterward made glorious in "*The Lances*;" how he was received everywhere with the respect due to himself and to his King; how he was lodged in the Villa Medici, where he painted his enchanting landscapes; how he turned aside to make the portrait of the Infanta Maria—all these are twice-told tales. And he returned from his journey the same master of style and vision that he set out. Italy quickened his admiration, but left him in the serene possession of himself. Once more in Madrid, he resumed his place at Court, painted the masterpieces, which are now the wonder of Europe, and went not abroad again for nineteen years; then he paid his second visit to Italy, where he collected pictures for the royal gallery, and painted the ever-renowned portrait of Pope Innocent. But when he would have passed over into France, Philip, who was not wont thus to betray the emotion of friendship, recalled him to Spain, and he never approached nearer to the Kingdom of Louis XIV. than the Isle of Pheasants. Here it was that he achieved his last triumph on the world's stage. He designed the splendid *fêtes* which celebrated the betrothal of the Great Monarch to Maria Theresa. The pamphlets of the time give us but a blurred picture of this grandiose spectacle, which imagination is powerless to construct. But no master of the ceremonies ever had a greater occasion for the exercise of his skill. The two monarchs, for

whom pageantry was a fiercer necessity than conquest, met in amiable rivalry, and it was Velasquez who set the scene and rang up the curtain. But the tedious journey was too severe a strain upon the painter's strength, and he regained Madrid merely to die. His work was done, his fame forever secure, and Spain mourned the loss of her greatest citizen. The King, who masked his feelings as he masked his face, and who witnessed the loss of provinces without a murmur, could not contemplate in silence the loss of his beloved painter. "*Estoy abatido*," "I am cast down," he wrote in the margin of a despatch, and it would be difficult to compose a more eloquent confession of grief.

It is for this reason, then, because he was himself a courtier, that Velasquez was most properly honored in the seclusion of the Court. A *fête de famille*, the journals called it with perhaps a spice of bitterness. And the bitterness is unjustified, since, as has been said, the people of Spain have but a moderate appreciation of Velasquez. In the popular judgment, Murillo is the greater glory of the country. The Court phrase that while Velasquez was the painter of earth, Murillo was the painter of heaven, sufficiently explains the common confusion of idea. It explains also the great master's lofty exclusiveness. But Velasquez was something yet more exclusive than a courtier. He was a Knight of the most noble Order of Santiago, and those who are to-day honored with the uniform which once he wore paid their proper tribute of respect to his memory. Their solemn requiem carried the spectator far back into the past, and showed how closely linked is the great chain of tradition. The Church itself was a noble background—with its green and white walls, and its mysterious grilles, behind which fluttered mysteriously the ghostly sisterhood. Then entered the Knights, robed in white, each bearing on his breast the red cross of the Order, and carrying a lighted candle in his hand. So was conducted a solemn service for the dead, and as the voices of the unseen choir chanted the Mass of Velasquez' own time, as the Archbishop sprinkled the robe of the dead Knight with holy water, you might have been transported yourself to the seventeenth century, a pious witness of the painter's funeral. And the solemnity was enhanced by the reflection that the Order of Santiago, of nobles all composed, was celebrating the august memory of the only Knight who ever wore its cross without a true patent of nobility.

For rumor says, and if the rumor be not true, at least it is the symbol of truth, that when Velasquez had finished "*Las Meninas,*" the King declared that one thing only was needed for its perfection: the cross of Santiago upon the painter's breast; and instantly he demanded this supreme honor for Velasquez. But first the painter was asked to prove his noble birth, and the letter, written with his own hand, wherein he sets forth his genealogy, may to-day be seen in the Museum of the Prado. His genealogy might have been sufficient, and he had no difficulty in declaring that he had never worked for money. When he painted Pope Innocent, he refused reward on the ground that the King his Master paid him sufficiently. "I have never painted," said he in an immortal phrase, "save for my own amusement and to obey my King." Never was there a prouder expression of the artistic conscience; yet it was not enough to satisfy the punctilio of Spain. The forefathers of Velasquez had not been exempt from a certain tax, which the nobility was never asked to pay; wherefore his claim was rejected, and he might only enter the distinguished order by dispensation of the Pope. This dispensation of course was readily granted, and so the Knighthood of to-day was privileged to pay a tribute of respect to its greatest member.

If the King and the Court honored the painter, the painter more than repaid the debt incurred. For he told on his eloquent canvas the whole history of his time. There in the newly-rearranged gallery hang the elegant, distinguished portraits of Kings, Princes, Statesmen, Soldiers, Scholars, Poets and Dwarfs. All that was great and picturesque in the greatest and most picturesque of Courts is portrayed with insight and fidelity. Philip IV. looks gravely out from many a pompous frame. There rides the Conde-Duque, in all the arrogance of untrammelled power, a fitting minister for so ornate a King; there Don Carlos prances on his fat horse, and the demure Fernando contemplates the chase. And there in another corner squat or stand those amazing dwarfs, who made solemn mirth in the sedatest of palaces, with whom Velasquez took his place at the bull-fights of the Plaza Mayor, and who were great enough to inhabit palaces of their own. And there in the centre hangs the glorious "*Lanzas,*" exquisite in color, magnificent in arrangement, the noblest epic ever sung of war, wherein you know not which to admire the more ardently, the victor's gesture of loyal compassion, or the proud humility of the

conquered. Thus it is that heroes meet in combat; thus it is that gentlemen accept the ordinance of fate, and as Velasquez has shown in how noble a spirit Spinola endured his triumph, so his countrymen to-day have shown with what a tranquil resignation they can accept defeat. And there in the solitude of a chamber apart smiles "*Las Meninas*," the supreme glory of the Court, the last triumph of human vision and delicate design. The scene is so intimately realized, that the spectator seems to bear his part in the sumptuous comedy, to stand for an instant within the Alcazar itself. And the divine "*Hilanderas*," whose work-girls are posed like Greek statues, and the solemn "*Christ*," and that lofty interpretation of common life, "*Los Borrachos*"—these too are resplendent upon the walls of the Prado. In Madrid then, and in Madrid alone, you may contemplate the real achievement of Velasquez, an achievement which no disaster may diminish, no defeat annihilate.

There are some men whose grandeur cannot be expressed, the beauty of whose work may not be discussed. The most that can be said of them is that they are *there*. There is Shakespeare, there is Velasquez; and Velasquez is the more fortunate, because while photography is his sole dishonor, Shakespeare may be mangled in every barn. The misunderstanding which has overtaken him is unimportant, and passes in a breath. He has been called a realist, and with a perfect injustice. For realism is the vice of the quality—reality; and if Velasquez is always real, never once does he appear realistic. The truth for its own sake meant nothing to him; only he was better skilled than any man that ever lived to detect in truth what is beautiful. While he sojourned in Seville, he informed with dignity the people of the street; when he reached Madrid, he saw in the King's palace whatever was noble and of good report. And he evoked these splendid images, because he was above all a man of his epoch; he did not return to the traditions of the schools or to the worn-out habits of his craft. He belonged to no school; he came from nowhere. He was not the pupil of this man or that—he was himself. He opened a fresh eye upon a magnificent world, and those pictures which he saw he transcribed with a faithful delicacy. When you look at the great works of the great Italians, you feel that they were painted; when you gaze at the masterpieces of Velasquez, you know only that he saw. In other words, his portraits

are not so much pictures, as veritable personages, but personages purged of failure and stupidity, personages set in such an atmosphere as only a clairvoyant could imagine, and posed with a dignity only possible to a great master of the ceremonies.

Nor is there in his works any suggestion of strain or labor. He does not strive nor cry. An absence of effort characterizes the least of his pictures, and the refinement of his method is so exquisite that the spectator loses even the sense of his material. Palette and brushes are far away, and nought remains but an impression, which seems to have been wafted through the eye to the painter's brain, and then blown upon the canvas. And this very discretion has persuaded even his own countrymen to underrate him. His last biographer, a painter and a Spaniard, denies him imagination, and finds his color at fault. But so fine a colorist was he, that by the simplest means he could produce an effect, which escapes forever those who are more lavish with their paint. And his was the true imagination, which works within the boundaries of its art. The religious commonplaces of Murillo were easier to find than the single pose, for instance, which perfectly suits the contour of a dwarf. Had Velasquez desired to amuse the common mind with fables, there were a thousand fables ready to his hand. But his imagination was too select for illustration, since like a true classic he spent his fancy rather in expression than in the choice of a subject. Yet how admirably, with how fine a sense of poetry he treated the subjects which he chose! For assuredly he was a classic in the sense that Virgil was a classic, and it is not extravagant to believe that he mixed in his veins some drops of Latin blood. Seneca and Lucan, true classics both, came from no further away than Cordova, and who knows but some remote ancestor of Velasquez was a citizen of Rome, and a willing slave to the great tradition, which passed from Athens even to the distant peninsula.

A single grievance remains to be answered. Velasquez, say his detractors, was a courtier, and the detractors do not speak the word in compliment. Yet surely it is an ignorance of history which persuades men to blame a painter for accepting the generous gift of independence. The hero who painted for his own amusement and to obey the King knew not the fear of degrading his art. He at least would never debase the august currency. If he owed loyalty to the King, he kept his conscience for himself,

and never stooped to flatter a vain and anxious purchaser. How much better was the ancient than the modern method! When Velasquez exhibited a picture, he set it alone in the Calle Mayor for all the world to admire; and he was rewarded with the pious verses of the poets. The painters of to-day must struggle like gentlemen in an ignoble crowd for a place upon a common wall, where the vulgar blaze of vivid color cries down their more modest refinement. No, it is the fiercest sin of democracy that it has rendered the real patron impossible. The collector, who has painfully heaped up his hoard of gold wants what he esteems full value for his money, and no doubt he gets it, but let him not flatter his pride that his is an encouragement of art. Truly the patron of old performed a noble duty. Philip IV., of course, had no hand in the making of Velasquez; but Velasquez would not have been precisely the master whom we know had not Philip opened the palace door.

Fortunate in his life from the moment he entered Madrid, fortunate in his work, which was only interrupted by the honorable fatigues of the Court, fortunate also in his temperament, which made him anxious for the success of others, Velasquez still wears his sovereignty like a flower. After three centuries he is serenely fresh in his majesty, and happy, even, in that he has left no school. Who, indeed, shall copy perfection or mimic the achievement of pure artistry? A glance at the modern painters of Spain, whose skill is incontestable, and who possess all the virtues save restraint, proves how easily he guards his Kingship. And the tribute paid him at this tercentenary is as simple as he could have wished it. No new pictures are added to the collection. Only the masterpieces, which have long been the glory of Madrid, are gathered into one room, simply arranged and quietly decorated. There for the first time the art of Velasquez tells its continuous story, and there doubtless will pass thousands of pilgrims in respectful admiration. Above all Madrid has proved that she knows how to pay an appropriate tribute to one who was not only the greatest of her painters, but a distinguished courtier and a noble Knight of the Order of Santiago. And the world which looks on may reflect that, in thus honoring her heroes and country, she confers the highest honor upon herself.

CHARLES WHIBLEY.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN—III.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, COMMANDING THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE success of Captain Dorst's expedition, in which he supplied Garcia's Cuban troops with 7,500 rifles, a million cartridges and a large amount of war material, had contributed its part toward the general results. So did the hazardous journey made by Lieutenant Rowan, U. S. Army, who landed at El Portillo, about 70 miles west of Santiago de Cuba, on April 24th, visited General Garcia's camps, crossed the island to Manati on the north coast, and sailed thence on May 4th in an open boat to Nassau, New Providence. He had succeeded in gaining full knowledge of the condition of affairs existing prior to the campaign at Santiago.

At about the same time an important reconnoissance was made by Lieutenant Whitney, U. S. Army, through Puerto Rico. He left the United States on May 5th and reached St. Thomas. There he shipped as a common sailor on board a British tramp steamer, and after many adventures and vicissitudes got himself put ashore on the island of Puerto Rico. His risk was as great as an officer could take, for, being in disguise, under an assumed name, in the midst of the enemy, without other protection than his wits, the penalty of capture would have been nothing short of a spy's death. He visited Ponce and other places, explored the southern portion of the island, and left there June 1st, returning to Washington June 9th, in time to accompany me to Santiago and Puerto Rico. The information he gained concerning the position of the Spanish troops, the topography of the country, the character of the inhabitants, the resources and amount of supplies available, and especially his reports of the condition of the harbors, I afterward found to be most important.

Before the command under General Shafter started from

Tampa for Santiago, the general plan of campaign was to effect either the capture or destruction of the Spanish fleet under Cervera, and then make an attempt to capture the island of Puerto Rico. The island was considered the key to the possession of the West India Islands, and therefore of very great strategical importance. With that end in view I was, on the 26th of June, directed to organize a second expedition to campaign "in Cuba and Puerto Rico;" but the resistance which our troops met with at Santiago and the call for an additional force at that point made it necessary to send forward portions of the command intended for the second expedition to reinforce the command at Santiago.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet and the capture of the garrison having been completed, the expedition to Puerto Rico became the next object of immediate importance. To return to Washington and organize a large expedition, or to assemble one on the north coast of the island of Cuba, in the Bay of Nipe, would require much time when time was extremely valuable, and, as I believed, of vital importance. As to taking any part of the command that had landed in the vicinity of Siboney and Santiago, very serious consideration was given, owing to the fact of the appearance of yellow fever. Reports were called for from all of the regiments that were then in Cuba. These were carefully examined each day to ascertain if any of the regiments were free from infection, and it was found that there was not a single regiment that had not been represented on the surgeons' reports as having some cases of this dread disease, ranging from the lowest number to as high as 33 cases to a regiment. There had been nearly 500 cases of yellow fever reported by the surgeons. In addition to these, there were many reports of sickness, great weakness and prostration among the troops, which I then supposed were caused by exposure and climatic influences, and I did not suspect them to have been augmented, as I believe now, by other causes. It was therefore considered injudicious to take any portion of that command, and it was necessary to make up the expedition for Puerto Rico entirely independently of the force (upwards of 17,000 troops) left on shore in Cuba. I was only able to gather 3,414 fighting men for that enterprise, and so reported by cable. This included those who had fallen sick since sailing from the States, the effective force being about 3,300 men.

This seemed hardly a sufficient force with which to invade an

island defended by about 20,000 troops. The available United States troops were still on board the transports and had not come into contact with the troops affected with the yellow fever. As soon as the necessary transportation could be arranged for, with proper supplies, and a convoy secured from the fleet, the command was to sail.

The expedition rendezvoused at Guantanamo harbor, some fifty miles east of Santiago, a well-sheltered harbor, which the navy had captured and utilized very much to their advantage.

After four days of most active preparation at Guantanamo, the expedition sailed on the afternoon of July 21st, under the escort of a convoy commanded by Captain (now Admiral) Higginson, of the battleship "Massachusetts."

Before sailing from Guantanamo I had expected to receive from the harbor of Santiago tugs, lighters and appliances for disembarking, and I had hoped to meet during the night, when traversing the Windward Passage, similar appliances for landing, but when day dawned this hope had been dispelled. The expedition turned eastward, moving slowly along the northern coasts af Haiti and San Domingo, pursuing almost the identical track followed by the Great Admiral on his first voyage of discovery as he prepared to return to Spain four centuries before.

On the evening of the 23d we passed in sight of the point of land on the northern coast where the first Spanish colony was planted by Columbus.

About three centuries ago a disaster had resulted to a British expedition against the Spaniards, worthy of mention at the present time. The expedition had originally been directed against the very point of Puerto Rico for which we had set sail. It was under the command of two of England's most famous naval heroes. The circumstance is related at some length by the historian Hume, but more briefly by Knight, who says: "Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins sailed with six of the Queen's ships, and twenty others fitted out at private charge, having on board a considerable land force, commanded by Sir Thomas Baskerville. They made an assault on Puerto Rico, but they were repulsed.

A century ago, after the Franco-Spanish alliance against England, the British prepared to weaken Spain through attacks on her colonies. A squadron was assembled in the West Indies under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, which at-

tacked the Spanish fleet in the bay of Port of Spain, Island of Trinidad, and captured the island, with 200 pieces of artillery and all its stores. The English then turned their eyes toward Puerto Rico, as being the nearest Spanish island of importance. Abercrombie landed his troops off the little hamlet of Cangrejos and made several determined attempts to take San Juan; but after two weeks of desultory bombarding and skirmishing was finally forced to depart, with a total loss of 230 killed, wounded and missing.

On the 24th of July we passed off the Bay of Samana, whence Columbus, in January, 1493, took his departure for home. Had he sailed east, instead of northeast, on his return home, he would have found the large island of Puerto Rico, which at that time was known among the Indians as the Island of Carib.

The first clash of the coming contest was to be between the invaders and a dependency of Spain wherein Spain's authority had been maintained for three hundred and ninety years (since the island was captured and subjugated by Ponce de Leon), and was yet unquestioned.

Realizing the fact that our destination had undoubtedly become known to the enemy, the problem presented was one requiring most serious consideration. In fact, the following items appeared in the Washington papers and were doubtless cabled to Madrid and back to San Juan de Puerto Rico as soon as published in the press of the United States.

On July 22d this item was published : *"Miles on his way—Left with 3,000 men yesterday afternoon for Puerto Rico.*

"Secretary Alger believes that General Miles, on the 'Yale,' will arrive at his destination Sunday morning, with 3,000 men under his immediate command."

On the 23d it was announced that "General Miles is now east of Cape Haytien," etc., and on the morning of the 24th appeared the following:

"St. Thomas, July 23.

"The Spaniards at San Juan de Puerto Rico are making extensive preparations to resist an anticipated attack upon the part of the United States warships which are understood to be convoying the army of invasion commanded by General Miles. There were no signs this morning of the American warships or transports, but news of them is expected soon."

The point for disembarkation, Point Fajardo, for which we had set sail, had been originally selected at the instance of the officers of the Navy. This point was on the northeast corner of Puerto Rico, and presumably the Spanish commanders must have obtained information of our destination and our strength. Later it was learned that they had been apprised of both and had actually proceeded to concentrate their forces and commence constructing entrenchments and fortifications with a view to a stubborn and effective resistance. Acting on the principle that a military commander should do that which the enemy least expects him to do, I determined, under the circumstances, to change my point of disembarkation from the northeast coast of the island to Guanica, on the southwest coast, and within easy striking distance of Ponce, the principal city and commercial emporium of the island.

Instead of making a demonstration at Pt. Fajardo, it was finally decided to go direct to Guánica.

Of course, the tugs, the launches and other fleet steamers of the enemy in Puerto Rico must have been on picket duty well out from the northwest shores of the island, ready to give quick notice of the discovery of the skyward-curling smoke of the approaching squadron, which would be seen by them long before they themselves could be observed from the squadron, and hurry back to announce its approach by telegraph from Aguadilla or Arecibo, as the case might be. They might fairly have reported that the squadron standing well out to sea was sweeping eastward off to Mona Passage, which meant, of course, its probable appearance at Fajardo on the morrow. But later that squadron, having turned sharply south, was plowing the Mona Passage, its officers and men having had their first glimpse of the mountain peaks of Puerto Rico through the dim, misty light of the eastern horizon. Under cover of the darkness of night the fleet was quietly stealing down the broad passage, every light extinguished, and even the port holes on the port side closed, notwithstanding the intense heat and close atmosphere. In the gray shadowed light of the evening and night the fleet presented a picture unlike anything I had ever seen before.

One familiar with the western plains of a quarter of a century ago might well have been reminded of a pack of large gray wolves cautiously and noiselessly moving in the shades of night, or the dim light that ushers in the dawn, upon their prey.

What the morrow should bring none could foretell.

There was more anxiety than sleep during the weary hours of that night, and early the next morning we went on deck to witness the first appearance of the Caribbean sun. The picture at 5 o'clock was one never to be forgotten.

The squadron had some time before doubled the islands which stand out like sentinels at the southwestern extremity of the island, and was now trailing directly toward the east, with a magnificent land view sharply defined in the distance to our left.

Suddenly the "Massachusetts" is seen to turn abruptly to the left and lead directly toward the land, every ship in her wake turning exactly at the same place. There is much signalling among the warships, which the landsmen could not decipher, and an opening into the inland gradually emerged to the view out of the hazy distance. At length the "Massachusetts" heaves to, broadside on, in front of the opening, her brave men standing at quarters and her decks cleared for action. More signalling follows, and the "Gloucester" takes the lead, with the Stars and Stripes in extravagant proportions glistening in the morning sunlight from her mainmast, manœuvers for a brief time between the "Massachusetts" and the entrance, and then is seen to move slowly and cautiously forward, straight into the channel between the two bold headlands which mark the place of ingress to the harbor of Guánica, beyond one of which she soon disappears, her officers and men keeping a sharp lookout for masked batteries above and submarine mines below. Soon she sends back in the thunder of her guns the announcement that she is clearing the shores to make the landing of her small company of marines safe. She was immediately followed by the transports, and every available boat from them and from the naval vessels was freighted with eager and fearless troops. The navy rendered cordial and invaluable aid in disembarking troops and supplies. Ten lighters were captured at Guánica and a few days later seventy more at Ponce.

By 11 o'clock on the morning of the 25th a firm footing had been established and the American flag raised.

While at sea the organization of the various bodies into a Provisional Division had been effected. It consisted of two brigades, the first of which, composed of the 6th Massachusetts and 6th Illinois Volunteers, was placed under the command of Brigadier-General G. A. Garretson, and the second, composed principally of

artillery, under the command of Major Lancaster, 4th Artillery; the immediate command of the whole being assigned to Brigadier-General Guy V. Henry.

On the evening of the 25th a company of the 6th Massachusetts, on outpost duty on the Yauco road, were made aware of the presence of the enemy, and General Garretson sent two additional companies to their support. About 2 o'clock on the morning of the 26th the enemy opened fire upon our advance, whereupon General Garretson proceeded at the head of five more companies of that regiment to their assistance, and on his arrival, when he discovered that the enemy were preparing to make a surprise and attack, he immediately assumed the aggressive and drove them from their position, compelling their hasty retreat on Yauco. Great credit is due General Garretson for his courage, skill and enterprise in winning the first fight on Puerto Rican soil. In fact, the first engagement is always of great importance, because of its moral effect upon the troops of both sides.

Two days later the town of Yauco was occupied by a detachment of General Garretson's brigade, giving us possession of the railroad and main highway, by which a direct march upon Ponce was feasible, although that place was occupied on the same day by troops moved by sea.

On the 27th Major-General Wilson and Brigadier-General Ernst arrived from Charleston with part of the brigade belonging to the command of the latter, the 2d and 3d Wisconsin Volunteers. On the same day the "Annapolis" and the "Wasp" joined Captain Higginson's squadron.

With the force at Yauco threatening from the rear, the command was now strong enough to move directly against Ponce from the sea. General Wilson was therefore directed to hold his command on board ship, move outside the harbor and anchor, in readiness to follow in the wake of the battleship "Massachusetts" when, during the night, she should steam for the harbor of Ponce.

Early on the morning of the 28th, just as General Wilson was entering the harbor of Ponce, the "Mobile" arrived, bringing the balance of Ernst's brigade, the 16th Pennsylvania Volunteers, and also two companies of the 6th Illinois, which had been left at Charleston for want of room on the "Yale" and "Columbia."

The "Dixie," the "Annapolis" and the "Wasp," all under command of Commodore Davis, had entered the harbor on the pre-

vious evening to reconnoitre, and found it was neither fortified nor mined. The garrison of La Playa had fled. The commander of the Spanish forces at Ponce had been censured and imprisoned for not making a strong defence, but it would have been fruitless if not disastrous for him to do so, as he would have been menaced both in front and rear by a superior force.

On the morning of the 28th, the army took possession of the city and its port, La Playa.

General Wilson, a very distinguished general of high rank and important command in the Civil War, was placed in immediate command of the city.

Soon after landing at Guánica an incident occurred which impressed me very forcibly. While I was supervising the operations on shore, a white-haired mulatto, who spoke a little English, pressed his way to the head of my horse and inquired if I was the commander. Being answered in the affirmative, he handed me a small packet, which he had carefully concealed, which proved to be a communication in Spanish. Translated, it read as follows:

"To the Chief of Operations of the Invading Army of the American Union:

"Citizen: Not knowing exactly how I ought to guide myself in entering into a direct communication with your camp, I direct this to the Chief of Operations, to express to you my duty in these historical moments, and that trust in the power of a strong conscience and in the valor of arms as they pertain to the great issues of liberty and of patriotism in this island. An absolute military censorship shuts out from the city the means of obtaining the news, and I wish that you and your companions may know the true feeling of our municipality. Here we wait with impatience American occupation that comes to break the chain that has been forged constantly during four centuries of infamous spoliation, of torpid despotism and shameful moral slavery. When the rudders of the American ships entered the waters of the coast of Guánica to bear to this country political revolution, great confidence was born again, again was awakened the ideal of sleeping patriotism in our consciences and the lullaby of perfidious promises which have never been fulfilled. An entire city, with the exception of those who live under the shadow of pretense and official immunity, is prepared to solemnize the glorious tramp of civilization, and offers its blood as a holocaust to such a grand proposition. Let this message bear to you notice that our municipal conscience does not sleep and wait. Here you can count on the great masses who are prepared to second your gigantic strength. All the districts of this jurisdiction are prepared for combat. The districts of the city are also prepared. Men of intrepid hearts surround me, ready for the struggle. The only thing that prevents the manifestation of unity is an absolute need of the elements of war. On the other hand, we have already driven from the

town our eternal enemies to the rights of Puerto Ricans. I do not wish to impose upon my ideas of patriotism the grave responsibility of directing my men upon the enemy without capacity to maintain the struggle. In this moment of activity may this communication serve to dispose you to embrace an opportunity to utilize the services that I offer. Before closing, I wish to warn you that at the entrance to this city, on the roads of Adjuntas and Canas, the Spanish Government is actively engaged in constructing several trenches to foolishly obstruct the march of the army of liberty, and they are concealing themselves in the small neighboring hills and difficult passes in the cañons in order to carry out this resistance. With many wishes for your health and much appreciation of the great triumph of America, I am,

"Your humble servant,

"FELIX MATOS BERNIER."

"July 26, 1898. (Ponce, P. R.)"

To such a people it became my pleasure to issue a proclamation.

"Ponce, Puerto Rico, July 28, 1898.

"To the inhabitants of Puerto Rico:

"In the prosecution of the war against the Kingdom of Spain by the People of the United States, in the cause of Liberty, Justice and Humanity, its military forces have come to occupy the Island of Puerto Rico. They come bearing the banner of Freedom, inspired by a noble purpose to seek the enemies of our country and yours, and to destroy or capture all who are in armed resistance. They bring you the fostering arm of a nation of free people, whose greatest power is in its Justice and Humanity to all those living within its fold. Hence the first effect of this occupation will be the immediate release from your former political relations, and it is hoped a cheerful acceptance of the government of the United States.

"The chief object of the American military forces will be to overthrow the armed authority of Spain and to give to the people of your beautiful island the largest measure of liberty consistent with this military occupation. We have not come to make war upon the people of a country that for centuries have been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves, but to your property, to promote your prosperity and bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government. It is not our purpose to interfere with any existing laws and customs that are wholesome and beneficial to your people so long as they conform to the rules of military administration of order and justice.

"This is not a war of devastation, but one to give to all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization.

"NELSON A. MILES,

"Major General Commanding United States Army."

The sentiment spread like magic over the island. It caused a large number of volunteers to immediately desert the cause and colors of Spain.

Brigadier-General Schwan arrived from Tampa on the 31st

with the 11th and 19th Infantry, a troop of the 2d Cavalry and two batteries of the 7th Artillery. Major-General Brooke arrived on the "St. Louis" July 31st, and was ordered to proceed the day following to Arroyo, about forty miles east of Ponce, where he landed on the 2d.

On the 1st of August Brigadier-General Peter C. Hains arrived on the "St. Paul" with the 4th Ohio Volunteers, and on the 2d the 4th Pennsylvania Volunteers arrived. Both these regiments were sent at once to join General Brooke.

As reinforcements continued to arrive they were assigned to the various columns, which it was desired to move with the least possible delay. It was known that the enemy, having been misled as to our supposed place of landing, had concentrated their forces nearly eighty miles from our point of occupation, and had subsequently decided to occupy and fortify a narrow pass in the mountains near Aibonito. This fact being known, it was our purpose to make strong demonstrations in front of that position, without the slightest idea, however, of sacrificing lives in a direct assault.

There was a trail over the mountains from Adjuntas to Utuado, a distance of some eighteen miles, but it was so rough that the Spaniards had considered it impracticable for the passage of troops, and had neither guarded nor fortified it. Brigadier-General Roy Stone, an officer of war experience and a skilled engineer, was directed to make it practicable. He was supplied with an adequate escort for his protection and given unlimited authority to employ native labor. He soon made the route practicable for the passage of General Garretson's command, which crossed over the mountains to the north side of the island.

On August 5th General Brooke had a sharp engagement with the Spanish troops at Guayama, which town was finally captured by our forces; and on August 8th another engagement took place as the result of a reconnoissance on the road north of Guayama. This reconnoissance developed the fact that the enemy was strongly entrenched on a crest commanding the road from six to eight miles north of Guayama, toward Cayey. One object of the movement under General Brooke was to intercept the enemy if he should fall back from Aibonito on the advance of General Wilson, and also to co-operate in the attack upon that place.

On August 6th General Schwan was ordered to proceed from Ponce to Yauco with six companies of the 11th Infantry, Troop

A, 5th Cavalry, and two batteries of light artillery, and on arrival there to take the balance of the 11th Infantry (which was already there) and organize his command preparatory to a movement by way of Sabana Grande, San German, Mayaguez and Lares to Arecibo, to which point it was intended to send General Garretson's column by the more direct route *via* Adjuntas and Utuado—all to be concentrated under General Henry, together with additional troops to be sent around by sea from Ponce to Arecibo; and it was intended that when a junction had been formed the division should march on San Juan. Arrangements had also been made to send a gunboat to Arecibo to assist, if required, in the taking of that place. The movement of this division from Arecibo to San Juan would have made the enemy's position at Aibonito and Cayey untenable and intercepted his retreat.

General Wilson, having pushed his troops forward on the road to San Juan, occupied on the 7th a line across a narrow valley about seven and one-half miles beyond the village of Juana Diaz. The enemy had a force of about 2,000 troops at Aibonito, thirty-five miles from Ponce, with an advanced position at Coamo, where it was estimated there were some 400 men. This advanced position could not be taken directly without great loss. General Wilson therefore decided, on the evening of the 8th, to send the 16th Pennsylvania Volunteers, under Colonel Hulings, by mountain cross-trails, which were known to be exceedingly difficult, over the divide into the valley of the Coamo River, so as to reach the main road in rear of Coamo. On the morning of the 9th General Ernst, with the main body of his brigade, moved forward to the attack, the brunt of the action, however, falling on the 16th Pennsylvania. The result was as planned. The enemy were mostly intercepted in their retreat, with a loss on our side of only six men wounded, while the enemy's loss was five officers and eleven men killed and sixty-seven wounded, and five officers and 192 men captured.

The four columns in their respective positions were now ready for a simultaneous advance, their ultimate destination being the same—San Juan; and their movements will be described according to location from west to east, which brings us first to that of General Schwan.

His command started from Yauco on August 9th. An engage-

ment took place on August 10th at Hormigueros with the entire garrison of Mayaguez (consisting of 1,362 men). The enemy was driven back and so badly defeated that he continued his retreat before our forces, evacuating Mayaguez, a city of 20,000 inhabitants, which place General Schwan entered at the head of his troops at 9.30 A. M. on the 11th. On the afternoon of the 11th General Schwan sent out detachments of cavalry on both the roads leading to Lares to get information of the enemy's movements, and learned that the enemy was proceeding slowly on the Las Marias road. He ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Burke of the 11th Infantry to take six companies of that regiment and one platoon each of cavalry and artillery and make a reconnoissance on the road toward Lares. Colonel Burke left Mayaguez at 10:30 A. M. on the 12th and arrived at the forks of the Las Marias and Maricao roads about sunset, where he bivouacked for the night. On the 13th he came up with a large force of Spaniards at the crossing of the Rio Prieto, near Las Marias, where a sharp engagement took place. On this reconnoissance seventeen Spaniards were killed, a large number wounded, and fifty-six prisoners taken. The victorious march of General Schwan's column, however, was arrested by the receipt, on the morning of the 14th, of orders to suspend hostilities. Lares was, in fact, evacuated by the Spaniards in anticipation of the advance of our troops.

From the 7th to the 15th of August General Schwan's troops marched ninety-two miles, occupied nine towns, made 162 regulars prisoners of war, captured and paroled 200 volunteers, captured much valuable material and practically cleared the western part of the island of the enemy.

On the 12th General Garretson's brigade had passed over the mountains and reached Utuado, and on the 13th General Henry had joined that part of his command at that point, when he received notice of the suspension of hostilities.

In his report General Henry states that Arecibo would have been occupied on the 14th. Had hostilities not been suspended at that particular time, the Spaniards retreating before Schwan's brigade would have been captured, as they were between two strong commands and escape was impossible.

By August 9th General Ernst's brigade, of Wilson's command, was encamped along the valley in advance of Coamo, with its outposts about five and one-half miles beyond that town.

On August 10th and 11th General Wilson had careful reconnoissances made of the enemy's position at Aibonito, as a result of which it was considered to be practicable to again turn the enemy by his right, to be effected by moving the main body of his (General Wilson's) command to Barranquitas, and thence to Aibonito, *via* Honduras, or to Cayei, *via* Comerio and Cidra, or to Las Cruces, on the main highway to San Juan, as circumstances might determine, leaving sufficient troops to hold the line occupied by our outposts in front of Aibonito. General Wilson had directed General Ernst to be prepared to make this movement at daylight on the morning of the 13th. In the meantime, on the 12th, partly for the purpose of diverting the enemy's attention from this projected movement, and to develop the strength of the Spanish batteries on the summit of Asomante Hill and El Penon, two and one-half miles northwest of Aibonito, a sharp artillery fire was opened on the enemy's position. Our artillery opened fire at 1 P. M. from a position on the reverse side of the low ridge to the left of the main road. When the turning movement was about to be made, General Wilson received the intelligence of the suspension of operations againt the enemy.

By August 12th General Brooke had made complete preparations to move Hains' brigade against the Spanish position on the road between Guayama and Cayei, which was to be done on the following day. Early in the morning of that day (13th) General Hains proceeded with one regiment (the 4th Ohio) down the Ponce road, thence northward, with the view of turning the position of the Spanish force near Pablo Vasquez, on the main road to Cayei. He was to move to the rear of the Spanish forces, while General Brooke, with the 3d Illinois regiment, a part of the 4th Pennsylvania, some batteries and other troops, would engage them on the main road. General Brooke placed his troops in the desired position and waited until he thought General Hains was at or near the position he was to take, when the artillery was unmasked and everything was ready to shell the enemy. Just at this moment, however, General Brooke received the message announcing the suspension of military operations.

Such, briefly outlined, was the campaign that gave us Puerto Rico, where the flag has ever since floated, farther east than ever before.

NELSON A. MILES.

GOLF FROM A ST. ANDREWS POINT OF VIEW.

BY ANDREW LANG.

Golf has reached America, whether to "stay" or not. It appears to have arisen in "fashionable circles," and to have spread as I wish cricket could spread—a much better game. With us, in Scotland, golf is a very old sport, which Parliament tried vainly to put down, in the fifteenth century. Golf took up time which should have been given to learning how to hit an Englishman with a bow and arrow. But *that* game our ancestors declined to learn, thinking mere "long bowls" unmanly. Our Scots archers each carried a "sperthe" or battle axe, and, throwing down their bows, they went for the English with the cold steel, being shot as they advanced. Archery did not please, in Scotland; to golf we remained loyal.

Now, I have, personally, little doubt that we got golf from Holland, where it is no longer played. From Holland, to be sure, about Froissart's time (say 1380), we got everything we wanted, ready-made, paying in wool, fish, leather and other exports. My friend, Mr. James Cunningham, lately invaded Holland, in search of the Origins of Golf. I hope he will give his results to the world. We know that the Netherlanders played, for pictures of men driving off, and putting at the hole, occur in a MS. of about 1500, in the British Museum. Mr. Cunningham found pictures in which clubs and balls like ours occur, also painted tiles, of about 1650, but we knew already that these things were so. His chief discovery was the Dutch origin of such technical terms of the game as "putt," "stymie," and "dormie." If his philology is correct, as I believe, the question is settled. Holland is the cradle of the game. Scotland dealt very largely with Holland, and had regular trading settlements there, all through the later

Middle Ages. The Scots merchants would take up the Dutch game, as we took tennis from France. In tennis, the technical terms are French (*dedans*, etc.); in golf, if Mr. Cunningham is right, they are Dutch. Our James IV., to encourage home industries, forbade the importation of Dutch golf balls, and, since then, golf has waned, and finally expired, in Holland, while it flourishes with us.

Golf is one of a group of accidentally differentiated sports. *Chole* (a word of Teutonic origin) is the Belgian golf, which has an element of hockey, the adversary being allowed one back stroke to the players' three strokes. There is no putting at the hole, the goal is a distant church door or steeple. M. Zola has described the game, in "*Germinal*," with his usual romantic exaggeration; and a match with the Devil occurs in the late M. Deulin's "*Contes*," from Flemish sources.

Again, the *Jeu de Mail*, at least as old as Queen Mary Stuart's time, when she was a player, is of the same group. A box-wood ball was driven with a club shaped like a light croquet mallet, and, in place of putting, the ball was "lofted" through a ring or into a narrow hoop. To this purpose a curious instrument, ending in a long piece of fluted steel (given in a portrait of about 1650), was employed. The "swing," the style, and the rules are in wonderful harmony with those of golf, as may be read in Lanthier's little work, now very scarce (1717-1720). My friend, Mr. H. S. C. Everard, the well known golfer and writer on golf, has a copy, which I first saw at a sale 20 years ago, but could not afford to buy; and no other copy have I ever seen. Mr. Everard might reprint it, with the excellent illustrations.

The historical glories of golf are well known. Mary Stuart played; her son, James VI. and I., brought golf to England, notably to Blackheath. His son, Henry, Prince of Wales, drove well, and not unsuccessfully tried to "cut over" his tutor. Charles I. insisted on playing out his game, at Leith, when news arrived of the Irish Rebellion. So writes Wodrow, the correspondent of Cotton Mather, and no friend of the Stuarts. The Great Rebellion ruined the Royal and Ancient Game in England, and, at the happy Restoration, the Duke of York (James VII. and II.), took up *jeu de mail*, astonishing Mr. Pepys by his drives in the Mall. Not being loved in England, where he was persecuted for his religious opinions, the Duke went to Scotland. There, even the

Covenant had not interfered with golf; the solitary uninjured institution. That savory Christian, Mr. Blair, of St. Andrews, an exemplary Covenanter, decorated his sermons (or his talk) with allusions to the favorite pastime. He compared the union of the Kirk and its sacred Head, to that of the shaft and head of a driving club. Faith was the whipping, Love the glue. So writes the later Presbyterian champion, Wodrow. In Scotland, the Duke of York played in a semi-professional foursome, at least his partner was a semi-professional. They won, and the tradesman, building or buying a house with the stakes, put up for his bearings two clubs, with the motto, "Sure and Far."

When his ideas of general toleration in religion (ably supported, as they were, by William Penn) caused King James to be driven from his throne, in 1688, golf vanished from England. Though a Hollander, the Dutch Usurper was not fond of his native pastime. James himself had lost his nerve (perhaps in consequence of his shipwreck, quite a fresh idea), and, notoriously, was no longer capable of playing a losing game. The House of Hanover have never excelled in any ball game; besides, cricket, in the enghteenth century, had made her supremacy secure. It was a cricket ball, I believe, not a golf ball, that killed Frederick, eldest son of George II., who, in his heart, was a Jacobite, like all his descendants, in sympathy.

While golf, in England, fled with the Stuarts, it survived with vigor in Scotland. "I believe there were only two honest men in Scotland, Forbes of Culloden and Locheil," remarked to me the descendant of one of the pair. Forbes of Culloden, who practically put down the Rising of 1745, was one of the first golfers of his day. In Scotland, Prince Charlie had little time for golf, but, before 1745, he had introduced the game into Italy, and played in the Borghese Gardens. This showed that his heart was in the right place. He was a great innovator. Golf he brought to Italy; Free Masonry to Arras, where Robespierre's father was a member of the lodge; and Glove Fights to Avignon. Golf is now established in and near Rome, and the learned archæologist, Signor Lanciani, is a golfer. With the purpose of improving his style, he means to take lessons, at St. Andrews, from old Tom, or Auchterlonie, in winter (I cannot wish him better or more courteous and agreeable instructors), and, incidentally, he will deliver the St. Andrews Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion. If he could

introduce a lecture on the old Roman game of *Cambuca*, and its relations to golf, I dare say Tom Morris would attend the lectures. As a rule, Tom is content with revealed religion, and gives the lectures a wide berth. I do not condemn this conduct in a man who has played golf for some seventy years, and yet, whose natural bent (as displayed in his attitude towards the Abolition of Stymie) is favorable to new or even revolutionary ideas.

About 1750-1760, golf was played near London by Dr. Carlyle, to instruct Garrick. I regret that Dr. Johnson was not present. Moreover, the Knuckle-Bone Club, at Blackheath, kept the game alive, in its earliest and Royal English seat. Meanwhile, in Scotland, from Orkney to Skye and from Skye to Musselburgh, golf flourished; chiefly, I believe, on sea-side links. About 1790, the Medal was won at St. Andrews with a score of 95. Recently, the round has been done in 72 (and, I think, in 71) by Mr. Freddy Tait, Auchterlonie, and, I believe, Andrew Kirkaldy. But, in 1790, the links were a very narrow course, beset by whins; there was only one set of holes, in and out, feather balls were in use, and there were no bulgers, no patent lofters, while the putting greens were not bowling greens. You cannot think how much wider and easier the links are, even since I was a boy. Thus a score of 95 in 1790, or thereabouts, is quite equal to one of 72 nowadays.

The great golfers of the early and middle century, Alan Robertson, Tom Morris (still on the spot), the Parks, with the contemporary amateurs, were the straightest of drivers, and *their* putting was indeed "an inspiration." They did not "approach" with irons or iron lofters, but with the elegant and harmless wooden "baffey spoon."* They did not cut up the links like modern men, making a point of "cutting their divot," or scrap of turf. I make no doubt that (considering the relative proportion of numbers) the ancestral golfers were as good as Varney, Taylor or Mr. Tait.

The middle century saw the superseding of feather balls at half a crown (Old Tom has made thousands in his day), by gutta percha shilling balls, hammered into tiny knobs, like the box-wood balls in the *jeu de mail*. The original smooth-bore gutta percha balls did not fly straight; hence the manner of *jeu de mail* balls was, quite unconsciously, imitated. About the same time, much lighter iron clubs were introduced (our ancestors tooled with

* "Baffed" means laid back, and I have heard a lady's bonnet criticised as "too much baffed."

things like tomahawks of unusual weight); "brasseys" came in; finally Mr. Lamb invented the bulger. Short-headed, deep, and thick, this club is the reverse of the long-headed, slim, narrow club-head of Phelp or Alan Robertson. I doubt if it matters which sort you employ, whether you play as well as Mr. Leslie-Balfour-Melville, or as badly as the present outcast.

In the sixties, golf began to appear at Wimbledon Common, Westward Hoe, Hoylake, and at Pau in the Pyrenean country. Then arose Mr. Horace Hutchinson, from Westward Hoe school, as I am told. The wit and wisdom of Mr. Horace Hutchinson, in his *"Hints on Golf,"* led to the Conversion of England. There had been earlier preachers,— the Stuart kings, Dr. Carlyle, the Knuckle-Bone Club, while the Scots, at Calcutta and Bombay, did not cast their grain on soil entirely stony. But these missionaries answer to Paulinus and Augustine: thorns sprang up and choked the doctrine. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other hand, came like Aidan (though not from Iona), and definitely converted England to golf.

Heresies, of course, began to abound. *The English count their strokes!* Every incompetent foozler has his pencil and paper and delays golfers by pausing to register his tens or thirteens. Also, he wrangles over invisible points in the rules. The Scot plays in the ancestral spirit of the game. On the links he drops metaphysics (which, indeed, are now scorned in Scotland at large). But the English revel in subtleties of interpretation, just as Cambridge men (to their defeat and confusion) bowl wides on purpose, because "there is nothing against it in the rules." Also the neo-golfers of England started "pot-hunting," endless competition for prizes, with monstrous handicaps. They brought in women. Here I am not wholly guiltless. The day before I and a reading party left St. Andrews, about 1873, we played the first foursome with ladies recorded since Queen Mary and Lord Lindsay played Mary Seaton and Maitland of Lethington; against which Knox (probably) thundered from the pulpit. Next morning early, I fled into the wilds of Atholl, with a price on my head; while my male opponent (English) put Tweed between himself and mischief. We only retreated just in time; our partners were left to the female tongues of St. Andrews. I was much the oldest of this nefarious foursome, and ought to have known better; anyway, my side lost, and I had to pay the stakes.

The female form and drapery, in driving, are not lovely objects, and ladies now beset the links. However, 'tis funny to see them *run* after their balls, with feminine impetuosity, and I will say that they choose hours when men are not playing, and, generally, efface themselves as much as possible; while I have seen a lady make quite a decent shot from the tee. These compliments refer exclusively to St. Andrews, and to St. Andrews in winter. I do not, for my part, regard women as nearly so objectionable as small school boys. My friend, Mr. ——, offered half a sovereign for the head of a small golfing school-boy. The reward (like the thirty thousand pounds for Prince Charlie) was unclaimed, but the proclamation had some effect.

It was the English, chiefly, who brought in fair (I mean female, for as to "fair"!) golfers, and they also set to work at the making of inland links. An Englishman would play across a turnip field. On one suburban course, the chief hazards are advertisement boards recommending pills and soaps! It is near a lunatic asylum, and, of course, the players *may* be patients. You read, in the press, "Brown's tee shot was caught in Cockle's Pills, but Smith was not more fortunate, coming to grief in Pears' Soap." This is not golf; I doubt if any inland imitation of the game is golf. I admit the existence of an artificial bunker at Wimbledon; it is a "melancholy pleasure" to get into it (as Mr. Hutchinson says with a touch of poetry), but one bunker, and that obtrusively artificial, does not make a course. By the way, if America wants *sand* for bunkers, let it apply to St. Andrews, where the very air is sandy, and sand gets into our very books. The exports of this emporium are solely potatoes; but if you need artificial bunkers, our supply of the article is unlimited in quantity, and unequalled in quality. Probably, however, the tariff on sand is prohibitive. "Tak' mair sand," says the sage, even Thomas, the Tomoris. If you want it, you now know where to get it; our houses, without exception, are founded on the sand. No extra charge will be made for skeletons, mediæval or prehistoric, with which our soil abounds. You may be filling up a bunker with the dust of King Constantine (about 940, A. D.), or of Cardinal Beaton.

Thus freely (like Montaigne concerning cats), I have spoken of the heresies of British converts to golf. But honesty compels me to add that the English professionals, as Taylor and Varney, are more or less our masters, while Mr. Ball's career is only

matched by our Mr. Tait's; who, in turn, can commonly defeat Mr. Hilton, of late. But, among amateurs, nobody is steadier, or better to back, than Mr. Leslie-Balfour-Melville, who is also not a man to try with loose bowling at cricket. He is *not* Mr. A. J. Balfour, M. P., to whom he could give no short odds. You may be a statesman, and a philosopher, like Mr. A. J. Balfour, "but gowf needs a heid."

Of American players I cannot speak, for I have seen none of them. May we soon find them on pilgrimage to St. Andrews, Sandwich, Prestwick and Hoylake. And, if there are to be international matches, may our excitable populace behave better than they have occasionally done, when local patriotism was fiercely aroused. Possibly, you also have an excitable populace? Why the rabble are so apt to forget the rules of fair play is a question which Swift should have argued in his "Modest Apology for the Rabble in all Ages." I have seen a Surrey crowd behave very ill when the Australians played at Lord's (to be sure they were irritated by bad accommodation), but, as a rule, an Australian victory in England, or an English victory in Australia, is cheered with the utmost chivalry. International matches, of all kinds, ought to be conducted in this honorable spirit by the spectators. As for the players, from them we need not expect anything but the most immaculate honor. There is no pleasure in a game played on other terms. If the learned, in their controversies, would only be sportsmanlike, the Republic of Letters would enjoy repose. Recommending to American golfers the old Scottish saw,

"Never in,
Never win,"

I rest from this brief but earnest survey of the Royal (and now Republican) Game.

ANDREW LANG.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXIII.

AUGUST, 1899.

THE WOMAN'S INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN.

THE great International Congress to which the world of women workers has been looking forward for so long, has come and gone, and what has it left behind it? That is the question which those who have been behind the scenes are asking themselves, as they see the curtain fall.

That the Congress has been a success is indisputable and is testified to from most unexpected quarters. The fact that meetings on the most varied subjects, going on in five sections simultaneously for a week, were always crowded by persons who had thought it worth while to pay for their seats, is sufficient evidence in itself. A list of over two thousand five hundred members of the Congress, a financial balance on the right side, and a collection of valuable papers presented by some four hundred speakers from different parts of the world, and experts on their own subjects, these are the visible results we have left to us.

Has the chief use of the Congress been, then, to mark the immense advance in the interest in women's work shown by women themselves, to demonstrate their increased ability to organize, and to produce a permanent record of the progress made along the several lines of thought and activity dealt with?

These are fragments of the truth, but only fragments; and in-

Copyright, 1899, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

deed, at the present moment, we are not in a position to judge the matter we are considering in its right perspective, for we are too near it.

But of one thing we are sure, and that is, that a vision has been vouchsafed to us during the course of these gatherings, revealing to us something of what *may* be, if the workers for the weal of the world, men and women alike, will enter into a compact to help one another, to learn from one another and to stand by one another. There are some who lament that a more practical turn could not have been given to the Congress by the passing of resolutions focussing the feeling of each meeting. These do not see that, in their desire for immediate progress in the sphere of their own special efforts, they might well imperil all the wonderful possibilities which are latent in a movement which will bring the world's workers into real relations with one another, on the understanding that, however different their views, they are each giving their best to the world according to their own light.

The chief aim of the International Council which convened this Congress is to promote greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, amongst women workers of different nations; and therefore its Constitution does not permit it to identify itself with any movement of a controversial nature, but directs it to form a centre, a common meeting place for all who seek to work for the good of their kind. The mere contact thus brought about we look upon as of the highest value, and how often have we not had evidence of this throughout this Congress? "I have just been listening to ————'s paper; it *was* a surprise to me. I never thought *she* looked upon the matter in that light. I never knew the facts of the case were of *that* nature." Such were the remarks frequently made by workers whose faces showed that a new thought had been received, and that they meant to think it out.

Do not influences of this character brought to bear on one being who is in touch with the spirit of another, mean much more in the long run to the world's progress than a definite stimulus given to a few causes at the expense of others upheld by supporters who feel henceforth that they are not wanted, and therefore had better withdraw from our Conferences?

Besides, public opinion has an instinct for being right, and when it has an opportunity of hearing rival views and theories,

impartially stated on both sides, the truest and the best are generally strengthened. The causes, therefore, based on justice and right are bound to win, and need never fear a fair opportunity being given to their opponents to state their views.

Another regret has been expressed, that speakers have for the most part been tied down to preparing papers of definite and circumscribed length, instead of being allowed to address their audiences without written notes. Doubtless this has tended to make it difficult for the speakers to make their voices carry far enough in many cases, because of the tendency to let the head drop when reading, but, on the other hand, the Congress has profited immensely by the carefully arranged information packed into the papers, which makes them of permanent value. As far as we can at present judge, the level of the papers was very high, and betokened a great amount of trouble which would probably never have been expended on spoken addresses. But of this the public can judge when we publish our volumes of transactions in the autumn.

Already, we hear of action being taken in various directions as an outcome of the exchange of views made at this meeting or at that.

I am not alluding to the special subject of International Arbitration, which, at the largest meeting in favor of this movement ever held in London, the International Council pledged itself to support, by furthering the cause of Peace through Arbitration by every means in its power.

I am rather speaking of such subjects as, for instance, Agriculture as a field for women, which was discussed at a most interesting and stimulating meeting, which, we understand, is to lead presently to a Conference on Agriculture another year. Women, as a rule, have neglected their responsibilities in this regard, and have not realized how necessary is a scientific knowledge of the principles underlying successful agriculture; and it is time for them to wake up and find out how much they can do if they have practical training.

But, at this moment, the first outcome of the Congress appears likely to be the consideration of the problem of the Housing of Educated Working Women in great cities, brought forward by Mr. Gilbert Parker at a Conference convened by the Council itself. Mr. Gilbert Parker has taken infinite pains to collect the

facts of the case, as far as they exist in London, and, as there was no time for discussion, it was decided that a further independent meeting should be called to deal with the matter for London, and a resolution was also passed urging National Councils generally to make this a subject of special inquiry.

Mr. Parker brought a formidable indictment against the present condition of affairs. He takes as his client the educated woman earning from £50 to £140 by typewriting, secretarial work, research work for authors, etc., and eloquently depicts the sordidness of their life and the impossible conditions under which they labor. He pictured the girl brought up in a sheltered and refined home, thrown on the world and counting herself lucky in having found a position where she can earn from twenty to thirty shillings a week.

He gives three typical cases to indicate the class of workers for whom he pleads.

(1.) "Miss ———," a clergyman's daughter, assists a man who gives lectures to a large number of pupils, makes appointments, keeps the books, does all shorthand and typewriting, conducts his correspondence, etc. She tried various cheap boarding houses; but, finding none where cleanliness could be had at the figure she could afford to pay, now lives in a room in the South-western district, for which she pays ten shillings out of her weekly twenty-five. Breakfast and dinner cost her seven shillings and seven pence a week, 'bus fares sixpence a day, which brings her outlay up to twenty-one shillings; and out of the remainder she has to find a midday meal, washing, clothes, a fire on winter evenings, for which she is charged half a crown a week, and numberless small items in the way of boot cleaning, hot water fetching, etc.

(2.) "Miss J———," the daughter of a professional man who lost his money, having had a better literary education than usual, does research work at the British Museum for an author who pays her twenty-eight shillings a week. After a long day in that heavy atmosphere, poring over old French and German historical works, she makes the three-quarters-of-an-hour journey back to a tiny bedroom in Chelsea, where two people can scarce pass each other; and, after a hasty meal, taken off a tray on the bed, she spends the evening in translating and typewriting the results of the day's labor. For this room eight shillings and sixpence is

charged, breakfast and dinner being supplied at sixpence and eightpence. Another daily expense for a bath brings the week's bill up to one pound and twopence; coals and the mysterious item, "kitchen firing," are eighteen pence, light is sixpence, shoe-brushing sixpence; and, after a weekly three shillings for 'bus fares, she is left with exactly two shillings and fourpence out of which to pay for her lunch and tea, washing, dress, newspapers, stamps, and recreation of any sort.

(3.) "Miss R———," the possessor of thirty shillings a week, is the daughter of a distinguished Admiral, whose sudden death left his family practically penniless. After she had learned typewriting, friends ultimately found a post for her with a well known charitable organization, where most of the routine of the office falls to her. She tried in vain for admission at the best homes for women she could hear of, but there was no single vacancy, and there were long lists of names waiting their turn. Being comparatively new to the struggle of life, and with her store of vitality as yet undiminished, she at last boldly plunged with a friend, and took a small unfurnished flat in a central part of London, where she has to pay half of the sixty pounds rent out of her eighty pounds a year; but then, as she says, once inside you can sit down and starve comfortably, and you can call your soul your own; which makes up for the sparseness of furniture, and for having to scrub the floors and do all the work yourself, to save a charwoman.

No wonder that one of these poor girls writes:

"What is it like—the working day of the woman who gets twenty-five shillings a week? Well, from the time she gets up in the morning, to snatch a hasty breakfast from a tray in her bedroom, ere rushing off to catch the train or 'bus covering the miles between her and her work, she has to endure a long day's unceasing toil under strain, often at uninteresting and mechanical work, in close air and unhealthy surroundings. Lucky if not expected to stay and overtake any extra arrears, she does the homeward journey over again at six o'clock, and returns fagged, headachy, and depressed to the 7 by 9 room where she has to stand up to let anyone pass. In addition to the physical and mental degradation that poverty brings, she has the galling sense of giving her best, and the fruits of an expensive schooling, for a pittance which is about half what is paid a junior clerk, of no education beyond the three R's. She knows, too, that the quality of her work hasn't a chance beside the fact that she is a woman, and women's labor is cheap, and if she doesn't take it, a hundred others will step into her shoes. The present monotony of her life leaves her nothing to look forward to, and no hope, through frugality, of saving

out of a bare living wage. She has the knowledge, too, that each year will make it the harder for her to continue in keen competition with the younger, better-trained women, owing to the demoralization of her mind from sordid and meagre surroundings, scanty and badly cooked food, and an utter absence of recreation."

Mr. Parker concludes his paper by sketching out a plan that might be tried to meet the desperate need revealed, which, by instituting residential furnished mansions with accommodations for, say, 400 ladies in single bedrooms, at a rate of five or six shillings a week for lodging, and ten shillings for board and other expenses, might at the same time be made a financial success.

I need not go into further details here, as this scheme will soon be ventilated at a conference where those personally interested and those who have been carrying on kindred work, will meet to discuss Mr. Parker's scheme and to come to some decision as to what practical steps can be adopted at once. The eagerness with which the idea is welcomed by some of the girls themselves, as evidenced in private letters, is very touching; it would seem as if the mere suggestion of such a possibility opens up to them an Elysium.

Several of the foreign delegates present manifested great interest in the subject, and it is hoped that these will institute an inquiry on the conditions of educated working women in other large cities on the Continent and in America.

Here, at any rate, is a definite outcome, which can be taken as an illustration of how direct work of a practical nature can be initiated by the Council.

That this action should have been suggested by a man is in itself typical of the spirit of the Congress. We have sought to emphasize by every means in our power that we welcomed all to our platforms who were interested in women's work, and that we considered that women's work could only reach its highest development when done in co-operation with men, and regarding the home as the centre to work from.

It must be admitted that the meetings of the Congress have occupied the public eye rather at the expense of the International Council of Women, which all the while was sitting in business session striving to strengthen and develop and adapt to various circumstances the links that united the National Councils who have federated with us.

In some quarters it has been insinuated that our delegates

were self-elected, and could not be held to be representatives of the divers countries from which they came. Nothing could be further from the truth. Our delegates from the United States, Canada, Germany, Sweden, Great Britain and Ireland, New South Wales, Denmark, Holland, New Zealand, and Tasmania, were all the regularly elected choice of the federation of Societies and Local Councils and Unions which in each country go to form a National Council, and thus can claim to be the representatives of the women workers of that country, by which term we mean the women engaged in philanthropy, education, professional, industrial or other public work. Our speakers were, for the most part, recommended by the same Councils, as possessing special knowledge in one department or another.

In countries where no Councils existed, such as France, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Russia, Austria, Norway, Victoria, South Australia, West Australia, Queensland, Cape Colony, the Argentine Republic, Committees formed on the same basis from members of several Societies made lists of speakers and recommended to us ladies who could act as Honorary Vice-Presidents. Our charming little Chinese representative, Madame Shen, whose keen, interested face was a feature at many of our meetings, and who begged us to correct our erroneous ideas about Chinese women being nonentities, was officially appointed from China through the Chinese Ambassador in England.

The one great regret felt by many of us when looking back, has been the lack of opportunity for making more personal acquaintance with our many visitors. London is so big and our guests were scattered in so many directions, the meetings were so numerous and so varied, and the private hospitality and the public recognition shown to us has been so generous, that the time at our disposal for seeing one another at leisure has proved far too scanty.

Nevertheless, the remembrance of the official reception held amidst the palatial surroundings of Stafford House, by the kindness of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, of the evening party at Lady Battersea's, where our visitors had the opportunity of meeting so many English notabilities, of the historic associations of Fulham Palace, where the Bishop of London and Mrs. Creighton made the whole Congress feel at home, and, lastly, of the magnificence of the final reception provided at beautiful Gun-

nersbury Park by Lord and Lady Rothschild and Mr. and Mrs. Leopold Rothschild, will be held in grateful memory, and will be associated with the beginning of many friendships which will mean much, not only to those who have formed them, but to the world which will profit by the new inspiration that will flow from them.

The time has come when we should render thanks to the many to whom they are due, but we are bewildered by our indebtedness. Shall we begin by telling our one hundred and fifty young lady stewards of our gratitude for their laborious efforts on our behalf at all our meetings, or with the hostesses who have received our visitors as guests in their own private homes during our Congress, or shall we record our obligations to the Press and to the Pulpit for their serious consideration of our work? We know not where to commence and where to end, and we relinquish the task.

Three scenes, however, stand out which cannot be omitted from any retrospect of the Congress, however brief. The first was the opening gathering in the great Hall of the Church House, where representative women from all the continents of the world mustered for the roll-call, and presented their greeting with so suggestive and so strong an individuality in each case that, from that moment, the reality and the internationality of our Congress could no more be doubted. The next was the stately special service at Westminster Abbey, arranged by the kindness of the English Council, where, amongst all the memories of the heroes of the past, the Bishop of Southampton spoke words of encouragement to the women workers for the future. And last, but not least, there was the gracious reception given to the Foreign, American, and Colonial delegates by the Queen of England at Windsor.

It was a moving sight to see the aged sovereign, whose sixty years reign has done more for women than the centuries which preceded it, and whose name is loved and venerated in all the countries of the world, both as the ideal Queen and the ideal woman, slowly moving in her carriage across the quadrangle of the old Castle, past the long rows of women, who, in all parts of the earth, are trying to leave the world better than they found ii. There was our new President, Mrs. May Wright Sewall; there was the Queen's contemporary, Miss Susan B. Anthony, who has

borne herself throughout the Congress as if she were the youngest and keenest of us all; there were the dusky Indian women in their bright Oriental array, one of them carrying a sweet faced baby whom the Queen specially noticed; there were the delegates from far off Australia; there also was our Vice-President from France, Madame Bogelot, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, who, with bright, vivacious Madame Féresse Deraismes, again shows an example of activity and versatility not easily rivalled by the younger women. Representatives from Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, they were all there, together with Americans and Canadians; and to all the Queen gave that gracious bow and smile which bound their hearts to her forever as they lifted their voices in one sincere invocation of "God Save the Queen." That person would be strangely constituted who could look on that scene untouched, and certain it is that the memory of it will be cherished in many far away homes. As the Queen's guests poured into the banqueting chamber to partake of the refreshments so thoughtfully provided after the heat of the day there was a glow on every face, there was a ring of enthusiasm in every voice, which betokened much more than a passing emotion, and which showed how completely this gracious act of the Queen had crowned the success of our Congress gathering, and how potent it would be for good.

ISHBEL ABERDEEN.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN.

BY KASSANDRA VIVARIA.

THE International Congress of Women is over, and with the departure of the last delegate from London the onlooker begins to claim his right of judgment, the right of awaiting results and of settling down into a feeling of satisfaction or of disappointment. As in most other manifestations of human thought or human energy, the outsiders have splintered into various groups, such as the totally indifferent, composed of the man who rashly despises and the woman who ignores, the entirely disapproving and the unrestrictedly enthusiastic. I find that a quite insufficient proportion of the crowd that thronged to hear the speeches at St. Martin's and the Westminster Town Hall, took the dispassionate and expectant view which would seem the only one possible under the circumstances. The general London public, which has assisted with a sort of dazed wonder at this phenomenon of a number of women, from foreign parts, too, gathering together and settling the affairs of the world in a few sentences, very decided and sometimes inefficient—when it has not entirely shrugged its shoulders, has either come away from the meetings in a state of delighted surprise, because it had only expected nonsense and had found an organization in magnificent working order, or of bitter disappointment because it had gone to hear finished orators, convincing argument, in short, "something new," and had gone in vain.

Many are those who flock out to the desert because there seems to be a kind of attraction, in other words a fashion, for flocking that way, and who know not what they are going out to see—a prophet, a man clothed in fine raiment, or a reed shaken by the wind. So that, whatever disappointment may be hovering in the atmosphere after the passage of such a "sign of the times" as the Women's Congress undoubtedly is—and disappointment

does exist, except in the breasts of the members themselves—is perhaps as much the fault of the spectators as of the actors. Nevertheless, how many of the unenlightened who went forth to seek the prophet have found only the reed shaken by the wind—often, too, by an ill wind!

I think it unnecessary to dwell on the questions of detail which have lost the interest of actuality, the names of the delegates, the several divisions and sub-divisions of the work of the Congress. Such a catalogue would only have had a sort of guide book interest during the meetings, and is, moreover, to be found in the daily papers, which spoke at great length and with a sort of awe—mostly refraining from criticism or the expression of opinions—of the many distinguished ladies who represented the different countries in the various sections. What is now more important is to get, if possible, at what these women meant to achieve before they met, what is likely to be achieved by their having met, and, lastly, what to my humble way of thinking it would be desirable that they should achieve—very often, I am afraid, a completely different thing from what is either likely or intended. The results striven for by the mass of the Congress members, the results also which women are on the high road to obtaining, do not appeal to many, and I think justly, as being the absolute desideratum of feminine progress. Speaking personally, from personal conversation with actual delegates, and principally with women who did not form part of the International Congress, but were in other respects quite as remarkable as the women who did, it would not appear that this great meeting has marked any considerable or lasting step in the development of women's intelligence. And the fundamental amelioration of woman's intelligence is, surely, a more lasting ambition than to increase at haphazard the weight of her duties or to stretch out to bewilderment the horizon of her rights. True, increased rights bring increased duties, and the sense of manifold duties to perform, that are noble in themselves and beneficent in their effects, can only tend to augment that comprehension of our responsibility towards ourselves and towards others that is the only real and solid foundation of character. Woman, up to not very many years ago, was a creature of whims, the victim quite as much of her own want of reason as of man's tyrannous injustice. Intelligence in an average degree was not the average lot of the

average woman, neither were self-reliance and reason and character, taken in its more restricted sense of firmness and consequence, the traditional heritage of the fair sex. All this is rapidly changing, and it must be confessed that the change has been wrought almost entirely by the increase of woman's prerogatives and responsibilities.

But where will the advantage be if the gaining of one set of qualities only leads to the losing of another, if developing one portion of woman's intellectual capacity means the stifling of the other, if we are getting out of old trammels only to fall into an abyss of new deficiencies?

It would, perhaps, be difficult for anyone not present at the meetings, for anyone not acquainted with the general atmosphere of the Congress, to realize the sense of vague disappointment and discomfort that wedged its way into the minds of many among the unbiassed yet alien audience. The very way in which the Congress was organized—and that was admirable—the smooth manner in which things proceeded, the automatic succession of lifeless speeches, had an uncanny effect on the mere listener, as of a monotonous cinematographic performance in black and grey, instead of an assembly where the most vital interests of the human race were being handled. "Are these women?" asked a countrywoman of mine who had spent an afternoon congressing with me, I am afraid in much the same spirit in which she would have spent it in shopping. "Is this how they like women over here?" And this last question I could not answer. I only observed that the worthy representatives of our sex did not perhaps care to be liked, or at least placed the mean desire to win approbation a step or two beneath contempt—a consideration wholly beyond the range of comprehension of my friend's limited Latin mind. And slowly, as I sat through meeting after meeting, in one and another of the numerous sections, the conviction dawned on me that there was something young and amateurish and beside the mark in many of the papers read, and that the general drift of these was to merge the individual work of clever women into a kind of collective fanaticism, to bring to the front too many of the women only capable of mediocrity, and to isolate the work of woman from the work of man. There are several remarks which I think no one who attended the Congress can fail to have made; for instance, that the

standard of the speeches, apart from some brilliant exceptions, was not high; that the tendency was to lower the increased scope of woman's work, which is an ideal, into a sex question, which is a fad; that much that was said sounded illogical towards nature, and was intensely feminine in the calm ignoring of facts that have governed the world, and that, unless not social prejudices but physical laws can be reversed, must go on governing it. The space allotted to me does not admit of quotations or extracts illustrative of what I mean. I must therefore be content—and I purposed from the beginning to do nothing more —with jotting down impressions, with being a kind of echo of the thoughts that are busy here in most minds.

I have said that the standard of the papers was not high. There may be excuses for a weak speech in the mouth of a woman when no time has been allowed for her preparation, and when circumstances have forced her into public expression; but why any woman who did not feel herself qualified to speak with effect, and was not absolutely compelled to do so, should prefer platitudes to silence is a thing not very comprehensible to the ordinary human being, who does not think publicity the inevitable companion of solid achievement. That a good cause can be furthered by a bad speech is no argument, but many things from time immemorial have been explained away by woman's wit, and this peculiar form of unexpected logic is what woman's wit, taking the place of ability, has been trying to force on the world during the Congress, I fear without success. Most of the speakers had not the faintest idea as to the amount of workmanship necessary for the production of shapely periods; no idea how to articulate these periods once they were formed, how to find and group the argument most fitted to move an audience. Again, some of the subjects were so trite and poor that no oratorical genius could have lent them interest. About the papers treating of Arts and Crafts, there was an air of personal advertisement that was distasteful; about the papers touching on moral and social subjects, there was a want of foresight that bordered very closely, paradoxical as it may sound when we think that we are discussing the broadest feminine spirits of the age, on narrowness of mind. But broadness of attitude is not possessed by those who fear neither excessive change nor sudden innovation; only by the mind mature enough to see beyond the objects ranging across its vision. It is

not enough for breadth of sight to take in a vast horizon; it is necessary to see beyond the horizon, and right through into the results of the changes and innovations that appear in themselves just or commendable.

And this brings me to my second conclusion: that the range of vision displayed by the various delegates was generally narrow, insomuch that it obviously tended to make the discussion of woman's wider possibilities of action a sex question—a sex question which is, at present, by the large majority of vehement woman-workers injudiciously treated, and therefore likely to produce disastrous effects on the final direction taken by the development of both man and woman. That there is no room for thousands of women in those avocations which were formerly their only sphere, is a thing to be deplored, since it cuts off so many from much that is best in life; it should be remedied as an evil, and not hailed as an advantage. That many women having a horror of housekeeping and fancy work should now be allowed to demand their right as individuals to employ their time and energies elsewhere, is no generous concession, and merely the application of strict justice; but that these women should refuse to work as human beings, and should try to specialize and sterilize their efforts by calling them Woman's Work is a trifle absurd and not a little dangerous to their own ideals. Why should a woman who does journalistic work be anxious to style herself a "Lady Journalist"—and not rest content with having succeeded in being simply a journalist? Why should the labor of this world be divided into woman's work as antagonistic to man's work, and not simply come under the grand and holy name of Work?

A persistency in this kind of isolation, of feminine freemasonry, is, to say the least, impolitic. Where will woman's effort be if, by dint of isolation, she should either estrange man from her struggle more than he is already estranged, or reduce the directing and supporting heads of the world to the state of puppets? We have seen them, these men whom hard, laborious, but selfish women had apparently taught that sweet femininity no longer exists, and would not be a good thing if it did. They are not many, and they are not good specimens. We have seen them, too, those other men whom woman has subjected by her intelligence and her exactions; following her lead and shining at her tea parties, and we have not found them men. Woman is in the majority,

and whereas men are sometimes placed in such circumstances that they have no opportunity of exercising an influence on the younger generation that is growing up around them, woman, even when maternity is denied her, is always an educator. So that wrong notions, short views, erroneous tendencies, are of double the ultimate importance in woman that they are in man. And it seemed to me, in following the broad lines of the Congress, that the very last generation of "advanced" women have taken a wrong turning; and that, through the very rational intention, springing from an imperative necessity that work and livelihood should be found for the women whom the men are no longer numerous enough to support, as well as for those to whom the cares of domestic life are denied or insufficient, or do not appeal, a tendency is easily traceable by which a whole class of women are trying to force men from the occupations that are most fitted for them. Granted that the ambition of woman will be completely satisfied, and her feeling that justice should at last be done to her completely gratified, when she attains the enviable goal of doing indifferently that which men have done at times to perfection, is she so convinced that good will come to her or others by her assumption of these superfluous duties? Can woman's originality invent nothing better than the aping of man, whom she pretends to despise in his moral code and his little weaknesses? Can her ambition see no further than the grand ideal of doing "just" what men do, "nearly" as well as they do it? For it is useless to strive and fret, to stand up on platforms and argue that which nature, cruelly, perhaps, but definitely, has seen fit to settle long ago. Even when we shall have worn ourselves out with trying, there are some things which men do which we shall never do more than "nearly" as well. Is it worth while losing so much for anything so approximative as a second place? If it cannot be denied that some women must work, it surely must be wrong that they should work as the rivals and not as the comrades of that third of humanity which has borne the burden of material existence during the heat and fray of some few thousand years.

It may be argued that this spirit of eager rivalry is only a spirit of healthy competition. I do not think so. It is not healthy competition that suggests, even if only in the back chambers of thought, the suppression or lowering in the esteem of others of the competitors in the field. Nor is it by diminishing

the notion of man, either in his abilities or his morality, that we shall make our triumph a thing to be proud of. No victory can be very glorious that is only won over foes that we have all along declared to be contemptible. It did not strike me as honest that only one or two women of the Congress should have spoken in favor of man, and of the possible advantages of a man's guidance. Nor did it seem to me a far-seeing spirit that would not see the element of danger contained in the heightening of competition, in a world where, apart from emigration which will not last forever, and domestic service, there is not enough work if we one and all insist on doing some of it. How is it we do not see that an exaggerated increase of workers will in the end only produce a lessening of the remuneration without increasing the demand? With the present craze for independent action of any kind, which ought to be controlled instead of exasperated, why strike a note likely to clog the thoroughfares with more competitors than ever? Art would be in a more encouraging condition if the consciences of those who love it were firm and restricted expression through any of its mediums to those who really have something to say. And this world's hard work—I am not speaking of amateur occupations—would be better done, easier to get, and more remunerative, if so many women who are placed under the necessity of appearing among the workers only by their own caprice and desire of advertisement, which they mistake for the zeal of the apostle, would rest satisfied with utter obscurity and stay away.

The sort of solitary splendor in which women are trying to cloak this modern form of morbid vanity called feminism, will be fatal to their own efforts, from the double fact that whatever social, administrative, legal or government concessions they may aspire to will have to be wrested from men and not from women, and that the intelligent men in whose hands so much of woman's future freedom resides, are generally found willing enough to yield points on the score of justice or humanity, but are totally callous and impossible to bias when the cause is put forward as a woman's cause, as a sex question. That man has still the advantage of women in many of the walks of life to which it is not only her right but her duty to obtain admittance, that much can and should be done for women in almost every direction of employment is so evident as to be beyond discussion, but that she will gain her end by an independent crusade in which men's sympa-

thies cannot, for obvious reasons, be spontaneously enlisted, seems very doubtful. And for this I have vibrated in unison with the views of the Congress when the speaker happened to express herself in the name of downtrodden humanity or neglected justice, and have turned away perfectly indifferent when she spoke merely for Woman. Vibrated and turned away, not because I deny woman's right to demand a place in the world's arena, but because I deny the place of pioneer to the woman who will not be brave enough to forget the clamorings of sex, still her questions of far-fetched privileges, and work side by side with man, caring only that the work should be done somehow, finding no time to consider *which of the two* has done it or done it best, which individuality is going to be the necessarily sacrificed one of the two.

It has also seemed to me that the excessive spirit of sex was not doing any special good in the way of producing moral elevation of a certain kind. The lady who spoke of "*the unpaid services of the housewife*" would, I think, if her views were to be generalized, turn away from matrimony more men than already step back, frightened by the rather appalling aspect that so many modern women think it their duty to assume. Many of us have found it a revolting thought that all the services so sweet to render when love is there to prompt and insinuate, should sometimes have to be bartered for food, clothes, shelter and position, in the case of poverty-stricken girls, each brought up to marry a rich man for whom she does not care, should he only come her way, simply because the world—and especially society—are still hard on the unmarried woman, and persist in considering her, whatever the cause of her single condition, to a certain extent a failure. This, that so many women should be taught to trade on their person and freedom rather than work, has always seemed to me one of the true evils, in some countries more prevalent than in others; one of the true crimes of social organization, and the only true humiliation of woman's position. So that when a woman, in an unimpeachable assembly, seriously proposes that women should be paid for the services which her being a man's wife and the mother of *their* children—hers as much as his—entails, one's old-fashioned notions of affection, as well, I must confess, as of common sense, run the risk of receiving a severe shock. It seems rather hard on man that he should have to pay his wife for superintending the comfortable home which she has the greater opportunities of enjoying,

from the fact that *she* need not usually, once married, spend her days in city offices in order to support her family. I was sorely tempted to approach that practical and mercenary lady, in order to glean from her a clearer view as to the tariff she thought of establishing, how much a night, for instance, would be deemed sufficient under the new *régime* for attendance on an overworked husband or a sick child, and the like; but I refrained, the Modern Woman being often chary of compassion towards the young and ignorant, sharp of tongue and withering of glance. We have, indeed, drifted far from the ideal woman of one time, far also from the exceptional women of to-day, whose step "seemed to pity the grass it pressed;" who was

> "a ruling grace
> Which to the flowers, did they waken or dream,
> Was as God is to the starry scheme."

We think of nothing but ruling nowadays, and "grace," a little of which would flavor the unpalatable facts and inexplicable truths which fill this world of ours, has evaporated. And this is, perhaps, the most serious grievance we can bring to bear against the Congress. It has shown us too glaringly that the woman of action, as a type, after having rapidly changed for the better, is beginning to deteriorate, that we are producing minds not one whit more valuable in calibre and texture than the minds of clever women of past generations, without a sufficient ballast of new acquirements to compensate for the old, lost charm.

The wonderful symbolist poet who wrote "Solomon's Song" saw them rise up before his eyes out of the deep future, the two imperfect women who have divided history between them, and the one perfect woman who will, I am sure, be evolved in time, even from the unlikely materials which are sometimes proposed for her formation. He saw her first—the woman who loses herself in the mists of early tradition, the crushed, annihilated child of sacrifice and prayer, and he painted her with one marvellous stroke of the pen, with one of those comprehensive sweeps, full of color, and landscape, and suggestion, which are the birthmark of Hebrew poetry: "Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense?" Like pillars of smoke! She was indeed nothing else: a disembodied streak of smoke, wreathing upwards from the burning sacrifice, perfumed, we are told, with myrrh and frankincense, those symbols all

through Scripture of bitterness and death. The poet sings on, and his love-song, called so justly the "Song of Songs," ripples from his lips like a silver brook, coiling through the still and warm and luscious scenery of a dream. And suddenly there is a full-stop in his song, once more the vision of a figure mounting up from the far-off desert of the world: "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?" No longer a voiceless emanation of suffering, passing upwards without name or hope, only to leave a heap of perhaps fertilizing ashes behind. It is a thing of life, a woman. But, though fair, she is not perfect yet; the stigma of those who inspire fear is upon her; she is not intellect, she is not heart, she is not warm as the sun, but only clear; she is fair as the moon, and the moon is sterile; she is neither pain nor love, she is War.

And she is not defeated. The wise old poet of Israel has seen ahead of us, and in a last exquisite verse he paints for us the third woman, the one we have as yet known only in transient apparitions. I will quote the text of the Vulgate, which is fuller than the English version: "Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness, rich in joy, leaning upon her beloved?" Thus we have the four elements which go to the making up of a perfect woman—and that woman will be a spontaneous growth rather than the work of generalizing movements and of Congresses—the spirit of sacrifice, "perfumed with myrrh and frankincense;" and of war, "terrible as an army with banners;" the spirit of joy, "*deliciis affluens*," and of love, "leaning upon her beloved." The woman of to-day has proved herself prepared for too much war, too anxious to convince the world at large that she can fight, and that her fighting alone will be good for us all. It ought to be impressed upon her that however opportune she may be as the woman of to-day, it would be a pity if she were to survive as the woman of to-morrow; a pity if there were in feminine nature no richer possibilities than the power of strife. We are all imperfect to-day, because the fight for our moral existence has warped other things—we are the army prepared for battle, having too many banners—at times hard and cold as our own steel; imperfect, because we refuse to suffer for ourselves or our dear ones; imperfect, because the spirit of joy, which is the sense of beauty, and the comprehension of life are not fully ours; and imperfect, because we do not "lean on our

beloved," to use the quaint Scripture simile; because we do not yet know how to love enough things that are outside of ourselves. The women who nowadays take up women's rights and air their opinions on platform and in pamphlet, are not generally those most fitted by intense personal suffering to sympathize with sufferers—in a word, to *help;* and this—not even the Women's International Congress can deny it—is the one thing for which man has no time and is unfit; therefore, the one thing which it is needful that women should do.

Again, woman taken in a broad way has not as yet a sufficient sense of the power of form or of the joy of beauty. Her ideas as to Art are vague, her innate taste is not individual; her judgments are rarely original; she perceives what she has been educated up to, but her perceptions of line and color, and rhythm either touch her emotions or her intellect, and seldom achieve that reaching of the one through the other, which means perfect comprehension. Women workers of to-day, unless artists of some description, generally enjoy good spirits if the world has been kind to them, but the deep conscious joy of the universe is not yet within their grasp; they are not *deliciis affluens.* But we are told that this terrible modern woman who is fighting so strenuously also "looketh out as the morning." Let us hope, even though it be a forlorn hope, that before the next International Congress symptoms of a change will appear, signs that hearts are beginning to throb quicker, side by side with the brains that strive; that women, at least, if not all mankind, will be struggling to reach the apex of our nature's perfectibility, absorbing good on all sides and radiating it towards others, instead of clamoring for more rights, which would find us unripe if we had them, or more duties, when those we have are not always over well performed. And those who would attain the end ought not to flinch from the means. If the conception of beauty is ever to be applied to character or to the feminine type of mind and heart, there ought to be no shrinking from the forces that can help us reach it. They are not exactly what women have been demanding lately, and they are sometimes crucial; but, widely speaking, they are the only two—more pain and more love.

KASSANDRA VIVARIA.

THE PARAMOUNT POWER OF THE PACIFIC.

BY JOHN BARRETT, FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

THE most remarkable result of the late war with Spain is one we never anticipated: it has made the United States the paramount power of the Pacific. We unexpectedly assumed this responsibility on the first of May, 1898. When Admiral Dewey destroyed the fleet and sovereignty of Spain, he built up in one brief day the influence and prestige of the United States throughout all the Pacific Seas. He accomplished in a few hours what otherwise might not have been realized in a half century—or possibly never. To use a homely but expressive figure, he picked up American influence as if it were a peg stuck in a hole, and put it down tight in the first or leading position.

If I use earnest terms in this discussion of America's interests in the Far East—which I have written at the special request of the Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW—I would ask my critics and those who oppose our policy in the Pacific, to remember that we who labored faithfully and patiently during the long years preceding the late war to protect and advance America's material and political interests in Oriental nations, have possibly a keener appreciation of the mighty change wrought than they who viewed the situation from afar, and often with the large end of the glass nearest the eye. It is one thing to sit in an American sanctum, library, club, or Congressional committee room, and outline how American interests should be guarded and strengthened in Asiatic realms; and quite another, after setting out for these same countries, 7,000 to 10,000 miles away from Washington, and hastening to our posts with commissions in hand, not only to realize with profound chagrin that American influence decreased in direct proportion as the distance increased, but to be received

on our arrival at these Eastern courts as the representatives of a nation holding an indefinite position somewhere down the line after Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, and even little Holland and Belgium—and not as the Ministers and Envoys of a first class world power!

But the effect of war was magical. Only those residing in the Orient could appreciate it. The first signs of this renaissance of American influence were seen when Dewey made Hong Kong the rendezvous of his squadron in March, 1898. Then the battle was fought. It was followed by a rising wave of American prestige that swept up and down the Coast like the rush of a tidal current, gradually returning to its natural strength, but leaving everywhere its distinct impression. After Manila fell, and the long, sad period of inactivity followed, there was a reaction. Doubt existed as to whether America would realize her splendid opportunity, not only in the Philippines but throughout the entire East. Then finally came the unfortunate delay in treaty confirmation—responsible in a degree for the present conflict and bloodshed. But when ratification triumphed, diplomatists and business men immediately began to reconsider their policies and lines of action, on the basis of America's becoming the paramount power of the Pacific.

When I contrasted the attention given to American interests, political and commercial, moral and social, in all the leading capitals of the Far East, from Java to Japan, during my last trip north, with what my colleagues and myself had repeatedly seen and experienced in former years, it made my heart glad, and I felt that such a result in a measure offset the difficulties involved in the occupation of the Philippines. But there is not only the sentimental side to this American movement; every branch of trade is feeling it; and American connections are being sought by merchants of all nationalities. And yet this is only the beginning.

PERSONAL STUDY OF SUBJECT.

Possibly I may be pardoned for making some reference to my personal study of the subject, in order that my humble observations may have more weight. Ever since I first went to the Far East, inspired with the belief that the western coast States of America must look to the Pacific for the development of permanent conditions of prosperity, I have been a devoted advocate of

the American opportunity in the Pacific. For five years I have hammered away in reports to the Government, letters to Chambers of Commerce, and contributions to newspapers, magazines, and reviews, including particularly the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, with the hope of thus awakening our Government, as well as our manufacturers and exporters, to an appreciation of the splendid field awaiting their best efforts. After long continued discussion, much of it in vain, it is most gratifying to see some reciprocal interest manifested and my unpretentious prophecies coming true. But the pleasure and satisfaction are alloyed with the fear that, just as we are on the threshold of our greatest possibilities, the door of trade may be closed in our faces. Then we shall be helpless.

It has been my privilege to visit during my leaves of absence not only the interior of Siam, but to travel in Japan, Siberia, Korea, Manchuria, China, Formosa, Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Java, and the Philippines—all with the sole purpose of familiarizing myself with the commercial and political situation. My first journey was made in 1894, my last in 1899; so I trust that I am in comparative touch with the conditions described and discussed.

THE MORAL ISSUES INVOLVED.

There is not time or space in this paper to discuss the moral side of our position and policy in the Philippines or in China, but I would not underrate this phase of the question. Every man has his own opinion and system of reasoning in regard to America's responsibilities and rights of action. Possibly one man's views are as good as another's. In discussing, on the other hand, the material or commercial aspect of the situation, positive *data* and actual survey and study of the field are necessary to approach the truth. In leaving the moral issues to general consideration, I would submit only one specific statement of my doctrine. The United States have assumed a mighty and unavoidable responsibility, not only to themselves and the natives, but to the world, in occupying the Philippine Islands. They could not return them to their former sovereignty, sell them to another power, or yield them to absolute native rule, without shirking that responsibility, and taking a backward step from which the nation would never recover. In their attitude toward China, they should be charitable to that government's faults, lend a

strong hand when possible, and avoid under all circumstances bulldozing and robbing tactics in efforts to obtain by force territory or ports which should only be occupied by legitimate agreement.

PHILIPPINE INTERESTS OVERSHADOW PERIL IN CHINA.

There is imminent danger that, in the attention we are giving the Philippine question, we will forget our growing interests in China. The latter are too important, in comparison with the former, to be overlooked. It can be logically argued that our commercial opportunities in China are far greater than they ever will be in the Philippines, under the most favorable conditions. Therefore, while we are setting matters right in our new possessions, we must not allow them to go wrong in China, where our old established treaties are being stretched—not by China herself, but by her neighbors. As we clean up a new room, we must not let strangers enter by the back way and raid the store-room. What will it profit us if we open the door of the Philippines, only to see that of China closed against us?

And yet I indulge in no exaggeration when I say there is a grave peril confronting our interests in the Middle Kingdom. I speak from long observation, supported by the private conclusions—if they could make them public—of our present Ministers and Consuls. I was compelled to keep silent myself until relieved of the responsibilities of my former position. What I now declare, however, is no indiscretion, because it is a simple statement of truth which does not in any way disclose the relations of the United States with other nations. It is most difficult, I admit, to name a specific act that is contrary to the treaties in their diplomatic interpretation, but those of us who have travelled through Manchuria and Shantung on the north, and Kwangsi and Yunnan on the south, have seen conditions and influences that are having the same moral effect as actual closure.

"OPEN DOOR" AND "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE."

There are certain terms employed in reference to China which are of sufficient importance to warrant brief special mention in consideration of the main subject. The "open door," as the phrase is commonly used, means nothing more than the maintenance without limitations of the treaty rights of trade throughout the empire, with all nations on an equal footing. It does not imply that there is no duty or tariff, but simply that all lands must pay

the same duty or tariff as agreed upon in the original Tientsin treaties. "Spheres of influence," in their technical sense, mean sections of country where the nation exercising the influence contends that no other nation shall ever acquire sovereignty or secure privileged concessions; but, as far as China is concerned, it is a sugar-coated diplomatic phrase which is practically equal to "areas of absolute sovereignty," and that is the condition into which they will inevitably evolve unless some great change should be wrought in China's government in the very near future.

It is possible to have the "open door" and "spheres of influence" at one and the same time, and that is the policy which the United States must insist upon if the integrity of the empire is not preserved; otherwise, our great and growing markets will be entirely lost to us. While we should do everything in our power to prevent the disintegration of China, at the same time, in realization of the fact that we cannot go to war in support of such a policy, if we see that the break-up is inevitable, we must leave no stone unturned to preserve our old treaty rights in a new form with the powers in control. If this is accomplished, it may come to pass that our trade and commerce in the country that was once China will be greater than ever otherwise possible. I doubt, however, as do most authorities on China, if such a fortunate result would ever attend our efforts, but we must take every eventuality into consideration and be prepared for any turn whatsoever in the tide.

ALL SECTIONS INTERESTED.

The Far East, particularly China, affords markets which should arouse the interest of all sections of the United States, and make the country stand unanimously for a firm policy. The West and East and the North and South are equally concerned in maintaining the freedom of trade and preserving our treaty rights throughout China. Were it merely a sectional issue, there might be a grave question as to the advisability of taking a strong position as to the future of the empire. China and other Asiatic countries want all the flour and timber, and a goodly portion of other kinds of food and raw products, which California, Oregon, Washington and neighboring Western States can supply; they want the manufactured cotton and raw cotton of the South in increasing quantities, and the time may come when this Pacific-Asiatic demand will take up the surplus supply of the South's

great staple; they want the manufactured cotton, iron, steel, and miscellaneous products of the North and East, together with unlimited quantities of petroleum; they want corresponding manufactured products of the central West, and there is no reason why there should not be developed among the Asiatic millions a demand for the central West's great staple, maize (or Indian meal), such as there has been created for flour. I draw no fancy picture, but simply express my honest opinion after five years' careful study of the field which I am discussing.

The question of protecting such markets appeals to capitalist and laboring man alike. It offers the former an opportunity for the investment of his capital, and it increases the employment and wages of the latter by providing a greater demand. The masses of our people, especially the laboring classes, are inclined to think that the Chinese question is one which should not concern them, and in the haziness of their views they may think that it has to do with Chinese labor, which, of course, looms up to them as a mighty danger, while in fact they are as much concerned as the manufacturer and exporter, and are to-day in many sections of the country and in numerous establishments absolutely dependent upon the Chinese market for their employment. The farmers of the West and South can unite with the laboring men of the North and East in supporting the shippers, manufacturers and exporters in developing a strong Asiatic policy. Were the door of China closed against us to-morrow, it would mean that labor and capital alike would suffer immeasurable harm. They should, therefore, see that it is never closed.

If I were asked to make my argument complete by showing what will be the principal specific demands of the Far East for American products, I should say that they would include flour and breadstuffs, cotton goods and raw cotton, kerosene oil, timber, manufactured iron and steel products, machinery and hardware, locomotives, cars, rails, sewing machines, clocks and watches, telephone and telegraph apparatus, electric railways, electric lights, electric supplies, canned goods, wines, spirits and liquors, chemicals and medicines, tobacco, leather and paper, with an endless variety of manufactured articles commonly known as "muck and truck."

LAND OF GREAT POTENTIALITIES.

China is a nation of incalculable possibilities. The more one

studies her, travels in the interior, or investigates her resources, the more one is convinced that she has only begun her material advancement. Whenever I have been up the Yangtse river, travelled overland, or visited the coast ports or interior towns, I have been impressed more and more with the future before her, if she shall ever be well governed and not divided up among foreign nations.

If I seem to employ strong terms in describing the opportunities in China and the Far East, I beg to remind my readers that the leading American, British and German engineers and explorers who have travelled thoroughly over these countries support my contentions. China possesses unlimited quantities of coal and iron, which are already located; and there are numerous indications of gold and silver and other precious metals. There is no valid reason why China should not be covered with a network of railways. She has the population and the products to support them. It is often contended that China can never be such a great commercial nation as has been predicted by many authorities, because she has not the buying capacity. There is no better way to develop such capacity than by opening up the interior. Money will then flow in from the outside to purchase raw supplies, and will provide the people with means to buy the manufactured products of other nations.

Manchuria affords one of the best object lessons of American opportunity. The growth of the demand there for certain classes of American cotton goods has been phenomenal. It was not many years ago that the market was very limited. There are even on record reports of consuls and of special agents of cotton firms, which said that there was no field for the expansion of American trade. To-day the marvel of business interests in northern China is the development of the market for American cotton goods in Manchuria. When I first visited New-Chwang, the gateway to Manchuria, American imports were not over 15 per cent. of the total; on my last visit they were more than 50 per cent., with the proportion increasing every day! Notwithstanding this marked growth, only a small proportion of Manchuria's millions has been reached. If the great northern provinces of China now require $7,000,000 worth of our cottons, there is no valid reason why they should not in ten years from now consume $20,000,000 worth. A few years ago, $3,000,000 represented the value of the trade. When we consider that the cotton mills of New England and the

South are supplying this demand in Manchuria, and that they have even been kept running when other mills have been closed, there is every reason why those two sections should join together in insisting that the open door shall always apply to Manchuria.

American exports to the Far East to-day approximate $40,000,000, if the actual value of everything which leaves our shores is counted; but, basing our estimates on reasonable grounds, there is no reason why they should not expand in the near future to $150,000,000, and our total exchange reach $300,000,000. Few people appreciate the enormous business that is now done up and down the Pacific Asiatic coast. It amounts to $1,000,000,000, gold, *per annum*, and represents 500,000,000 people. Of this, the imports are over half. Certainly it is logical to hold that the United States should be able to supply at least a third of the products now imported from foreign lands. China's trade amounts to $250,000,000 with a population of 350,000,000 people. If her wants ever expand in any such degree as those of Japan and other countries which have awakened from their Asiatic lethargy, her foreign trade should reach, on a conservative estimate, $500,000,000. Were the same ratio of population to trade, or one to two, which exists in all other countries of Asia, progressive and retrogressive, applied to China, her future foreign exchange could be estimated at $700,000,000. I do not mean that it can or will attain these figures within this generation, but it is a logical possibility, provided always that the government is reformed and the door of trade is not closed.

As a marked illustration of the difficulty of forecasting the limit of American exports to China, I would call special attention to the flour trade. Some of our consuls and trade experts declared, but a few years ago, that wheat flour would never be accepted in large quantities by the Chinese. It was contended that they did not want it, did not need it, and could not be induced to take it. The exporters of California and Oregon were even advised to spend no more money in an effort to build up a market. And yet the development of the flour trade is even more marvellous than that of cotton. The shipments, for instance, from Portland, Oregon, to Hong Kong have increased 1,600 per cent. in the last ten years, and, taken with those of San Francisco and the Puget Sound ports, aggregate many millions of dollars *per annum!* Considering what a small portion of China's millions has commenced

to use flour, it is difficult to place any reasonable limit on the future demand.

PHILIPPINE RESOURCES AND CLIMATE.

In this article I am giving little or no attention to the vital interest which we have in the Philippines, because that is worthy of a separate discussion, and has already been exhaustively treated by others. I wish, however, to go on record as saying that, from extended travels through the Islands before the war, and from visits to them later in time of war and American control, I am convinced that they hold out not only great opportunities for commerce and trade, but for legitimate investment and exploitation. It is my opinion, supported not only by Americans but by Britons who have travelled through the interior, that there is no richer undeveloped portion of Asia than the Philippine group. The foreign commerce of the Islands, which now amounts to over $30,000,000, should be trebled within the next decade, and there is room for railway construction alone that would involve the expenditure of $150,000,000, in portions of the Islands having a large population and extensive products. Comparing Luzon with Nippon, the principal island of Japan, the interiors of both of which I have visited, I would say that, aside from area and population, the comparison is altogether in favor of Luzon.

As for the climate, the Philippines are no worse than other tropical lands, and Manila can compare favorably with Hong Kong, Bangkok, Singapore and Batavia, where European officials and business men, with their families and employees, live in fair health, comfort and happiness. I personally suffered more during the recent hot wave in New York and Chicago than I ever did from heat of the tropics in four years' stay in Bangkok. More people die of *grippe* in New York in one year than of fever, cholera and plague in Manila in ten years.

Our problems of government and establishment of law and order we will successfully solve if our people will be patient and with confidence await the issue. The end of the next dry season should see the end of the present insurrection.

JAPAN'S NEW RESPONSIBILITIES.

Another important consideration which directly affects America's interests in the Far East is also being hidden by the general discussion of the Philippine situation. On July 16th, Americans and American interests in Japan passed out from under the juris-

diction of our consuls and went under that of Japan. In other words, the old treaties which have been in force ever since the time of Commodore Perry, who, like Admiral Dewey, brought us new prominence and influence in the Orient, became null and void on that day, and the new ones, which give Japan the rights of all other powers over foreigners residing or visiting within their limits, came into force. This is a grave experiment, and all foreigners in Japan are greatly concerned as to the effect upon their interests of such a radical change. When I visited Japan recently, I found the question of the application of the new treaties the all absorbing topic of discussion and argument. While there is great difference of opinion as to that country's ability to successfully administer jurisdiction over the subjects of other nations, the leading Japanese statesmen, such as Count Ito, Count Okuma, Marshal Yamagata and Viscount Aoki, hold that Japan will faithfully meet her new responsibilities, and prove to the world her ability to rank with other nations as a first-class power in every respect.

The United States, in watching the situation and seeing that our interests do not suffer under the new system, can at the same time show such consideration and co-operation as to win Japan's gratitude and merit her support in the policies which together they may see fit to promote in the Pacific and Far East. We cannot afford to overlook serious defects in Japanese jurisdiction, but we can be reasonably charitable during the first year of its application. It should be given at least a fair test. If it fails, the treaty provides for a remedy. Our material interests in Japan are great, and they are growing. We have no reason yet to believe they will suffer under the new jurisdiction.

OTHER UNDEVELOPED FIELDS.

The resources, possibilities, and opportunities of Indo-China, the Straits Settlements, Java, and Borneo, on the south, of Formosa in the central section, and of Korea and Siberia on the north, aside from Japan, Siam and the Philippines, elsewhere briefly discussed, are sufficient each in itself to be the subject of an article, and therefore I can only touch upon them in passing. In visiting all of these countries, I was impressed with their marvellous capabilities of development, as have been the men who have lived in them for years, and who are investing their capital without limit. In consideration of what there is for America in all

of these countries, we must remember that up to the present time we have made practically no effort whatever to enter into their respective fields.

It is only fitting that I should say a few words about the rich little kingdom of south-eastern Asia, where I had the honor to represent the United States Government for four years. Although Siam is one of the least known nations of the world, it is one of the most interesting and progressive countries of all Asia. It ranks, in its efforts to advance, next to Japan, and is ruled by a King who stands out prominently as one of the ablest statesmen of Asia. There is probably no land in the world of similar population and area which can compare favorably with it in natural wealth, resources, and opportunities, with the possible exception of the Philippines. With about 8,000,000 inhabitants and a foreign commerce of $40,000,000, it stands to-day on the threshold of great material and political development. With an area about equal to that of the State of Texas, it has a vast extent of fertile valleys and wooded uplands, which, together with rich deposits of tin, coal and gold, invite the investment of capital and the consequent development of resources barely yet appreciated throughout the world. The best rice that is grown in Asia comes from Siam, and it is the granary which supplies a large part of the Japanese and Chinese market, aside from sending a considerable quantity to North and South America and Europe. Its teakwood is of the finest quality grown, and is used in the construction of the navies of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia and America. Bangkok, its capital, while great and dirty, like most Oriental cities, is one of the most prosperous ports on the Asiatic coast. With a population of half a million, it is rapidly advancing to the one million mark.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL AND PACIFIC CABLE.

In answer to the question: "What is it necessary for us to do to advance our interests in the Pacific and Far East?" aside from the great main points of holding the Philippines and standing firmly for the open door in China, I would say that the most important step to be taken, in order to clinch our hold as the first power of the Pacific, is the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal. Every year's delay in carrying out this great enterprise will cost us ten times as many millions of dollars in trade as would its immediate digging. Placing the cost of this waterway at its

ultimate limit of $150,000,000, it can be safely stated that, once open, it would add that amount to our foreign trade in the Pacific Seas within ten years after the first ship passed through it. It will change the great trade routes of the world, and will do more than anything else yet unaccomplished to make the United States supreme in both the Atlantic and Pacific. Already, the foreign merchants of the Asiatic coast are making their plans with reference to the effect upon trade of the opening of this route. We do not want the Panama Canal, and we must not allow the construction of the Nicaragua Canal to be delayed by any false hopes and theories that the Panama can be purchased and finished more cheaply. There is no doubt that the nations of Europe recognize that the completion of the Nicaragua Canal would be the greatest influence in making us politically and commercially the first power of the world, and we must watch against their efforts to retard its construction.

The second important point is the laying of a cable across the Pacific Ocean, from some central Pacific Coast point, like San Francisco, Portland, or Puget Sound, to Hawaii and thence to the Philippines, Japan and China, with possibly a branch to Australia. The tremendous monopoly of the present telegraphic connection between the Far East and America is a great handicap to the development of trade with the United States. I have repeatedly heard merchants of all nations in Asiatic ports say that the cost, time, and difficulties of cable communication with the United States, *via* Europe, worked against the extension of American commerce. With a cable across the Pacific touching these important points, and with reasonable charges, the effect on the advancement of America's interests would be at once felt. It is to be hoped that the United States Government will lend its assistance to any company which makes a legitimate proposition for the carrying out of this great enterprise.

The third great necessity is the immediate improvement of the passenger, freight and mail steamship service of the Pacific. Vessels equal to those crossing the Atlantic should be placed on this route, and as many as possible should fly the American flag. At the present moment, the freight facilities are not equal to the demands made upon them, while the time required for passengers and mails going from San Francisco and other important points is from three to six days too long. We cannot expect, however, that

the steamship companies will make the improvements needed unless the Government is willing to give them the necessary subsidies. At the same time, American lines and the Government must bear in mind the competition of the great European steamship companies, which have already placed steamers on the Trans-Pacific route, or are planning to do so. Trade will welcome their coming, but the Government should make it possible for strictly American lines to compete successfully with them.

Fourth, the Government should bear in mind, in its appointment of Ministers and Consuls to Asiatic capitals and ports, that only men suited to the peculiar Asiatic conditions and demands, both political and commercial, should be sent there, and when once good men have made a record for themselves they should be kept in their places. I make this observation with no personal reference to myself, and would say that I have the highest opinion not only of my successor, but of his colleagues, and I hope that they will be long kept in their present positions. In this connection, it would be most fortunate if special commercial *attachés* could be sent to our principal Legations and Consulates-General in the Far East, to devote their entire time and energies to studying the trade opportunities. Now our Ministers and Consuls are kept continually busy attending to the routine work of their offices.

Fifth, there should be established at such main points as Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore, American banks to handle the exchange with the United States. At present there is not a single American banking institution from one end of the coast to the other.

Sixth, American firms should make a practice of sending only the very best men to represent them in the Far East. They should be men of tact and diplomacy, as well as energy.

Further points that might be mentioned would be the establishment of a permanent first-class exhibit of American products at some such place as Shanghai and branches of the American Asiatic Association at all important points on the coast to guard and help American interests; and, possibly as important as anything else, our manufacturers and exporters should bear in mind that they must find out what the Orient wants and make it, and not confine themselves to making what the Orient does not want and will not take. Other minor considerations might be named, but those I have enumerated cover the general situation.

AMERICA MAY DECIDE THE FUTURE OF CHINA.

In a recent address before the New York Chamber of Commerce, I made the statement that America is now the arbiter of China's future. As this opinion has created considerable discussion in the press throughout the country, I will briefly give my reasons for making so sweeping a declaration. Such a responsibility is not the direct result of our presence in the Philippines; it is rather the outcome of recent events in China which have placed the United States in a unique position. When England, a few weeks ago, made her agreement with Russia which delimits, respectively, Russian and British spheres of influence, the United States became the only power which has not directly or indirectly, formally or informally, recognized in any shape or form such fields of particular operation, or, more truthfully, areas of eventual sovereignty. Russia, France, Germany, and even Austria and Italy, have all taken steps which could be construed as leading to the division of the Chinese Empire. Even Japan would take her share, were she permitted by Russia and Germany.

If, then, the United States should by diplomatic note, agreement, or overt act, show their acquiescence in the tendency to separate China into spheres of influence, there would be no other nation between China and her partition, and it is altogether probable that the other great powers would take advantage of our attitude to convert their respective spheres into actual territories of absolute control. China, therefore, sees in the United States her only salvation, and, were we now to look behind the veil not only of the Tsung-li-Yamen at Peking, but of the foreign offices of London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg, we would undoubtedly find the deepest interest as to what policy the United States will pursue, when they come face to face, as they must soon do, with the necessity of taking a direct stand on this point. We have much to lose and nothing to gain by the break-up of China, unless we have absolute assurances from all the powers concerned that our rights of trade will be in no way limited, and that there will be no adoption of discriminating duties or differential rates.

OUR POLICY SUMMARIZED.

A reasonable and logical conclusion as to our present policy in China could be summarized as follows. First, we should stand firmly and persistently for the integrity of the Chinese empire, and use our influence for the inauguration of reforms of govern-

ment; second, we should insist on the "open door" and absolute freedom of trade, in accordance with the stipulations of the old Tientsin treaties, from Canton to New-Chwang; third, we should direct our political and moral influence against the delimitation of alleged "spheres of influence," or actual "areas of operation," and withhold formal recognition thereof until, or unless, fourth, seeing the inevitable development of such spheres and the consequent break-up of the empire—without willingness to resort to war—we should demand and insist upon the open door and freedom of trade *with* and *in* these areas of *quasi* sovereignty; fifth, we should consider the advisability of securing a port in northern China, but only in the event of the break-up of the empire, or by legitimate purchase and treaty; and sixth, the United States as far as possible should work in harmony and on the same lines with other powers having similar commercial interests, to protect them from further limitation.

While attempting to outline a policy which, it would seem, the protection and advancement of our interests demand, I recognize the limitations which surround the Government at Washington, and its inability to take actual steps where there is not direct or tangible cause or provocation within the scope of the treaties. Moreover, there remains the necessity of awakening public sentiment to an appreciation of the situation in the Far East, which must precede popular support of the Government along lines somewhat radical and far reaching. If what I write or say may assist, even in a slight degree, in arousing not only our manufacturers and exporters but the people and, finally, their representatives at Washington who largely shape our foreign policy, to a correct understanding, first, of the extent of our interests, and, second, of the need of protecting them before it is too late, I shall feel that I have had abundant reward not only for my long stay in the Orient, but for my humble and sincere efforts there and here to faithfully describe what any student of Pacific and Far Eastern developments, with an eye to his country's good, could not fail to note.

JOHN BARRETT.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFLICT IN FINLAND.

BY A MEMBER OF THE FINNISH DIET.

DURING the last three months the "*coup d'état* in Finland" has formed a standing topic in practically the whole of the European press and in part of the American press. The people of Finland have not, hitherto, made much noise in the world, and, therefore, they have been comparatively little known in Europe and still less in other parts of the earth. Yet, the Finns are not altogether unknown in America, where the large majority of emigrants from Finland seek a livelihood or a new home.

Thus far, however, is the status of Finland known in all educated circles, that the country, which, up till 1809, formed a Swedish province, was then incorporated *with* Russia after a war in which Sweden was unsuccessful. Further, it is known that Finland was not incorporated *in* Russia, but that, at the Landtdag in Borga, to which the legal representatives of the country were called by the Czar, Alexander I., the country was assured of its right of retaining its ancient Constitutional Laws, which were identical with, and had formed part of, the old Swedish Constitution, with its free exercise of religion and all the other privileges enjoyed by every Swedish citizen. Alexander I. thus created out of Finland, the ancient Swedish province, a constitutional monarchical state, incorporated *with* Russia under its sovereignty.

The Russian autocracy was not extended to Finland, where, on the contrary, the power of the monarch, according to the constitution, the *Regerings Form* of 1772 and *Förenings* and *Säkerhets* Act of 1789, is limited by the right of the estates to take part in legislation and taxation. As regards the so-called economical, or administrative, legislation, the monarch has this to himself alone, although, in this department too, his powers are somewhat circumscribed. In order to rightly understand the nature of the con-

stitution of Finland, it may not be out of place to point to the section of the *Regerings Form* (Form of Government) which provides that the monarch may not make any new law nor unmake any old law without the knowledge and consent of the estates. It is further stipulated, in the *Förenings* and *Säkerhets* Act, that "whereas real liberty is only consistent with the free giving unto the country of whatever may be required for its maintenance, therefore the Finnish people have the incontestable right to deliberate, adjust, refuse and agree with the monarch about these things." And it is on this enactment that the right of legislation and taxation of the Finnish Landtdag is principally founded.

As regards the social status of Finland after 1809, this was arranged in accordance with the Swedish ideas which previously prevailed. A "Government Council," subsequently named the "Imperial Senate for Finland," was established to replace the authorities in the Swedish capital, provided for by the Constitutional Laws. The Senate consists of two departments, of which one has in its hands the management of civil affairs in general, while the other is the Supreme Court of the country. The Governor-General acts as president of the Senate, and he to a certain extent represents the person of the Czar and is the commander of the troops garrisoned in the country. The members of the Senate must be Finnish men, and the same stipulation applies to all functionaries and officials in the whole country.

During the long period betweeu 1809 and 1863, the Landtdag was not called together, although the question had been mooted several times. It was the monarch's prerogative to decide the time for the calling in of the estates. Alexander II., the reviver of the constitutional rights of the state, summoned the estates in the year 1863 and ratified, in 1869, a new "*Landtdags Ordning*" for Finland. This mode of Government ordains that the Landtdag, or Parliament, shall meet at least every fifth year, in the capital of the country. Up till the present time, the Landtdag has, indeed, regularly met. Since 1883, this has taken place every third year.

The comparatively modest forms in which the constitutional life of Finland has been invested, have by no means been detrimental to a rapid and general development of the country's natural economical resources. Far from it. The lift given by the regular meetings of the National Assembly to the national life in

Finland in all its aspects must be described as simply astonishing. If anywhere, certain it is that in Finland you have had an opportunity of observing how a country, where legislation is adjusted to the characteristics of the people, their ideas and their wants, and where the management of administration, finances and the national defence are in the hands of the people themselves, will make progress, however disadvantageous may be the exterior relations under which it has to labor. True, it is required of such a people to have a warm patriotism, a persistency of purpose and a strong substratum of moral power; but scarcely anywhere have free institutions in a more glorious manner exhibited their true value than in Finland, situated north of the sixty-first degree of latitude.

Finland, although covered by lakes, marshes and forests, and exposed to a hard climate, exhibits a richly cultured life, with industry and agriculture in an advanced state of development, and an education that is both high and general. Untouched by the corruption of Russian officialism and the arbitrary changes in Russian legislation, Finland has hitherto been able to develop itself independently on national ground. Thus it has come about that this country has become a bearer of western culture even north of the polar circle, and thereby has deserved the attention and respect of the whole civilized world. The country, thanks to its Scandinavian culture, the loyalty of its inhabitants, and the faithfulness of farsighted sovereigns to their word, has been able not only to preserve, but even to further develop, its home autonomy. With an inflexible love did the Finnish people adhere to their sovereign dynasty, which, again, made it a matter of honor to inviolably stand by the assurance to Finland given by Alexander I. Even Nicolas I., who certainly was anything but a friend of a constitutional mode of government, did not allow his Russian ministers to mix themselves up in the affairs of the country. "Finland governs itself"—such was his reply to any attempt at such interference.

But Finland's position in the Russian realm, however advantageous it may have appeared, was threatened by serious dangers. The greatest lay in the disparity in power between the Grand Duchy, with its two and one-half million inhabitants, and the Empire with its one hundred and thirty millions. The Russian national feeling, led in Chauvinistic direction, would scarcely

reconcile itself with the flourishing state of a constitutional country, where nothing was Russian, while the despotically governed Russia itself, sucked out by a rapacious bureaucracy and oppressed by an insensate system of taxation, sank deeper and deeper in poverty and ignorance. The question then became important, whether the common monarch was possessed of sufficient power of character and authority to be able, in the long run, to oppose the shouts of the Panslavistic press urging the incorporation of Finland in the Empire by the destruction of its independence as a State and nation.

Alexander III., who himself was not unaffected by the ultra Panslavistic idea, had caused a programme for Finland to be drawn up, implying community in postal and monetary customs and military matters between the Empire and the Grand Duchy. Of this programme only the first point was brought into effect. The administration of the Finnish postal affairs was put into the hands of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs. This was a violation of the Finnish Constitution. But here stopped the community reforms during the reign of Alexander III.

When his son and successor, Nicolas II., at the age of a little more than twenty, ascended the throne, hopes were cherished, both in Russia and in Finland, of a period of freer development. But soon, alas, it was to be proved that those hopes had been vain. A pupil of the procurator in the Holy Synod, Pobjedonostjeff, the reaction incarnate, and feeble of character, the young monarch was soon to become a plaything of his reactionary surroundings. It had been made clear to him that his duties toward Russia included the realization of his father's will, the preservation of autocracy and the assimilation of the foreign nationalities in the realm with the Russian. Those around him understood how to keep the Czar unaware of the fact that behind the phrase, "one Russia with one faith, one autocrat and one tongue," was concealed the egotism and covetousness of power of a corrupt officialdom. Their aim was to divert his attention from the destitution, lawlessness and the crying abuses prevailing in the interior, and fix it instead on matters outside of Russia itself. When the foreign policy no longer offered any sufficient grounds for so doing, Finland was singled out as a proper object of attention—Finland, whose free constitution could not possibly remain consistent with the interests, dignity and glory of the Czardom.

The first object of aggression against Finland's autonomy was its independent military system. Finland possessed from 1809 a national army, the so-called *Indelningsverket,* or soldier farmer system, as it had been inherited from the times of Swedish rule, in virtue of which system every owner of landed property in each territorial sub-division keeps a soldier of either infantry or cavalry. In the year 1878, the estates adopted a Compulsory Service Act for Finland. In virtue of this, every Finnish citizen is liable to conscription for the defence of throne and Fatherland. The age of conscription is 21 years, and the lot decides which are to enter active service; the remainder are transferred to the reserve forces. The shortest term of service in the active army, which amounts to 5,600 men, is three years, which time, however, can be shortened for those having a higher degree of education. Those transferred to the reserve forces are subjected to ninety days' drill. The Finnish troops have their stations within the country and are commanded by Finnish officers. The Russian Minister of War reports upon and submits to the Czar such purely military questions as have reference to the Finnish troops. All other matters are submitted by the "Minister of State for Finland." Up till the present time, Finland has paid annually in military expenses about nine million marks. It may, besides, be mentioned that, according to the Compulsory Service Act for Finland, its more important decrees are of the nature of Constitutional Law. They must, therefore, not be altered or annulled without the consent of all four estates at the Landtdag.

II.

The foregoing explanation has been necessary to make the situation clear to the reader. With complete surprise was the news received in Finland, in the summer of last year, of the summoning of an extraordinary session of the Landtdag for the enactment of a reform of the Finnish Compulsory Service Act. It was the Russian Minister of War, Kuropatkin—a man actively antagonistic to Finland—who desired such a hurried treatment of the matter. He had succeeded in gaining the ear of the Czar and had thus induced him to sign the Decree calling the Landtdag to meet in 1899, in spite of the fact that the ordinary Landtdag was timed to meet in the year 1900.

In virtue of Finland's constitution, all Finnish affairs, which

are to be considered by the Landtdag, must have previously been prepared by Finnish authorities, the highest being the Senate for Finland. All business pertaining to this question of conscription reform, however, had been prepared by the Council at St. Petersburg, in which the number of the Finnish members was infinitely small, as compared with the number of Russians. No heed whatever was paid to their objections. The proposals which were presented to the Landtdag, after even the Senate's propositions had been disallowed, contain what is practically a literal copy of the Russian Conscription Act. The Finnish conscription would, according to these, be extended to the defence of the Czardom, as the holy duty of every Russian subject. The term of service was to be five years in the active and thirteen in the reserve forces. Russian officers were to enter the Finnish troops. The military matters of Finland were, in the future, to be managed exclusively by the Russian Government and Russian authorities. Finally, it was hinted that part of the Finnish conscriptive youth was to be passed into the Russian troops stationed in Finland or on its borders.

What most hurt the Finnish national feeling was, however, the contents of the minutes of the committee, which, as appendices, were brought along with the proposals of conscription and had been prepared by Russian staff officers. The tone of these documents was similar to the polemical aggressiveness of the worst Russian Slavophile papers. Their right to have a Fatherland of their own; to remain separate, free Finnish citizens; to preserve their separate constitution and an independent national development,—these rights were completely refused to the Finns. There is no longer any mention of the Grand Duchy of Finland, but only of the Finnish Lœns, or districts. By a lying representation, showing, moreover, as much frivolousness as ignorance, it is sought to put a wrong construction upon confirmation of Finland's political laws granted by Alexander I. It is, finally, unmistakably intimated that these reforms in Finland's military system are desired because the fidelity of the Finnish people toward monarch and realm are suspected.

When the Landtdag met, in the end of January, the position of the country was darker than ever. The estates had to consider under the pressure of a powerful opinion in the Empire, a law by which it was intended to affect a complete assimilation of the

Finnish and Russian army systems. The confidence of the monarch in his country had been disturbed, and, as Governor General, Adjutant General Bobrikoff had been entrusted with the supreme direction of affairs in Finland, with the additional mandate of carrying out the amalgamation programme. General Bobrikoff, who, being a *parvenu*, owes his career to Grand Duke Wladimir's favor, besides his own working abilities, was the man who was to lend himself as a tool for the Russification of Finland. Long had they been looking about for somebody who, after Count Heyden's demission, would be willing to be made use of for so contemptible a task. When Bobrikoff, at last, was chosen—the man had already won his laurels in the very same sort of business in the Baltic provinces—the Grand Duke is said to have exclaimed: "He will do it!" To what extent Bobrikoff will succeed in carrying out the programme entrusted to him, the future will show. In Finland, he has made himself thoroughly hated, by the mendacity and brutality of his character, by his press persecutions, and particularly by the part he took in the issue of the manifesto of February concerning the new rules of legislation. That he has found there land and people essentially different to what he had thought, and that he has by this time found out that his mission is more difficult than he had imagined, of this there is not the slightest doubt.

The estates of Finland had scarcely had time to commence their labors, when they were surprised in February by the Imperial Manifesto and Fundamental Decrees concerning the preparation, examination and promulgation of laws issued in respect of the Empire, including the Grand Duchy of Finland. Bobrikoff's part in the issue of this document, by which he, according to his own saying, would "bind the Finnish dogs," has been already alluded to. A worse blow has not fallen on Finland since it became united with Russia ninety years ago. For by it Finland's constitution was cut to pieces, and the Russian Autocracy was extended out over Finland's soil as well.

According to Finland's constitution, confirmed by all its monarchs, no other business of the Grand Duchy than matters of foreign politics can be excluded from its control. Now, however, the monarch has issued a law, by which he has reserved unto himself the right to declare as a matter of common interest to the realm whatever question he may choose. After he has decided this, the estates and Senate of Finland are heard, upon which the question

is passed on to the Russian Council of the Empire, and is finally decided upon by the Emperor himself. Thus, the Emperor can now declare questions—belonging even to the sphere of civil and criminal legislation, the law on conscription, and so forth—to be imperial business. They are then resolved by him personally, and the Finnish Landtdag has been converted from a legislative into a merely advisory assembly. True, matters pertaining to "the local administration," as it is called, will continue to be handed over to the decision of the estates. But the question as to what these matters are is no longer dependent upon the Constitution, but upon the imperial fancy.

Instead of using the co-operation of the Landtdag in passing a law determining the matters which might partake of the nature of imperial affairs, the advisers of the Emperor have persuaded him that he has committed no breach of the Constitution by using his autocratic power in issuing the decrees in question. And Nicolas II. has been weak enough to let himself be induced to violate Finland's Constitution, and to open up a constitutional conflict with a people who for ninety years faithfully stood on the side of Russia and never gave its monarchs any occasion for trouble whatsoever.

The effect of the imperial manifesto upon the population of Finland was crushing. There was, however, a hope that the Senate might not promulgate it in the Official Gazette, but submit to the Emperor a representation of the illegality in the creation of that document. The members of the Landtdag and private citizens had communicated their opinion to that effect to the members of the Senate. But, alas, the Senate yielded at the last critical moment under the pressure of Bobrikoff's menaces. With ten votes against ten, the president's vote being decisive, the Senate resolved to promulgate the manifesto, and only thereafter present to the Emperor a memorial on its illegality. The minds of the whole nation were filled with resentment and grief. The Landtdag endorsed a report of its legal committee to the effect that the manifesto, having been illegally created, could not be sanctioned by law in Finland. Moreover, the estates instructed the Landtmarshall and their three other presidents to go to St. Petersburg in order to personally express to the Emperor the opinion that the manifesto was illegal and to solicit its retraction. On Bobrikoff's instigation, the presidents of the four estates

were refused an audience, and the same fate befell a deputation from the Senate who had brought a memorial of protest to the Emperor. But the memorial, which was a sharp one and excellently written, was subsequently read to the Emperor by the State Secretary for Finland and is said to have made a deep impression upon the Czar. He said that it had never been his intention to violate the affirmation which he made on his accession. Was this merely talk, or is it possible that Nicolas II. had been really so misguided that he was unable to judge what his action really meant?

However, a last remedy would yet have to be tried. Citizens of the capital sent an appeal to the country, and, within ten days, more than five hundred thousand signatures were obtained under an address to the Emperor in which the people demanded the retraction of the manifesto. The fifth part of the whole population of the country had during this short time hastened to give vent to an expression of opinion, an occurrence which certainly may be called unique in the history of the world. The address was taken to St. Petersburg by a deputation of five hundred peasants and gentlemen. Nor were these received by the Emperor, who, however, declared that he was not wroth with the deputation. They were requested to submit the address through the Governor General.

The reverses that had thus been met with by the Finnish people in their attempts to regain their rights, could but naturally depress and embitter their minds. All ladies in the country are now wearing mourning dresses. As another mode of demonstration, magnificent floral homages have been paid to the monument of Alexander II., the reviver of Finland's constitutional liberties.

Meanwhile, the session of the Landtdag has been uninterruptedly going on. In the beginning of May, the estates received two more propositions from St. Petersburg. One of these contained the proposal that out of the Finnish yearly contingent of 7,200 conscripts only about 2,000 were to remain in the service of the country, while the remainder were to serve in Russia. In the other, it was proposed that ten million marks shall every year be transferred from the treasury of Finland to that of Russia for military purposes.

To none of these proposals would the Landtdag consent. The transfer of Finnish conscripts to Russian troops would be a fatal

blow to Finland, since such a measure would effect a wholesale emigration of its strongest inhabitants. Impossible, likewise would it be for Finland to pay annually, out of a budget of sixty million marks, twenty millions for military purposes. The country, poor in itself, would by so doing become destitute.

On the 30th of May, the Landtdag was brought to a close by a speech from the throne. In the memorials which have been prepared by its Law and Conscript Committee and endorsed unanimously by the estates, the Russian aggressions are strongly refuted, and the foundations of Finland's sworn rights are eloquently set forth. The Landtdag has only in certain parts remodelled the military law now in force, but in so doing it has also made such concessions as have been possible of realization. The Finnish troops will, according to this modified law, be transportable beyond the frontiers of Finland, whenever the defence of the realm so demands. Instead of 6,000 men, the Landtdag has consented to provide 12,000 active soldiers, besides which is proposed the abolishment of the reserve militia, to which forces Russia always has been averse. Otherwise everything will be essentially unchanged as in the Finnish Military law of 1878.

As to the troubles and desires of the country, the Landtmarshall and other presidents of the estates gave equally strong and eloquent expressions at the closing of the session. Will Nicolas II. listen to the voice of the Finnish people, or will he continue to give his ears to his Russian advisers? The latter is, unfortunately, to be apprehended. The constitutional conflict will then be continued. For the Finns are known not only for their patriotism and obedience to the law, but also to be one of the most persevering nations in the world. Their institutions and wealth may be destroyed, but Russianized the Finns will never be. Their nation forms an individuality of its own, having its distinct historical mission. To the world at large, this struggle between the Russian giant and little Finland, the extreme outpost of culture in the North, will be a spectacle of the greatest interest. On which side the sympathy of the world lies, of that Finland has already received the most eloquent testimonials.

THE CASE AGAINST CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY W. A. PURRINGTON.

In the March number of the North American Review, it was essayed in the article, "Christian Science and its Legal Aspects," to state clearly, as far as that is possible, the teachings of Mrs. Eddy; using, in order to be scrupulously fair, her own words, and referring each citation to its page in her text book, "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures."

It was there said: "Publicity will destroy the cult far more quickly than legislation." In that belief it is proposed here, with equal fairness, by quotations from her books, "Miscellaneous Writings" and "Retrospection and Introspection," the latter being autobiographical in character, to show something of the life, pretensions, methods and literary output of this remarkable woman, leaving the reader to judge from her own words whether she is, as her partisans assert, learned, modest, truthful and generous, or, as her adversaries declare, ignorant, irreverent, boastful, and greedy. We assume that candid, intelligent persons, interested in her teachings and alleged marvellous cures, are willing to learn the truth and try the teacher upon her utterances in the forum of common sense. If Mrs. Eddy did nothing more than teach a philosophic or religious theory we should waste no time in academic discussion of it. But she teaches a practice that daily puts the lives of adults and, more horrible still, of little children at the mercy of persons ignorant both of medical and mental science.

Some of her quondam friends and disciples have published matter denouncing Mrs. Eddy and attributing her theories and her cure of a severe illness to a Mr. P. P. Quimby,* deceased, whom

*See two articles in the *Arena* for May, 1899, by Horatio W. Dresser and Josephine C. Richardson.

she disparages as "an uneducated man." To our apprehension, a fair representation of the woman and her works will be more profitable than heated controversy or labored argument. We concede to her, for what it is worth, the discovery of Christian Science, and ask no more than that the reader, friendly or hostile, examine judicially these gleanings from her works and form his own conclusions.

It has been said that the best corrective of judgment is the sense of humor, the faculty of appreciating one's own absurdities. Mrs. Eddy and her disciples take themselves very seriously. But that Mrs. Eddy considers the rival system of Faith Cure ridiculous, appears from this merry jest of hers:

"When looking deeply into the effects of faith based on corporeal personality instead of the Divine Principle, the following colloquy is suggested:

"'Have you ever tried the faith-cure?' asked a solemn looking stranger of a gentleman in the street-car. 'I have,' was the answer. 'Do you believe in it?' 'I do.' 'May I ask of what you were cured?' Certainly; I was cured of my faith.'"*

Thus, by example, she invites a display of her own drolleries.

Who, then, and what is Mrs. Mary Moss Baker Glover Patterson Eddy, who in 1866, threw light upon the Gospels for lack of which saints, sages and poets, stumbling in darkness through the ages, have failed to apprehend the Saviour's teaching; who has written a book the mere reading of which cures cancer; to whom churches are built wherein is read the Lord's Prayer expanded and improved by her interpolations?

One of her foremost apostles, Mr. Carol Norton, a young gentleman belonging to "The International Board of Lectureship of the Mother Church of Christian Science in Boston, Mass.," in a lecture copyrighted in 1898,† presumably with her approval, thus describes her—he uses the past tense, but the lady still lives as mortal mind understands the term:

"A quiet dignity and a divine perseverance were her conspicuous characteristics. *Her life motives were essentially unselfish, philanthropic and idealistic.* As a student she was penetrating, inquiring, progressive. Perhaps her strongest point was that she always worked in a direct line. *One of her most marked characteristics was that, if she had worked mentally in a wrong direction, she could turn about with intelligent ease.* . . . While from the human standpoint she inherited the *refinement that goes with culture of family and moral*

*"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 68.
†Printed in the *Troy Record*, February 28, 1899.

rectitude, yet there was a marked degree of spiritual *grace, delicacy and elegance which comes not from human ancestry, neither from communion with nature. It was the exquisite coloring of the touch of the hands of divine Mind which opens the petals of thought,* as it does of the opening rose, and evolves a symmetry of disposition, temperament and poise *which is at once recognized as of Divine not human origin. . . . She spent no time in intellectual drifting. Intuition and logic she united in her mental processes of reasoning. . . . Adherence to the impersonal and scientific deductions of the philosophical teachings of Mary Baker Eddy represents nothing different from the loyalty of a mathematician to the unchanging rule of mathematics.*"

The italics are ours. If the description seems perfervid, it should be remembered that Mrs. Eddy calls herself and is called by her disciples "Mother,"* and Mr. Norton's words are little stronger than those addressed by *pius* Æneas to his dam, "*Haud tibi voltus mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat: O, dea certe!*"

Any reader of Mrs. Eddy's books will admit the ease with which she turns about; whether it be intelligent or consistent with logic and loyalty to unchanging rules is another matter.

An apostle worthy of the name should have a somewhat extraordinary childhood, and Mrs. Eddy writes:

"For some twelve months, when I was about eight years old, I repeatedly heard a voice calling me distinctly by name, three times in an ascending scale."

Her mother persistently ignored this occurrence, until one day a cousin, Mehitable Huntoon, also heard the voice. Then Mrs. Baker told Mary of little Samuel and bade her answer when next she heard the voice, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." The child obeyed; but the result was disappointing:

"When the call came again I did answer, in the words of Samuel, but never again to material senses was that mysterious call audibly repeated."†

Apparently the voice had nothing particular to say.

At the age of twelve, Mary was admitted to the Congregationalist Church, after much perturbation over the doctrine of unconditional election or predestination, due to very creditable unwill-

*Thus an alleged disciple writes: "Dear Mother: The most blessed of women! Oh, how I long to sit within range of your voice and hear the Truth that comes to you from on High! for none could speak such wondrous thoughts as have come from your pen, except it be 'the Spirit that speaketh in you.'" "Miscellaneous Writings," p. 415.

Mrs. Eddy constantly applies the title to herself, for example: "I, for one, would be pleased to have the Christian Science Board of Directors itemize a bill of this church's gifts to Mother." "Miscellaneous Writings," p. 131.

†Under the caption, "Voices not our own" ("Retrospection and Introspection," pp. 16–18).

ingness to be saved if her brothers and sisters were to be damned. Her mental distress brought on fever, so the physician said; and her mother bade her seek God in prayer. Obedience this time brought an excellent result:

"A soft glow of ineffable joy came over me, the fever was gone, and I arose and dressed myself in a normal condition of health. Mother saw this and was glad. The physician marvelled; and the 'horrible decree' of Predestination—as John Calvin rightly called his own tenet—forever lost its power over me."*

Notwithstanding her refusal to accept Calvin's doctrine, the good pastor insisted that she had been "truly regenerated;" and she was received into the communion, of which she says:

"My connection with this religious body was retained *till I founded a church of my own, built on the basis of Christian Science, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.*"*

In telling of her Early Studies,† Mrs. Eddy accounts for her constant disregard of the once respected shade of Lindley Murray:

"My father was taught that my brain was too large for my body, and so kept me much out of school, but I gained book-knowledge with far less labor than is usually requisite. At ten years of age I was as familiar with Lindley Murray's Grammar as I was with the Westminster Catechism; and the latter I had to repeat every Sunday. My favorite studies were Natural Philosophy, Logic and Moral Science. To my brother Albert I was indebted for lessons in the ancient tongues, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. *My brother studied Hebrew during his college vacations. After my discovery of Christian Science, most of the knowledge I had gleaned from school books vanished like a dream.*"

This unfortunate effect of Mrs. Eddy's discovery, apparent on almost every page of her writings, accounts for her early defence of her system against the charge of Pantheism upon the assumption that "the word Pantheism was derived from the sylvan God Pan," and also for her confusion of Gnosticism with Agnosticism.‡ These errors of mortal mind are quite understandable when we consider that the teacher, if she ever knew anything of history, religion, or philosophy, had forgotten all that she had learned from books.

Miss Mary Moss Baker in 1843 married Col. George Washington Glover, of South Carolina,§ of whom she says:

"He was spared to me for only one brief year. He was in Wilming-

*"Theological Reminiscences," "Retrospection and Introspection," pp. 20-24.
†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 19.
‡May "*Arena*," p. 561.
§"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 24.

ton, North Carolina, *when the yellow fever raged* in that city, and was suddenly attacked by this *insidious disease*, which in his case proved fatal."*

This admission that "insidious disease" exists and can rage must be a slip of the pen. We are all aware now that Disease and Death are only errors of mortal mind.

Upon Col. Glover's death, his widow returned to New England, where a child was born who, at the age of four years, was sent away and not seen by her again until, at the age of thirty-four, he visited her in Boston. Upon their separation she wrote the poem "Mother's Darling," of which she gives us only one verse:

> "Thy smile through tears, as sunshine o'er the sea,
> Awoke new beauty in the surge's roll!
> Oh, life is dead, bereft of all, with thee,—
> Star of my earthly hope, babe of my soul."†

Mrs. Mary Moss Baker Glover contracted second nuptials with a gentleman whose name does not appear in "Retrospection and Introspection," although the event is this referred to:

"My second marriage was very unfortunate, and from it I was compelled to ask for a bill of divorce, which was granted me in the city of Salem, Massachusetts. My dominant thought in marrying again was to get back my child. The disappointment which followed was terrible. His step-father was envious; and although George was a tender-hearted and manly boy, he hated him as much as I loved him." ‡

Adherence to Mr. Murray's forgotten rules might have made clearer who hated whom; and it is certainly unfortunate that anybody hated any one; for hate, we are taught, is, like fear, a cause or form of disease. It appears, however, from a letter of the lady who is now Mrs. Eddy, written on March 7, 1883, to the *Boston Post* and quoted by Mr. Dresser§ that this second consort was Dr. Patterson, "a distinguished dentist" who, while his wife was away from home, undergoing Mr. Quimby's treatment, eloped "with a married woman from one of the wealthiest families." The distinction of the doctor and the wealth of the erring lady might seem to have been mentioned as softening the blow, were it not that, in reality, there was no blow to soften, as transpires from these words of the apparently deserted wife:

"It is well to know, dear reader, that this bit of material history is

*"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 24.
†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 26.
‡"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 27.
§May "*Arena*," p. 545.

but the record of dreams, *not of real existence*, and the dream has no place in Christian Science. It is as 'a tale that is told', and as 'the shadow when it declineth.' "*

Notwithstanding—perhaps, indeed on account of—this unreality of marriage, Mrs. Mary Moss Baker Glover-Patterson, thirty-four years after her first alliance, and when somewhere about sixty years of age, as nearly as we can compute, entered upon a third, of which she says under the caption, "A True Man:"†

"My last marriage was with Asa Gilbert Eddy, and was a blessed and spiritual union, solemnized at Lynn, Massachusetts, by the Rev. Samuel Barrett Stewart, in the year 1877. Dr. Eddy was the first student to publicly announce himself a Christian Scientist, and place these symbolic words on his office sign. He forsook all to follow in this line of light. He was the first organizer of a Christian Science Sunday-School, which he superintended. He also taught a special Bible-Class; and he lectured so ably on Scriptural topics that even ministers listened to him with mingled surprise and approbation. He was remarkably successful in Mind-healing, and untiring in his chosen work. In 1882 he passed away, with a smile of peace and love resting on his serene countenance."‡

To our natural instinct, this dealing with a lady's repeated dreams is distasteful. We lack sympathy with the common desire to pry into love affairs of the great. But when philosophers like Jean Jacques and Mrs. Eddy insist on taking us behind the veil, there is nothing for it but to drop our sandals and trot along. Indeed, unless we yielded our scruples in the present case, we should by excess of delicacy lose the "*nexus*" and be plunged into obscurity. This is Mrs. Eddy's avowed reason for relating these three "dreams" and shadows that declined:

"Mere historic incidents and personal events are frivolous and of no moment, unless they illustrate the ethics of Truth. To this end, but only to this end, such narrations may be admissible and advisable; but if spiritual conclusions are separated from their premises, the *nexus* is

*"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 27.

†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 54.

‡It is said in the May *Arena* (p. 563): "The physician who conducted the autopsy says that the death was the result of distinctly developed heart disease; but Mrs. Eddy declared that it was the result of *arsenical poisoning mentally administered"!* However that may be, it is true that Christian Science did not save Mr. Eddy, although, if we may believe these words of his wife, it would have saved her. "When the mental malpractice of poisoning people was first undertaken by a mesmerist, to test that malpractice, I experimented by taking some large doses of morphine, to see if Christian Science could not obviate its effect; and I say with tearful thanks, 'The drug has no effect upon me whatever.' The hour has struck, 'If they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them.' " "Miscellaneous Writings," topic "Falsehood," p. 249. This surpasses Cagliostro's challenge to the Empress Catherine's physician, who denounced him as a quack and his elixir as a humbug. Prepare, said Cagliostro, the most deadly poisons of which you know and I will do the same. I will take your poison and then swallow a dose of my antidote. You shall take mine and save yourself as best you can.

lost, and the argument, with its rightful conclusions, becomes correspondingly obscure."*

In view of her concrete experiences, Mrs. Eddy's opinions upon marriage in the abstract become interesting. In reply to the question, "What do you think of marriage?" she answers:

"That it is often convenient, sometimes pleasant, and occasionally a love affair. Marriage is susceptible of many definitions. It sometimes presents the most wretched condition of human existence. To be normal it must be a union of the affections that tends to lift mortals higher."†

That her so-called "science" does not fully accord with the prevalent views of decent men she admits by replying in this manner to the question: "Is marriage nearer right than celibacy?"

"*Human knowledge inculcates that it is, while Science indicates that it is not.* But to force the consciousness of scientific being before it is understood is impossible, and believing otherwise would prevent scientific demonstration. . . .

"Rights that are bargained away must not be retaken by the contractors, except by mutual consent. *Human nature has bestowed on a wife the right to become a mother; but if the wife esteems not this privilege, by mutual consent, exalted and increased affections, she may win a higher.* Science touches the conjugal question on the basis of a bill of rights. Can the bill of Conjugal Rights be fairly stated by a magistrate or by a minister?"‡

The abolition of marriage she seems to consider possible, if not desirable, although not now practicable.

"To abolish marriage at this period, and maintain morality and generation, *would put ingenuity to ludicrous shifts, yet this is possible in Science, although it is to-day problematic.*"§

Quitting gladly these recitals of "personal events," that have given us "*the nexus*," we may turn to Mrs. Eddy's account of her priceless discovery that the study of Anatomy, Physiology and every branch of Medical Science, the practice of Medicine, according to any School, or of Animal Magnetism, Movement Cure, Clairvoyance, Mind Cure and Faith Cure, even the taking of exercise and observance of hygienic rules, are all wrong and harmful, Christian Science being the sole curative.|| She says:

"This discovery was so new,—the basis it laid down for physical and moral health was so *hopelessly original*, and men were so unfamiliar with the subject, that I did not venture upon its publication until later."

*"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 28.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 52.
‡"Miscellaneous Writings," pp. 288-289.
§"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 286.
||See NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March for citations upon this point.

But eventually she published her first book, "The Science of Man," and she tells us that when "people were healed by simply reading it, the copy right was infringed. I entered a suit at law and my copyright was protected."*

Here we see that Mrs. Eddy's "Key to the Scriptures" does not interpret literally the command, "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away;" or the other, "And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." She vociferously cries "copyright, copyright," lest her students or the Quimbyites nest, Bathylluslike, where she has builded. Fear is disease; yet in terror lest her own disciples filch her discovery, she sets up this scarecrow on her literary domain.

"*If you should print and publish your copy of my works you would be liable to arrest for infringement of copyright, which the law defines and punishes as theft!* . . . Your manuscript copy is liable, in some way, to be printed as your original writings, thus incurring the penalty of the law, and increasing the record of *theft* in the United States Circuit Court."†

Thus, while claiming supernatural knowledge of God's laws, Mrs. Eddy, to protect her pocketbook, grossly misstates the law of the land, under which infringement of copyright is not theft or punishable as crime.

It was high time for some one to discover Mrs. Eddy's discovery; for she says with that modesty of which we are in quest:

"Even the Scripture gave no direct interpretation of the Scientific basis for demonstrating the spiritual Principle of healing, until our Heavenly Father saw fit, through the 'Key to the Scriptures,' in 'Science and Health,' to unlock this 'mystery of godliness.'"‡

This fear lest her copyright be infringed constantly haunts Mrs. Eddy. As late as June 4, 1899, in her address to the First Church at its annual communion, she says: "All published quotations from my works must have the author's name added to them; quotation marks are not sufficient. Borrowing from my copyrighted works without credit is inadmissible."§

Unless she had found the key to this mystery no one else could have done so:

"It is often asked why Christian Science was revealed to me as *one Intelligence analyzing, uncovering, and annihilating the false testimony*

*"First Publications," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 47.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 300. See also "Retrospection and Introspection," under the titles "The Precious Volume," pp. 49–51, and "Plagiarism," p. 93.
‡"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 51.
§*N. Y. Times*, June 5, 1899.

*of the physical senses. . . . No one else can drain the cup which I have drunk to the dregs, as the discoverer and teacher of Christian Science; neither can its inspiration be gained without tasting the cup."**

P. P. Quimby in particular, Mrs. Eddy says, could not have originated her system because:

"No mortal could first have informed the human mind of what the mortal and carnal cannot discern." †

That is to say, Mr. Quimby being mortal and carnal never could have discovered what Mrs. Eddy found out because of her immortality and uncarnality. But from this position, when it suits her purpose, she turns with "intelligent ease," and claims for herself health and other carnal attributes. Thus answering allegations that she was "sick, and unable to speak a loud word," Mrs. Eddy says:

"Lecturing, writing, preaching, teaching, etc., give fair proof *that my shadow is not growing less and substance is taking larger proportions.*"‡

This boast puts her in a "parlous" state under her own definitions:

"The physical senses or sensuous nature I called error and shadow. Soul I denominated substance because soul alone is truly substantial."§

Having discovered Christian Science, it next became necessary to exploit the discovery and Mrs. Eddy went about the task systematically.

"In 1867 I introduced the first purely metaphysical system of healing since the Apostolic days. I begun by teaching one student Christian Science Mind-healing. From this seed grew the Massachusetts Metaphysical College in Boston, chartered in 1881. *No charter was granted for similar purposes after* 1883. It is the only College hitherto for teaching the pathology of spiritual power, alias the Science of Mind-healing."‖

She does not recite her charter or its purpose; and what she omits to say is often more significant than what she says. But the records of the Commonwealth contain the instrument, which does not mention either Christian Science or any new discovery, but simply incorporates a College for the purpose of "teaching pathology, ontology, therapeutics, moral science, metaphysics and their adaptation to the treatment of disease." This charter was

*"Retrospection and Introspection," pp. 38-39.
†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 44.
‡"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 238.
§"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 90.
‖"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 55.

granted under an Act concerning Associations for Religious, Charitable, Educational and other purposes,* under which were organized four other colleges mentioned in the Fifth Annual Report of the Illinois Board of Health† as fraudulent. This Act was subsequently merged into Chapter 115 of the Public Statutes. Owing to the shameless manufacture and sale of diplomas, the so-called "anti-diploma law" was enacted in 1883,‡ prohibiting societies organized for medical purposes under that statute from conferring degrees or issuing diplomas, unless specially authorized by the Legislature so to do. Conferment of degrees in violation of this law was made punishable by a fine of not less than $500 nor more than $1,000; and here would seem to be sufficient explanation of the facts that "no charter was granted for similar purposes after 1883," and that Mrs. Eddy came in the end, as we shall see presently, to entertain "conscientious scruples about diplomas."

Mrs. Eddy's institution, if we may believe her, prospered marvellously. Its course was short, its faculty small, its tuition fees greater than those of Harvard, Yale or Columbia. Its instruction was contained in one text book. Its classes were only three in number, the primary, the normal and the obstetric. Mrs. Eddy seems to have taught them all; and why not, since one principle applies to all cases, whether of fevers, wounds, difficult labors or any other forms of error in mortal mind? So far as appears from "Retrospection and Introspection," the only other teachers were her last husband, Asa G. Eddy, who taught two terms, her adopted son, Ebenezer J. Foster Eddy,§ who taught one term, and a military gentleman, of whom she says:

"General Erastus N. Bates taught one primary class in 1889, after which I judged it best to close the institution."‖

It made no particular difference in what class students studied. The primary instruction was all sufficient, and even that was unnecessary; for Mrs. Eddy expressly says:

"A Primary class student richly imbued with the spirit of Christ, is a better healer and teacher than a Normal class student who partakes less of His love. Having received my instructions in the Primary class and afterwards studied thoroughly '*Science and Health*,'

*Ch. 375, Acts 1874; embodied later in Ch. 115, Public Statutes.
†Excelsior, Bellevue, Medical Department of American University of Boston, First Medical College of American Health Society.
‡Act June 30, 1883.—Dr. Booth in 1893 was sent to prison for selling in New York the Excelsior's diplomas.
§This gentleman, according to the *Arena*, has renounced both Mrs. Eddy's name and her nonsense.
‖"College and Church," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 55.

the student should not hesitate to enter upon this privileged Gospel work, and so fulfil the command of Christ. Yea, an apt Bible scholar and a consecrated Christian by *deeply dipping into my last revised 'Science and Health,'* may even enter this field of labor without any personal instruction,—*beneficially to himself* and the race."*

The curriculum consisted of only twelve lessons, lasting half a day each and extending over three weeks. The tuition fee was three hundred dollars. Mrs. Eddy admits that she was staggered when this sum suggested itself to her. But God, notwithstanding her unselfishness, led her to try the experiment and it succeeded. We are not burlesquing; that is impossible; her own words fairly travesty burlesque.

"*When God impelled me to set a price on my instruction in Christian Science Mind-healing, I could think of no financial equivalent for an impartation of a knowledge of that divine power which heals; but I was led to name three hundred dollars as the price for each pupil in one course of lessons at my college,—a startling sum for tuition lasting barely three weeks. This amount greatly troubled me. I shrank from asking it, but was finally led, by a strange Providence, to accept this fee.*

"God has since shown me, in multitudinous ways, the wisdom of this decision; and I beg disinterested people to ask my loyal students if they consider three hundred dollars any real equivalent for my instruction *during twelve half days or even in half as many lessons.* Nevertheless, my list of indigent charity scholars is very large, and I have had as many as seventeen in one class." †

Why should her "students" have grumbled at the price? Reputable medical colleges require their students to study for years before conferring degrees upon them. They also require of them, before admission, preliminary education. Most of the States forbid unlicensed persons to practice medicine, and some exact a State examination of medical graduates as prerequisite to license. But here was a school pretending to teach, under the guise of religion, an infallible method of cure to any one able to read a single book of nonsense. The head of the college, having avowed that, by the very operation of her new discovery, she had forgotten what little she had learned from books, naturally required no preliminary education of her disciples. On the contrary, she expressly discouraged it, as appears from this question and answer:

"What can prospective students of the College take for preliminary studies? Do you regard the study of literature and languages as objectionable?

"Persons contemplating a course at the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, can prepare for it through no books except the Bible and

*"College Closed," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 60-61.
†"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 64.

'Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures.' Man-made theories are narrow, else extravagant, and always materialistic."*

Again she says:

"I recommend students not to read so-called scientific works, antagonistic to Christian Science, which advocate materialistic systems; because such works and words becloud the right sense of Metaphysical Science."†

Having thus impressed the duty of ignorance upon her disciples, she dubbed them, within three weeks or less, in consideration of the fee of $300, doctors of Christian Science, and bade them treat all diseases. The price was cheap enough. Buchanan's notorious college offered no easier terms; and it was not strange if the college prospered; but Mrs. Eddy probably does not underestimate its prosperity when she says that just before its dissolution, 300 students were clamoring for admission. Assume this to be true, then, at $300 each, these "students" would have paid $90,000 for twelve half-days' instruction, or $7,500 a half-day! Why was this Golconda closed? From unselfishness and *conscientious scruples* about diplomas!

"The apprehension of what has been, and must be, the final outcome of material organization, which wars with Love's spiritual compact, *caused me to dread the unprecedented popularity of my College.* Students from all over our Continent and from Europe were flooding the school. At this time there were over three hundred applications from students desiring to enter the college, and applicants were rapidly increasing. Example had shown the dangers arising from being placed on earthly pinnacles. Even goodness shuns whatever involves material means for the promotion of spiritual ends.

"In view of all this, a meeting was called of the Board of Directors of my college, who, being informed of my intention, unanimously voted that the school be discontinued. . . .

"The Massachusetts Metaphysical College drew its breath from me, but I was yearning for retirement. The question was, Who else could sustain this institute, under *all that was aimed at its vital purpose*, the establishment of genuine Christian Science Healing. *My conscientious scruples about diplomas*, the recent experience of the church fresh in my thoughts, and the growing conviction that every one should build on his own foundation, subject to the one builder and maker, God,—all these considerations moved me to close my flourishing school.‡"

Does not this explanation over-tax credulity? Was any other college ever closed because of its "unprecedented popularity?" Was it the anti-diploma law that was "aimed at its vital purpose?" Why is it, too, that notwithstanding these "conscientious scruples

*"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 64.
†"Admonition," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 96.
‡"Retrospection and Introspection," pp. 60-61.

about diplomas" a great number of persons, male and female, still tack to their names the symbolic letters "C. S." and "C. S. D." recently acquired, upon what authority it is hard to say, unles it be the right of any free-born citizen, in the absence of prohibitory legislation, to assume any title that strikes the fancy and appropriate all the "symbolic letters" of the alphabet? Having thus fully equipped her pupils, Mrs. Eddy encouraged them to settle down in great cities, not alone for the glory of God, but for this practical reason:

"The population of our principal cities is ample to supply many practitioners, teachers and preachers with work."*

And in order that they might "enter this field of labor beneficially to themselves," the shrewd Mother thus taught:

"*Christian Science* demonstrates that *the patient who pays whatever he is able to pay for being healed is more apt to recover than he who withholds a slight equivalent for health.*"†

And yet these people deny in Court, when arraigned for unlawful practice of medicines and manslaughter, that they demand fees for their services!

When was so sordid a doctrine ever preached by medical men? What standing would a physician have who should teach that the cure depends upon the fee? Is this preachment inspired by God or Mammon, by Unselfishness or Greed? Whatever its inspiration, it has been so well lived up to that its "discoverer" proudly exclaims:

"In the early history of Christian Science, among my thousands of students few were wealthy. Now Christian Scientists are not indigent; and *their comfortable fortunes are acquired by healing mankind, morally, physically, spiritually.*"‡

With one or two more quotations to illustrate the divine elegance and grace, of which Mr. Norton speaks, and the method by which the new system of healing is advertised, we may leave behind us very cheerfully Mrs. Eddy and all her works. The "Miscellaneous Writings" are made up in about equal proportions of answers to questions, letters and essays, doggerel rhymes and advertising certificates; one or two excerpts will illustrate the author's facility in each department of her work. To one who asks: "Has Mrs. Eddy lost her power to heal?" she replies modestly:

*"Admonition," "Retrospection and Introspection," p. 102.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," pp. 300-301.
‡Preface to "Miscellaneous Writings," p. vii.

"Has the sun forgotten to shine and the planets to revolve around it? Who is it that discovered, demonstrated and teaches Christian Science? That one, whoever it be, does understand something of what cannot be lost."*

To the pertinent question: "How does Mrs. Eddy know that she has read and studied correctly if one must deny the evidences of the senses; she had to use her eyes to read?" She answers:

"Having eyes ye see not! I read the inspired page through a higher than mortal sense. *As matter, the eye cannot see; and as mortal mind it is a belief that sees. I may read the Scriptures through a belief of eyesight,* but I must spiritually understand them to interpret their science."†

Comment upon this would gild refined gold.

Another answer we quote with hesitation, and only because it is thoroughly typical. We fear that ordinary mortal minds will find it not divinely graceful and elegant but rather vulgar and grossly irreverent, offensive to good taste and shocking to piety.

"Are both prayer and drugs necessary to heal?" says the interlocutor, and Mrs. Eddy replies: "It is difficult to say how much one can do for himself, whose faith is divided between Catnip and Christ; but not so difficult to know that if he were to serve one master he could do vastly more."‡

Mrs. Eddy's rhetorical flowers are of the gayest, and would have delighted Mrs. Malaprop. One of the most "hopelessly original" occurs in a warning against Animal Magnetism, the specialty of P. P. Quimby, but now considered by Mrs. Eddy, his late patient, to be the "chief delusion," of which the "honest Christion Scientist" must rid himself before he can heal:

"*For it is a Delilah who would lead him into the toils of the enemy, where Cerberus (the apt symbol of Animal Magnetism) waits to devour the self-deceived.*"§

Against Delilah and Cerberus thus conspiring, one would be justified in combining with "an allegory from the banks of the Nile." She delights in original martial similes, possibly from association with Gen. Erastus N. Bates. Thus she says:

"As the pioneer of Christian Science I stood alone in this conflict, endeavoring to smite error with the falchion of Truth. The rare bequests of Christian Science are costly, and they have won fields of battle from which the dainty borrower would have fled."‖

*"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 54.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 58.
‡"Miscellaneous Writings," pp. 51, 52.
§"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 73.
‖"Retrospection and Introspection," p. 38.

This enlistment of "bequests" in active service is more novel than Christian Science itself. In view of their cost and courage they seem to be a sort of Hessians. Again she writes:

"With armor on, I continue the march, command and counter-command, meanwhile interluding with loving thought this afterpiece of battle. Supported, cheered, I take my pen and pruning-hook, to 'learn war no more,' and with strong wing to lift my readers above the smoke of conflict into light and liberty."*

Why should she persist in marching, fully armed, commanding and counter-commanding "with intelligent ease," if the battle is over? If it is still on, why interlude its afterpiece, grasp pen and pruning hook and, at the same time, lift readers on a strong wing? It is all sadly puzzling.

Criticism of Mrs. Eddy's poetry we shall not again venture upon. The March REVIEW timidly suggested that, in rhyming "debris" with "unweary," "ween" with "dream," "now thus" with "hails us," and "deep" with "complete," the gifted author, while showing great boldness and originality, had departed from ordinary rhyming conventions. But this position was demolished by a shot from the *Christian Science Sentinel*, of April 20th.

"His condemnations are exactly like those usually applied to Browning in regard to rhyme and meaning, but no mother will find fault with the following couplet from 'The Mother's Evening Prayer':

" 'Thou love that guards the nestling's faltering flight!
Keep thou my child on upward wing to-night.' "

We frankly admit that no mother would find fault with that couplet—unless she knew how to parse simple English sentences; and we despair of answering the argument that because Browning nods doggerel is poetry.

But however obscure Mrs. Eddy may be in her poetry and controversial writings, she adopts, in that part of "Miscellaneous Writings" devoted to advertising her business, a clear style so remarkably like that of another famous lady of Lynn that it has caused her to be called "the Lydia Pinkham of the Soul." The certificates of cures about to be quoted are included in Mrs. Eddy's "copyrighted" works; and we assume this to indicate authorship, for one as scrupulous as she on this point would scarcely copyright the productions of others.

J. B. H. writes:

"I am glad to tell you how I was healed. Beliefs of consumption,

*Preface to "Miscellaneous Writings." p. x.

dyspepsia, neuralgia, piles, tobacco, and bad language held me in bondage for many years. Doctors that were consulted did nothing to relieve me, and I constantly grew worse. Nearly two years ago a lady told me that if I would read a book called "Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures," I would be healed. I told her I would 'go into it for all it was worth,' and I have found that it is worth all. I got the book, and read day and night: I saw that it must be true, and believed that what I could not then understand would be made clear later.

"After some days' reading I was affected with drowsiness followed by vomiting. This lasted several hours; when I fell into a sleep, and awoke healed."*

Here is a letter bubbling with unconscious humor. It purports to come from a gentleman who owes his life to Mrs. Eddy's book, yet fears to imperil his health by visiting the author.

"Dear Madam: May I thank you for your book, 'Science and Health With Key to the Scriptures,' and say how much I owe to it—almost my very life—at a most critical time. . . .

"If it were not for the heat of your American summers (I had nine attacks of dysentery in the last one), and the expense, I should dearly like to learn from you personally; but I must forego this,—at any rate, for the present. If you would write me what the cost would be for a course on Divine Metaphysics, I would try to manage it later on.

"Meanwhile, I should be grateful if you would refer me to any one in this country who is interested similarly, for I get more kicks than halfpence in discussing it.

"Your obliged friend,

"(Rev.) I. G. W. Bishop.

"Bovington Vicarage,
"Hemel Hempstead, Herts, England."†

K. L. H. recites this remarkable and instantaneous cure of a child by a few pages of "Science and Health."

"A dear little six-year-old boy of my acquaintance was invited by his teacher, with the rest of his class in Kindergarten School, to attend a picnic one afternoon. He did not feel that he wanted to go; seemed dumpish, and, according to mortal belief, was not well; at noon, he said he wanted to go to sleep.

"His mother took him in her lap and began to read to him from 'Science and Health, With Key to the Scriptures.' *Very soon he expressed a wish to go to the picnic and did go.*"‡

We have thus given overabundantly and tediously, perhaps, sufficient citations in Mrs. Eddy's own words to enable any intelligent person to judge whether he is willing to accept her intellectual and spiritual leadership, or to believe that God waited nineteen hundred years for her to illuminate, by such jargon as

*"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 405.
†"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 408.
‡"Miscellaneous Writings," p. 444.

"Science and Health," the teachings of Christ, which, she bluntly says, could not have been apprehended from the Scriptures alone prior to the publication of her "Key." It is with a sense of intellectual humiliation that we have dealt with these dreary and vulgar banalities. The excuse for so doing is found, however, in such incidents as occurred in the City of New York on Sunday, the 28th day of May, when the Metropolitan Opera House was filled with an audience, certainly of average intelligence, to hear the lecturer already referred to, Mr. Carol Norton, introduced by a gentleman holding judicial office in the State, who declared that legislation directed against Christian Science would infringe upon the constitutional right to religious liberty. While a great number in that audience were animated by mere curiosity, undoubtedly many accepted in good faith Mrs. Eddy's claim to have discovered a new religious truth capable of healing disease in marvelous fashion. It is because we cannot bring ourselves to believe that such persons appreciate the character of their teacher or the nature of her pretences that we have been willing to reproduce her own account of her life and her methods.

With those who can accept as divinely inspired the absurdities, solecisms and incoherencies of Mrs. Eddy, and who think to explain them by saying that obscurities and errors are to be found in works of the great writers, there can be no argument. "Intelligent ease" in shifting premises precludes discussion. How could the Bishop argue with the genial madman who, after introducing himself as George Washington, said a few moments later that he was Napoleon Bonaparte? "But," said the Bishop, "a moment ago you were Washington." "So I was," said the bedlamite with "intelligent ease," "but by another mother." It is entirely possible, however, to state the case against this pseudo philosophy convincingly to those who are interested in it because of its alleged miraculous cures.

First. As a mere religious or philosophic theory, Christian Science never would have had any vogue. Its fascination lies in its pretended cures. No one suggests taking action to restrain it as a form of worship. The most that has been suggested in regard to it has been that its ignorant votaries should not be allowed to trifle with the life and health of adults, children and the entire community, by assuming the treatment of all classes of disease, including surgical cases and contagious and infectious mal-

adies. To say that it is infringement of religious liberty to require the same skill and knowledge of Christian Scientists, engaging in the business of curing the sick for hire, as is required of Presbyterians or Catholics in the same business shows ignorance of the constitutional doctrine of the Mormon cases, or carelessness of statement, or such wilfull misstatement as Mrs. Eddy personally was guilty of when she said that infringement of copyright is theft, punishable criminally.

Second. Christian Science has no healing power peculiar to itself, as distinguished from faith cure or any other method of diverting the mind from the ills of the body. If it had such divine power, its application would be universal; it would be effective in surgery as in physic. Mrs. Eddy pretends that this universal applicability exists; but, in admitting that for the present "it is better to leave the adjustment, of broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of surgeons,"* she confesses the falsity of her treatment and the impotence of her method. Mr. Norton has recently shown the same lack of faith and of ability to match promise with performance. Having offered to give medical proof of cures of cancer, locomotor ataxia, etc., he was asked to name the diagnostician and describe the treatment, the precautions to exclude other factors of cure, and the patients' present condition. He produced in fact no testimony of evidential force to trained minds, but only certificates of Christian Scientists similar in kind and value to the "puffs" above quoted from "Miscellaneous Writings." He was asked how he would treat these cases of emergency: a cranial wound caused by a falling brick; strangulation of a child from swallowing a fish bone; exposure of a child to confluent small-pox; severing of a child's artery by a cable car accident; fracture of a baby's skull by a fall. He was also asked if in curing cancers he made differential diagnosis between them, boils, carbuncles, etc. Lest he be misquoted his written words are given:

"I make no diagnosis except along the lines of *consistent mental therapeutics*. An expert in mental therapeutics will naturally know the character of this diagnosis. Discord is discord. *Pain is pain. Disease is disease.* The principle that cures one if *rightly applied, will cure all.* This is the beginning and end of rational mental healing. In relation to mental treatment for a severed artery, I said simply that *I believed* the *proper* application of *Mind* power would do the same work, if not better, than any other method. I beg that you quote me

*North American Review, March, 1899, p. 356.

correctly, if you ever quote me, and I most thoroughly disagree with the understanding you got about diagnosis. In reply to the list of questions that you wrote to me in a recent letter, I have but to repeat my recent utterances in a letter to you, that *I prefer to shelve them*, because to answer them would bring about wholly indifferent results."

The italics are his and ours. To say that Christian Science is efficacious *if rightly or properly applied* leaves open a wide door. *To shelve* the other questions confesses inability to answer them without making fatal admissions. To say "Pain is pain. Disease is disease" flatly contradicts Mrs. Eddy.*

Third. Why is it then that Christian Science is credited with these marvellous cures, if its foremost professors cannot bring forward any better proofs of them than are afforded by certificates no better in manner and degree than those accompanying every quack nostrum that is advertised. The explanation is simple. In perhaps the majority of cases to which physicians are called, nothing more is needed than regimen and the mental stimulus that comes to the patient with knowledge that he is under skilled care. If a physician falls ill, he calls another to attend him, chiefly for the sake of this mental stimulus and to eliminate the personal factor. Drugs and surgical appliances may be needed in only a small proportion of cases; but, like a revolver in Texas, they are needed greatly when the occasion arises. Many diseases are self limited, many are feigned, or due to a fixed idea which may operate even in surgery, as when a patient, under the erroneous impression that his leg is broken, unconsciously inhibits muscular action and is unable to put foot to the ground, until dispossessed of the inhibitory idea by mechanical devices or any method, even Christian Science, changing the mental attitude. In all such cases, whatever removes the mental tension may be beneficial. Many patients would get well without any attendance at all. To take an illustration: Child-birth, in which Christian Scientists profess great success, is not a disease, but the operation of a normal function. In the absence of complications, attendance is not necessary although it may be desirable. But in the presence of certain complications, the very highest skill is necessary to save life. Will any sane person say that, because in the vast majority of cases children may be brought into the world safely under the attendance of a Christian Scientist, such a person is to be pardoned who undertakes such a complication as that of *placenta praevia* with neither

*Space is lacking to exhibit the correspondence in detail. It appears more fully in the *N. Y. Sun* of June 9, 1899.

medical skill nor knowledge? Will any parent be willing, in case a child's artery is severed, to call a Christian Scientist rather than a surgeon? Upon the answers to these questions depends the acceptance by reasoning persons of Mrs. Eddy's theory and claim that her followers can cure all forms of human maladies and injuries, and that they should be allowed to treat medical and surgical cases without the responsibility for malpractice that rests upon medical men.

We devoutly believe that Mrs. Eddy is an instrument in the hands of God, not for the healing of the nations, but to humble us intellectually by showing that, at the end of the nineteenth century, professedly intelligent persons can be as easily duped by her as their forbears were by Cagliostro at the close of the eighteenth.

W. A. PURRINGTON.

ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION.

BY JOSEPH D. SAYERS, GOVERNOR OF TEXAS.

HAVING been requested to explain the purpose and provisions of the Anti-Trust Law of Texas, I feel that I can best do so by employing, to a very considerable extent, the language of the Act itself—thus insuring accuracy in a statement that might otherwise be faulty.

The object of the Act, as expressed in the preamble, is: "To prohibit pools, trusts, monopolies and conspiracies to control business and prices of articles; to prevent the formation or operation of pools, trusts, monopolies and combinations of charters of corporations that violate the terms of the Act; and to authorize the institution of prosecutions and suits therefor."

The Act itself prohibits any corporation doing business in the State, or any partnership, or individual or other association of persons whatsoever, creating, entering into, becoming a member of or a party to any pool, trust, agreement, combination, confederation or understanding with any other corporation, partnership, individual or any other person or association of persons, to regulate or fix the price of any article of manufacture, mechanism, merchandise, commodity, convenience, repair, any product of mining, or any article or thing whatsoever, or the price or premium to be paid for insuring property against loss or damage by fire, lightning or storm, or to maintain said price when so regulated or fixed; or entering into, becoming a member of, or a party to any pool, agreement, combination, contract, association or confederation to fix or limit the amount or quality of any article of manufacture, mechanism, merchandise, commodity, convenience, repair, any product of mining, or any article or thing whatsoever, or the price or premium to be paid for insuring property against loss or damage by fire, lightning, storm,

cyclone, tornado, or any other kind of policy issued by any corporation, partnership, individual or association of persons. A violation of this provision is denounced as a conspiracy to defraud.

A "monopoly" is declared to be any union or combination or consolidation or affiliation of capital, credit, property, assets, trade, custom, skill or acts, or of any other valuable thing or possession, by or between persons, firms or corporations, or associations of persons, firms or corporations whereby any one of the purposes or objects mentioned in the Act is accomplished or sought to be accomplished, or whereby any one or more of said purposes are promoted or attempted to be executed or carried out, or whereby the several results described in the Act are reasonably calculated to be produced.

As thus defined, a monopoly is made to include not merely such combinations by and between two or more persons, firms or corporations acting for themselves, but especially all aggregations, amalgamations, affiliations, consolidations, or incorporations of capital, skill, credit, assets, property, custom, trade or other valuable thing or possession, whether effected by the ordinary methods of partnership or by actual union under the legal form of a corporation, or an incorporated body resulting from the union of one or more distinct firms or corporations, or by the purchase, acquisition or control of shares or certificates of stock or bonds, or other corporate property or franchises. All corporations or partnerships that have been or may be created by the consolidation or amalgamation of the separate capital, stock, bonds, assets, credit, properties, custom, trade or corporate or firm belongings of two or more firms or corporations, or companies, are held to constitute monopolies within the meaning of the Act, if so created or entered into for any one or more of the purposes therein named.

The leasing, renting or operating in their own name, and the refusal or failure to put on the market for sale by any corporation, co-partnership, firm or individual, who may be the owner or lessee of the same, a patent for any machinery, intended, used or designed for manufacturing any raw materials, or for preparing the same for market by any wrapping, baling or other process, is also adjudged a monopoly. So is the refusal by any corporation, co-partnership, firm or individual, which may gather items of news

or press dispatches, for sale to newspapers, to sell the same to more than one newspaper, to a stated number of inhabitants of any city, town, or sub-division of the State, or within a certain radius of territory. In the same category is placed every association of newspapers formed for the purpose of exchanging items of news and press dispatches, which may require of its members, under penalty of forfeiting their membership, that they do not sell to or exchange with newspapers not members of such associations, any items of news or press dispatches. A monopoly, as thus determined, is declared to be unlawful and against public policy, and any and all persons, firms, corporations or association of persons engaged therein are held guilty of a conspiracy to defraud.

And again, if any person, persons, company, partnership, association or corporation, engaged in the manufacture of any article of commerce or consumption from the raw material produced or mined in the State, shall, with the intent or purpose of driving out competition, or of financially injuring competitors, sell at less than the cost of manufacture, or give away their manufactured products for the purpose of driving out competition, or financially injuring competitors, such person, persons, company, partnership, association, or corporation is held guilty of a conspiracy to form or secure a trust or monopoly in restraint of trade.

Furthermore, if any person, persons, company, partnership, association, corporation or agent, engaged in the manufacture or sale of any article of commerce or consumption produced, manufactured or mined in the State, or elsewhere, shall, with the intent or purpose of driving out competition, or financially injuring competitors, sell within the State at less than the cost of manufacture or production, or sell in such a way, or give away within the State their products for the purpose of driving out competition or financially injuring competitors, such person, persons, company, partnership, association, corporation or agent is deemed guilty of a conspiracy to form or secure a trust or monopoly in restraint of trade.

And, lastly, if any two or more persons or corporations, who are engaged in buying or selling any article of commerce, manufacture, merchandise, mechanism, commodity, convenience, repair, any product of mining, or any article or thing whatsoever,

shall enter into any pool, trust, agreement, combination, confederation, association or understanding to control or limit the trade in any such article or thing, or to limit competition in such trade by refusing to buy from or sell to any other person or corporation any such article or thing aforesaid, for the reason that such other person or corporation is not a member of or a party to such pool, trust, agreement, combination, confederation, association or understanding, or shall boycott or threaten any person or corporation for buying from or selling to any other person or corporation, who is not a member of or party to such pool, trust, agreement, combination, confederation, association or understanding, any such article or thing aforesaid, it shall be a violation of the Act; and any person, firm, corporation or association of persons committing such violation is deemed guilty of a conspiracy to defraud.

The penalty for the violation of any provision of the Act by any person, partnership, firm or association, or any representative or agent thereof, or any corporation or company, or any officer, representative or agent thereof, is a forfeiture by the offender of not less than two hundred dollars, nor more than five thousand dollars for every offence, and each day of such violation is made a separate offence.

Should any corporation organized under the law of the State violate any provision of the Act, such offence will work a forfeiture of its franchise and privileges; if the offending corporation has been created by the law of any other State or country, it will forfeit its right and privileges thereafter to do business in Texas.

The sale, delivery or disposition of any of the articles, commodities or things mentioned in the Act, by any individual, company or corporation transacting business contrary to the provisions of the Act, within this State or elsewhere, is declared to be unlawful, and contrary to public policy. The purchaser of any article or commodity from any such offending individual, company or corporation is relieved of liability for the price or payment thereof, and may plead the Act as a defence to any suit for the price or payment, whether the purchase was made directly from the individual, company or corporation, or indirectly from an agent, representative, solicitor or canvasser; and if any money or other thing of value is paid in such a transaction,

the person paying the same may recover back the amount of the money or the value of the thing so paid.

It is made the duty of the Attorney General, and of the District and County Attorneys, to enforce the provisions of the Act. Suits instituted under it have precedence of all other business, except criminal cases, where the defendants are in jail. The prosecuting attorney receives a compensation of one-fourth of the penalty collected.

In order to insure, if possible, complete compliance with the Act, the Secretary of State is required, on or about the first day of July of each year, or at such times as he shall deem necessary, to address to the President, Secretary or Treasurer of each corporation doing business in the State, a letter of inquiry as to whether such corporation has all or any part of its business or interest in or with any trust, combination or association of persons or stockholders as named in the Act, and to require an answer under oath from such President, Secretary or Treasurer, or from any director of the company. Accompanying the letter of inquiry will be a form of affidavit to be made, which covers carefully and minutely every proposition involved in the Act. The law takes effect on January 31, 1900.

It will be observed that the measure under consideration is altogether impartial in its application. It speaks for itself and requires no explanation that its meaning may be understood. Its language is plain, direct and clear. Comprehensive, far-reaching and drastic, it undertakes to deal with all alike—not discriminating as to individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, or trusts, nor favoring any character of pursuit or business. Its denunciations and its penalties fall equally upon all—the resident and the non-resident, the local and the foreign. Any assault that may be attempted on its validity, cannot be predicated upon the ground that it is obnoxious in this respect to any provision of the Federal Constitution or of the organic law of the State.

The important questions in the consideration of the matter are, first: Do the conditions in which the country is involved warrant the enactment of such legislation? and, secondly: Is it possible through the method adopted to accomplish the purpose in view? It cannot be denied that the Trusts already created are many and strong, and that they have been and are con-

tinually being formed for almost every conceivable object. Very rarely does the press fail in any issue to record the organization of some new trust of great proportions. Their number and magnitude are almost inconceivable. There appears to be no limit to the unwonted activity in this direction. Industries of every kind are rapidly losing their individuality, and are permitting themselves to be absorbed by enterprises of a like character, all being operated and controlled by one central authority. Competition is fast ceasing to be a factor in the economics of the country. Heretofore, we have been taught to believe that it was the life of trade. Nowadays, however, we are advised that this is a most grievous error and that the contrary doctrine is the true theory. The wisdom of the fathers has become foolishness in the eyes of their sons, and the experience of centuries has proven of no value, except, perhaps, to demonstrate that commerce and manufacture have hitherto been conducted upon lines that were altogether false and misleading.

It has been asserted by some, who claim themselves qualified to speak upon the subject, that Trusts, as operated in the United States, are not harmful, and that they are but the outgrowth of an evolution in industrial life that is natural, healthful and necessary. On the other hand, it is insisted, and I think rightfully, that they are, in a great measure, if not entirely, due to vicious legislation—to the policy of the Federal Government in the matter of currency and taxation, and to that of the States in the creation of corporations. A high protective tariff, which excludes foreign competition, and a single gold standard which limits the volume of currency and enhances the value of that in circulation, supplemented by the easy formation of corporations under State authority, are the potent instrumentalities upon which the Trust depends for its existence. If, under the Trust-reign, the industries of the country be passing into the hands of the few, if the products of other lands be so heavily taxed as to be, in a great measure, denied entrance into our ports, and our people be thereby compelled to buy and use only those manufactured at home, if the cost of production and distribution is being reduced to the minimum, if the output is being so regulated as not to exceed a given quantity, and its selling price determined by the Trust exclusively, if the small dealers are being put under duress as to those from whom and as to what they may buy, and as to how they may sell, if individual effort be

no longer able to compete successfully with corporate power and corporate advantage, if young and weak industries are being strangled to death and the establishment of new and independent enterprises prevented, it cannot be doubted that for this untoward and unhealthy condition of industrial and commercial life legislation is, in a large degree, responsible. If the Trusts shall be permitted to organize and to operate as for the last several years, the result is certain that a more disastrous panic than has ever been known will sooner or later occur. Much of the stock issued by these organizations is entirely fictitious, and does not represent real capital. Money-lenders will some day refuse to recognize it as safe security, and then the storm will burst forth in all its fury. Under such circumstances, what is the duty of government? To it do Trusts and corporations, either directly or indirectly, owe their being, and upon it, therefore, rests the obligation to see to it that they, its creatures, shall not harm the people.

It is reported that the Attorney General of the United States has said that the Federal Government is helpless to wage a successful warfare against the gigantic evils which proceed from the Trust-power, and that relief can only be had through the State Governments. Congress can, if it but will, render the most effective and substantial assistance. Let it reverse the present policy as to the currency and the tariff, putting the two metals upon an entire equality, and providing for a fairer and more general distribution of the currency, and lowering the duties on imports so that the productions of other countries may compete with those controlled by the Trusts. This much Congress can and should do. In the meantime, let the States perform their duty.

I have lately assumed to suggest a conference of the Governors and Attorneys General of all the States and Territories, without exception, to consider the subject, and, if possible, to devise and unite upon such legislation as would overthrow the Trust-power and prevent its revival. In this matter, I have acted upon my own responsibility, and with the sole view to correct, if possible, a great and growing evil—one that threatens much harm to the country. I have had, and I will have, no purpose in view other than that distinctly specified, and I trust that, should the conference be held, no other question will be considered except that of Trusts, and the best method to be adopted by the States to insure their complete destruction within the shortest period possible.

Identically the same letter has been addressed to every Executive. It is sincerely hoped that the conference may be attended by all, and that the question may be considered and treated with that gravity, intelligence and patriotic feeling that its importance demands. Party pride, party attachment, and party ambition should not be allowed to mar the harmony of the occasion. There should be a common impulse to do that which may be best for the people. Texas has already taken position. Come what will, she will make the fight, and, if need be, alone. With united action by the States, the result cannot be doubtful. If the Legislatures, Governors and Attorneys General of as many as twenty Commonwealths will thoroughly and sincerely agree upon a line of policy, and will execute it with courage, vigor and impartiality, the Trust-power will surely be broken. Circumscribed in the area of its operations and limited to those States to whose favor it owes its birth, it will not be able to maintain itself. It will die for the lack of material upon which to operate. The Trust should be regarded as a public enemy and should be treated as such. Arrogant, unscrupulous and merciless in the exercise of its power, it should be fought unto the very death.

JOSEPH D. SAYERS.

JAPAN'S ENTRY INTO THE FAMILY OF NATIONS.

BY T. R. JERNIGAN, FORMERLY UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL AT SHANGHAI.

In July, 1899, Japan enters into the possession of full autonomy. This right to complete sovereignty, heretofore denied to Japan in treaties with Western nations, has been acknowledged in treaties which are now to go into effect.

Under the late treaties, foreigners in Japan are exempt from Japanese law, but now, like natives, they will be amenable to the laws and jurisdiction of the Courts of the Empire.

The conservative thought of the West may be said to mingle doubt with confidence as to the result of the change. It is doubtful, because the situation will be new, and confident, because Japan has given proofs of capacity to meet new situations.

A reference, therefore, to some of the turning points in Japanese history may be of interest at the present moment, and can not fail to allay apprehension with regard to the manner in which Japan will acquit herself under the new conditions.

Japan appears in authentic history in 461, A. D. The absolute power of the Emperor and the unbroken descent of the imperial line had long been the pride of all Japanese, and they had no sympathy with the democratic doctrine of the Chinese sages, "that the people are the most important element in a nation."

But in 552-621, A. D., Buddhist missionaries entered Japan and succeeded in converting a large majority of the people to their faith. This was an important event, as, with the conversion to Buddhism, the thought of the Empire underwent a radical change in favor of Chinese civilization, a change as radical and far reaching as the more recent change in favor of Western civilization.

The absolutism of the Emperor continued to exist in theory, but the government was formed after the Chinese bureaucratic plan, the administration of affairs being entrusted to ministers, who were responsible to the Emperor. Before this, there had been no intermediate agencies, and in discharging the functions of government, the Emperor had acted directly. Through the medium of Buddhism, the Chinese system became engrafted upon Japan, and soon the Emperor became the mere figurehead, surrounded by women and priests.

The change was favorable to the ambition of the Ministers. It encouraged rivalry for power, and it was not long before the most influential and powerful of the Ministers prevailed. The Fujiwara family engrossed the power of the Empire, and during the second half of the eleventh and the whole of the twelfth century, the Empire was a military camp.

The great clans of Taira and Minamoto were the principal rivals, and under the banners of one or the other all Japanese were enlisted. The Emperor was shut up in his palace at Kioto, while his Empire was the scene of clan rivalry and was deluged with blood. The sword and the bow were the means to power, and the strongest arm won the mastery.

Finally, the Minamotos triumphed, and their chief, Yoritomo, styled himself Shogun. The title was ostensibly conferred by the Emperor, but it was the choice of Yoritomo himself.

This victorious clansman was practically the ruler of Japan, the Emperor being in effect a prisoner. Years went on, and it was this discrepancy between the theory and the practice in Japanese rule which has misled some writers into the belief that there were at one time two Emperors in Japan.

Here it may be noted, that the introduction of Chinese civilization resulted in establishing the Shogunate, and transferring the power of the Emperor to a military chieftain, while the introduction of Western civilization restored the Emperor to his full and rightful authority, and destroyed the power of the Shogun.

The descendants of Yoritomo did not inherit his mental vigor and diplomacy, and by a curious destiny the real authority, soon after his death, was wielded by another family known as the Hojo, the Emperor being thus removed another degree from the people; and, for more than a century, 1205-1333, the Hojos were masters of the Empire.

It was during the Hojo Regency that the Mongols were sent by Kublai Khan to annex Japan to China, but they were repulsed, and, since then, Japan has never been attacked from without.

During the fourteenth century, Japan was again disturbed by internecine strife, which was caused by a rivalry between two branches of the Imperial family. The one was called the Northern and the other the Southern Court, and each, supported by different feudal chiefs, disputed for the crown in a civil war which lasted sixty years. The Northern Court succeeded, and from 1338 to 1565 the Ashikaga family ruled Japan as Shoguns.

In 1542, the Portuguese discovered Japan. By some imprudence on their part, and on that of the Spanish friars, a prejudice was created against the Christian religion, and the whole Empire was thrown into a state of anarchy. Each feudal chief fortified his castle and the central authority was helpless and powerless. This disorganized state of society lasted until the latter half of the sixteenth century, when there arose three men whose names are familiar to all Japanese, and who are regarded by their countrymen as unrivalled in statesmanship and military genius.

Their names are Ota Nobunaga, Taiko Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu. It was Nobunaga who first conceived the idea of centralizing all the authority of the Empire in a single person, but it remained for Hideyoshi to put the idea into practice. The latter died, however, while contemplating the conquest of China and his youthful son was set aside by Ieyasu, who quelled the turbulent feudal chiefs, assumed the title of Shogun, and established his capital at Tokio. It was with one of his descendants that Commodore Perry negotiated the treaty that first introduced Japan to Western nations.

From the date of the Shogunate of Ieyasu until 1854, when Commodore Perry anchored his ships in Japanese waters, the Tokugawa family were in absolute practical control of every function of the government of Japan. In theory, the Emperor was still supreme, and these adept masters in statecraft ostensibly recognized the Imperial supremacy in all measures relating to the government.

But there has always been among the Japanese a chivalrous and manly opposition to all authority, except that which originated in and of right belonged to the Mikado. The periods in their history when they have been forced to submit to other authority did

not destroy, if they modified, their loyalty and zeal for the Imperial house, and on every favorable opportunity they have given proofs of both. During the two and a half centuries when the power of the Tokugawas stilled even the murmurs of opposition, the *literati* of Japan were busy preparing the thought of their countrymen for restoring to the Emperor his legal position and rights in the Empire.

If Commodore Perry had never arrived in the waters of Japan, there would have been a revolution in favor of the restoration of the Emperor, though his arrival and negotiation of a treaty with the Shogun precipitated the revolution. And, as if fate would be strange in shaping the destiny of man and of empire, the treaty made by the Shogun was made the pretext for the overthrow of the Shogunate, and the restoration of the Emperor was proclaimed as a necessity to the expulsion of Westerners from the soil of Japan.

There were men in Japan, however, who foresaw the drift of events, and who recognized the futility of opposition to Western civilization. Such foresight at such a time evidences the wisdom of Japanese statesmanship and affords assurance that it will prove equal in practical conservatism when meeting other conditions that may arise.

But the power of the Shogun was not surrendered without a struggle. Several battles were fought, and when in June, 1869, the Imperial forces won the victory that compelled the theoretical and practical acknowledgment of the Emperor, the authority of the Shogun passed away from the house of Tokugawa, the last representative of the Shogunate.

At this juncture, Japanese humanity, no less than Japanese statesmanship, merits commendation. The victors did not celebrate their victory in the blood of the conquered. Such had been the custom of Orientals, but the defeated Shogun was allowed to return in peace to his home, where his family now resides. Some of his descendants, indeed, are at present officers in the civil and military departments of the Japanese Government.

Another fact that favorably illustrates Japanese character was the loyalty of the feudal chiefs at the restoration of the Emperor. These chiefs set out from their castles with the title deeds of their possessions in their pockets and delivered all into the hand of the Emperor; and this they did, not under compulsion, but of their

own free will. To these very chiefs the Emperor owed his restoration; it was their strong arms and sharp swords that had rescued him from the power of the Shogun and destroyed that power. But they were moved by a sentiment of loyalty, such as history has seldom had to record, in acting out what they professed, and it would not be just to withhold from Japanese character the confidence which conduct so laudable is fitted to inspire.

Feudalism perished and in 1871 a centralized bureaucracy arose on its ruins. From that date the customs of ancient and mediæval Japan in reality began to yield to Western customs and laws. Social disabilities were removed, post and telegraphs were established, and railroads were built; the Western calendar was introduced, Western dress adopted by the officials, torture abolished, and the persecution of the Christians stopped. Before 1875, steamship companies were incorporated, and in 1878 a Bourse and Chamber of Commerce were inaugurated, and by 1885 a code of laws, modelled after the Code Napoleon, was being published, a Supreme Court of Justice had been instituted, and the English language had been introduced into the curriculum of the common schools.

It is true that opposition manifested itself, even by force of arms, to the introduction of such radical reforms, but the opposition was not sustained by any general public sentiment, and being provincial only, the central government succeeded in subduing it. In February, 1889, the Emperor, a few years previously a prisoner in his palace, had so fully recovered his rights and received so complete an acknowledgment of his authority, that he promulgated a written constitution, providing that thereafter he would share the administration of the Empire with his nobility, and with those gentlemen and commoners whose property qualifications entitled them to vote or be voted for. For an absolute monarchy there was substituted a constitutional monarchy, with a Diet consisting of two houses.

The promulgation, by an Oriental Emperor in the enjoyment of absolute power, of a written constitution in which his power was restricted, was a turning point, not only in the history of Japan, but in that of Asia, and there were as many doubting Thomases in February, 1889, as there can reasonably be expected to be in July, 1899.

Considering that Japan had been entrenched for centuries in

her national superstitions and customs, and that she had held an exclusive attitude with reference to Western nations, the adaptability of the Japanese mind to the new order created by the Constitution gives ground for the highest hope that the Empire will turn smoothly on the pivot of 1899. The laudable ambition to rank among the civilized nations of the earth, and the success that has attended the effort, argue strongly in favor of a reserve force of national character which, it is believed, will tide the Empire over all difficulties, and secure it in the seat which it has just taken in the parliament of nations.

It has been seen that, when Japan first appeared in authentic history, the form of government was an absolute monarchy, and that during the Middle Ages, although the absolutism of the government was recognized in theory, the administration was practically conducted by successful military chieftains, while at one time a rigorous system of feudalism prevailed.

Great credit is due to a people who emerged from such darkness, threw off the tyrannous restraints upon their rights, and established a Constitutional Monarchy in which the functions of government are apportioned and held in their respective orbits by defined checks and balances.

The Emperor remains the head of the Empire, but, while combining in himself the rights of sovereignty with the whole of the executive power, he acts with the advice and assistance of a Cabinet of Ministers, in addition to a Privy Council whose function it is to deliberate on important matters of state, whenever consulted by the Emperor.

The legislative power is exercised by the Emperor, with the consent of the Imperial Diet, which is composed of a House of Peers and a House of Representatives, and, although the Emperor retains the prerogative of an unqualified veto, every law requires the consent of the Diet. Both Houses have the right to initiate legislation, or present addresses to the Emperor upon any subject. The Emperor opens and prorogues the Diet, appoints and removes his Cabinet Ministers at pleasure; he can declare war, make peace and conclude treaties.

The central administration is divided into the departments of the Imperial Household, Foreign Affairs, the Army, the Navy, the Interior, Finance, Justice, Education, Agriculture and Commerce, and Communications. Each department is presided over by a

Minister of State, who, with the exception of the Minister of the Imperial Household, is a member of the Cabinet. The names of the departments suggest the matters within the jurisdiction of each, and, taken together, they show a well ordered division of government.

For local administrative purposes, Japan is divided into forty-six districts. Each district is presided over by an officer known as the Governor, and is divided into cities and counties, and each of these has its chief-magistrate to manage local affairs. The principle of decentralization and local self-government is evidenced by a further division of the system of local administration into municipalities, towns, and villages; and there are city and prefectural assemblies, based on the principle of election, with powers to name the estimates of local rates, subject to the confirmation of the Governors and, finally, of the Minister of the Interior.

In the central administration, the Department of Justice has received the attention its important functions demanded, for these relate specially to the tribunals invested with jurisdiction over personal and property rights; and, that nothing may be left in doubt, there is a civil and criminal code in which rights are clearly defined and adequate safeguards and remedies provided. These codes are founded on modern jurisprudence, and the judges who preside over the Courts and interpret the laws are irremovable, except for cause; and, that justice may not be delayed, the number of Courts has been made amply sufficient to quickly determine all litigation.

This brief reference to some of the turning points in the history of Japan, and the general outline of the central and local administrative systems, lead to the inquiry whether, under the constitutional monarchy, the Empire has prospered. To this it may be answered that the Constitution is but the outgrowth of the intelligent progress of the Empire, and that this progress can show a substantial and, for the future, a continuing basis.

The fundamental elements of national strength and wealth are in the resources of a nation, and in the brain and labor of the people to develop them; and, judged by such standards, there need be no hesitation on the part of Japan in pointing to the industrial record of her sons.

The empire comprises an area of 147,500 square miles. It is

favored with an extensive coast line, indented with many magnificent harbors, and offering every advantage to marine commerce and resources for industry.

The first census was taken in 1872, and showed a population, in round numbers, of 33,000,000. In 1894 the population had increased to 41,000,000, an advance of about twenty-six per cent., somewhat greater than that of Great Britain for the same period.

Rice being the principal cereal of Japanese agriculture, there were, in 1880, 5,404,000 acres under cultivation, and in 1895, 6,497,000. During the same period, the increase of the silk worm and tea growing branches of agricultural industry was 3.7 times in the former and 2.6 in the latter.

In manufacturing industry the progress was decidedly great. In 1883, there were 85 factories with 1,383 horse and water power, and in 1895 there were 2,758 factories, with 54,576 horse and water power.

The industry that developed the internal resources of the Empire on such progressive lines, soon began to give proofs of real strength in foreign commerce. In 1875, the export and import trade of Japan amounted, in the total aggregate, to Yen 47,300,-371, but in 1897 it amounted to Yen 382,425,849; and, while in 1872 the number of steamships registered was 96, with a tonnage of 23,364, there were in 1895, 827 with a tonnage of 213,221, later figures showing a material increase over those given. There are about 3,000 miles of railway open for traffic, and there are telegraph lines that reach every business and strategical point in the Empire.

Furthermore, in the presence of such busy agricultural and manufacturing developments, the true central forces which hold a nation in its place, and sustain the people, have been recognized by the establishment of educational institutions and the encouragement of learning. There are more than 28,000 educational institutions in Japan, attended by more than 3,800,000 students. The primary schools number more than 26,000 with about 3,400,-000 students on their rolls. In 1896, there were 26,367 books published, and, at the end of the same year, there were periodicals published to the number of 783.

A potent arm of justice in Japan is the excellent internal police organization, which guarantees the safety of life and property, and the known superiority of the military system leaves no doubt

of the ability of the government to quell quickly any possible insurrection or rebellion. The army and navy have both illustrated the quality of Japanese organization and valor, and when an Empire has, within a quarter of a century, turned its back upon Oriental customs and superstitions and written its name so brightly in modern history, it may justly claim the applause and respect of the world when it is about to take a place in the ranks of civilized nations.

T. R. JERNIGAN.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL, PH. D., PROFESSOR OF RABBINICAL LITERATURE AND THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

"We ask but a little portion of the green and ancient earth:
Only to sow and sing and reap in the land of our birth."

THIS refrain in "The Cry of the Little Peoples" echoes the longings of those Jews whom the world has learned to call Zionists. Young as the modern form of the movement is, it has already passed through various stages. At its birth it was received with a smile, and even with a certain amount of scorn. As it rapidly made its way, it was looked at with surprise. At the second Zionist Congress, the surprise turned into respectful attention. What strange forces were awakening among God's ancient folk? What new spirit was being infused into the dead bones? What strange feeling had come over the wandering Jew? We stand in the shadow of the third Zionist Congress at Basle. No nation ought to give an ear to "the Cry of the Little Peoples" more readily than the American. It was itself one of them at a time not so far back as to make it forget its origin, now that it has grown to a place among the greatest. What, then, is the history of the Zionist movement; for what does it stand, and how far is it an expression of the wish of the Jewish people?

I have spoken of the modern form of the movement, for there is an ancient form as well. The Zionist idea, as the expression of the national hope of restoration to the national home of the Jew, dates back to the time of the Babylonian captivity. The prophets and psalmists of the exile are borne up by that hope in their preaching and in their singing. After the end of the second commonwealth, the same hope accompanied the Jew wherever he dragged his weary steps. He prayed for this restoration every

time he approached the Seat of Mercy. His poets sang of it, his philosophers wrote of it. His whole life, though lived in dingy Ghettoes and pent-up Judenstrasse, was fashioned after the life he had left behind. The Synagogue service was a poor model of the elaborate Temple Ritual. As a possibility, this hope of restoration receded further and further from his sight. But he never let it pass away entirely, even when the walls of the Ghetto tumbled and he was free to come forth. Only at the rarest intervals did he try to bring this hope to an actual fruition. The Reform movement in the Jewish Church, which commenced with Mendelssohn at the end of the last century, has ended in the excision of all mention of Zion and Palestine from the Reform prayer book. There was hope, in the days of Mendelssohn, that the world was rapidly advancing towards the stage when racial differences would be all obliterated, when the brotherhood of man would become a reality, and religious differences rather unite than separate the votaries of various creeds.

The Jews were among the foremost to grasp at the new fruit. It had hardly time to reach their mouths when its sweetness turned into gall. The universalism of Lessing and Goethe and Herder, the work of such men as Mirabeau, the redeeming features of the French blood-bath of 1789, the ideals of the martyrs of 1830 and 1848, soon made way for an individualism which showed itself in increased national feeling in every country of Europe. Jewish hopes were cruelly shattered. I was a student in Germany when the black spirit of the Middle Ages crept out of its grave once more to trouble men. I personally assisted Russian Jews as they fled in hundreds to Germany, in their endeavor to reach a haven of rest in America. I have seen in France, as I came there year after year, the work of a hundred years undone in less than so many months. I saw the Berlin treaty nullified and the rights of citizenship still refused to the Roumanian Jews. But why complete the tale? It has been told over and over again.

The May Laws of Count Ignatieff mark the beginning of the new Zionism. Instinctively, the Jew turned to his old home. Equipped with nothing but hope and an undaunted courage, many journeyed thither. Colonization societies were formed in Russia and Roumania—*Chovei-Zion* (Lovers of Zion) they called themselves for the most part. Similar efforts at colonizing Jews in Palestine had been made in the fifties by Sir Moses Montefiore,

by Lord Shaftesbury, by Laurence Oliphant and by Dr. Friedman. In 1870, the first real colony (*Mikiveh Israel*) was founded by Charles Netter, under the auspices of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, an organization which has nobly pleaded the cause of the Jews wherever they were unable to do it themselves, and whose leaders were such men as Adolph Cremiaux and Albert Cohn. This, however, was a purely agricultural school. Here colonies soon grouped themselves near to it and spread out in other parts of the land. There are now as many as sixteen mother colonies, with other settlements attached which may bring up their number to twenty-five; around Jerusalem, near Haifa and Jaffa, in Galilee and now even beyond the Jordan. Their success is due to the splendid interest taken in them by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who has spared neither expense nor trouble to help them through the experimental stage in which they were bound to remain for some years. Wine of various kinds is produced in the colonies, cognac, scent and soap. As soon as a proper market is found for these products, the colonies will all be self-supporting. In the year 1897, the first attempt was made to colonize also in the Island of Cyprus. For various reasons this island offers many advantages as a stepping stone to the coast of Palestine.

When the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, visited the holy places in Palestine in the twelfth century, he could find there no more than a few hundred of his people. Now there are about sixty thousand Jews in Palestine. Schools have been founded there by the *Alliance*, there is a high-school in the City of Jaffa, and a national Hebrew library in Jerusalem. This Abarbanel Library, as it is called, has been founded almost wholly through the exertions of Dr. Casanowitz of Bialoistock (Russia), who spent all his own fortune in so doing, and often takes his fees in books, which he then forwards to Jerusalem.

This indiscriminate colonization, and what was worse, the massing of poverty-stricken Jews in Jerusalem, had been going on for some years when, in 1896, a pamphlet called "*Der Juden Staat*" appeared in Vienna. The writer of it, Dr. Theodore Herzl, was a brilliant member of the editorial staff of the "*Neue Freie Presse*" of Vienna. He was by no means the first to preach the ideas for which he now stands. In Russia men like Binsher,

in Germany men like Ruelf, had done this before his time. But it is his merit to have definitely laid down the lines upon which any movement of this kind must run. His merit is even greater than this. As a refuge from Anti-Semitism merely, Zionism would have only a negative value. Herzl has supplied the ideal, or rather has formulated it in a definite manner: the ideal of a certain home and of a renewed life in common for the Jews. At the inspiration of his word and through his unflagging energy, assisted by such men as Max Nordau, what was but the individual effort of a few societies has become a goal towards which the Jewish people may walk. He has brought the question before the forum of European thought and to the ears of those who have in their hands the making of history. Before the first Congress at Basle in 1897, there were in various parts of the world one hundred and seventeen societies whose aims were more or less Zionistic. At the second Basle Congress in 1898, their number had risen to more than eight hundred. Before 1897, there were merely a handful of societies in the United States. The American Federation of Zionists now counts as many as one hundred and twenty-five societies; and there are quite a number of other Zionist societies not yet affiliated with the Federation.

The success of the Zionist movement presupposes the presence of such an ideal. The immense benefactions of the late Baron de Hirsch in the Argentine Republic can never, for the want of this ideal, prove of lasting value to the Jewish nation. They can only make a temporary asylum for a small portion of the race. Up to within a short time, the Jewish Colonization Society, the disburser of Baron de Hirsch's money, has given nearly all its attention, as far as affects colonization, to every other land but Palestine. Happily, a change has come over the leaders of that society, and now with an open hand and with an open mind, they aid and assist the work in Cyprus and in Palestine.

No such means are at the call of the Zionists. It has been a subject of reproach to us that in our ranks the great financiers, the men of great fortunes, are seldom to be found. The reproach touches them, not us. And in the end it matters little. Our strength lies in an idea: and in the long run ideas shape themselves out into history. At the last Congress it was resolved to found a company, which, working side by side with the Congress, should enable it to carry out whatever ideas it should

from time to time adopt. During the present year, the Jewish Colonial Trust was brought into existence under the English Banking Laws and with its chief office in London. The necessary working capital has already been subscribed—largely by the Jewish Proletariate. From every place into which jewry is dispersed, the money has come, a free-will offering to the great work we have in view.

Nearly all the older *Chovei-Zion* societies have joined the movement of which the Basle Congress is the exponent. Some, however, have not. A large society in Lemberg, the English Zionist tents, and a few societies in Germany, still believe that simple colonization in Palestine is the only thing for which the Jews should strive. In this they show little insight into the changed economic conditions under which we now live. To make of the Jewish people simply an agricultural people, would be an attempt to turn back the hands of the clock; and to bring a large number of Jews into Palestine without at the same time assuring the stability of the new settlements, is to run a risk which the tremendous interests at stake do not permit. Yet, there are lines upon which the smaller force can work with no detriment to the greater, but rather as a help in bringing about the end which both have in view.

The Zionist movement looks into the future calmly and with assurance. A part of the great problem it has solved. It has come not purely as a religious movement, not purely as an economic one. It has found the basis upon which a higher religious life, as well as a higher economic life, can be built up for the Jew. For, starting with the economic question, it provides a ground upon which all shades of Jewish belief can stand. It were idle to deny the fact that such shades exist. Uniformity would mean death. It provides also a place for the large mass of the unchurched Jews, who remain Jews though they know not why. Jews the world over form one body, held together by a community of interests from within and by a common pressure from without. Were these interests purely spiritual and purely theological, the Jewish Church, as such, might come into existence and take its place side by side with the Protestant and Catholic Churches. But where Church lines run in the same deep grooves as do the social lines, and where intermarriage is undesired by both sides, a Jewish Church, as a church alone, is impossible.

Thus the first work of Zionism has been to find a common ground upon which a new Jewish nation can be built up. It has been signally successful in this. The Zionist Congresses at Basle have had all the signs of national assemblies. For the first time in two thousand years, the Jews scattered in the four corners of the globe have felt that, as such, they are part of a great body. For the first time they have been asked to do something for the Jewish people; to give up something for measures which do not concern their own little section, their own little state.

But not only as a solution of the Jewish Question, not only as a philanthropic plan, Zionism offers medicine and healing for the wounds from which Judaism is to-day suffering. Emancipation always works a certain amount of harm, together with the good it does. In the days of the Second Temple, the sanhedrin was the expression of the unity of Israel: at a later period this was passed on to the schools of Babylon. When the Jews entered Europe and settled in the various countries, this outer unity almost suffered shipwreck. During the long night which then set in, unity of thought, unity of practice, unity of suffering, unity of hope, held the Jews together by a strong though invisible bond. Emancipation broke this bond. Unity of practice, unity of thought, and, at times, unity of suffering were gone. Jews merged into the life in which they happened to be placed. They could not do otherwise. All attempts to bring back the original unity have failed. Various unions have been formed in Germany and America; synods have been held. All to no purpose! Religious views have gone too far apart and these unions were purely religious in character. The nearest approach to a restored unity was the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* in Paris. But not only was this distinctively French in its character; it was largely charitable and educational. Zionism alone has been able to restore the old unity. It has written boldly in its programme that the Jews are bound together, though they often do not know it, by the ties of race, by the ties of a common past, by the ties of a common opposition to what they consider religious error, by the ties of a common hope.

Why, then, has the whole Jewish world not become Zionistic? Has the woeful misery in which five or six millions of their brethren in Eastern Europe live, no power to stir the blood of every one who bears the name Jew? Has this appeal made by

the Zionists not awakened a responsive chord in their heart? In any ordinary circumstances, it is of course difficult to move a large and a scattered community. In the case of the Jews the difficulty has been increased by the cross-purposes at which the various sections among them have been working. The Reform wing of my church still believes, or affects to believe, that Anti-Semitism is but a passing indisposition, even though that indisposition has lasted for some twenty centuries. Like the plague, it makes its appearance whenever the conditions are favorable—that is, whenever the Jews flourish and are likely to become a power. In Russia and Roumania it is governmental, in Austria and France political, in America social. It is the same disease, though in varied forms. In this very year we have seen outbreaks in Nicolaieff (Russia), in Machod (Bohemia), in Jassy (Roumania). In Vienna the society for combating Anti-Semitism, a society made up of non-Jews, has practically laid down its arms, acknowledging its inability to do anything. In France, will even the rehabilitation of Dreyfus undo the work of the "*Libre Parole*" and "*L'Anti-Juif?*" And yet the Reform Jewish Church still believes that in the advancement of science, in the progress of thought, a brotherhood and a love will be produced which will triumph over all social and economic conditions. Under certain circumstances this might seem but another evidence of Jewish optimism. Yet, in the meanwhile, the denizens of the Eastern European slums must quietly abide their fate. The optimists have not yet offered to share it with them; they simply deal with such words as "humanity," "the brotherhood of man," "human fellowship," as if they were so many magician's wands with which to conjure up better times. The more religiously inclined among them have adopted the shibboleth of the "Mission of Israel:" which they understand in the sense that a suffering Israel must exist, scattered among the nations of the world, in order to preach true righteousness and to advance the Kingdom of Heaven. A perversion of Scripture, which they attempt to read into Scripture! A perversion of ideas, for they themselves are not suffering! Suffering Israel is thoroughly Zionistic.

The other great wing of the Jewish Church, the Orthodox, pray *ex cathedra* a certain number of times each day for the return to Palestine. The Zionist body finds the largest number of its recruits within the Orthodox camp, for it has remained in

closer contact with its people and with its past. Every orthodox Jew is by nature a Zionist.

To many of the unchurched Jews Zionism is a rude awakening. They happened merely to be Jews. They cherished the hope that they could slip out of Judaism in the second or third generation with none the wiser. Zionism comes to them with the request to declare their intentions openly; to be within the circle or outside of it. Many have answered the appeal and have found their way out of an equivocal position. Those who have not are lost to the Jewish cause.

For this reconstructed nation or people a home must be found. It is as idle to suppose that the nations of the world will look with respect upon the people who are at the whim and the mercy of every demagogue who raises his voice above the crowd, as it is for us to feel for a man without a country. The issue is plain. As long as the Jews refuse the essential condition of "assimilation," intermarriage, and that on a large scale, they will remain practically defenceless against all such attacks; which, while they remain within the strict bounds of the law, are no less destructive to the peace and well-being of a community. If once such a home be found, the Jewish nation will take its place among the nations of the world. Its voice will demand a hearing; and, being in its own land, competition with other nations will run in natural lines. A centre will be established to which all Jews, wherever they may be placed, will turn; getting therefrom not only actual help but that spiritual force, ennobling and enlarging, which the true pride of race and of nationality carries with it. The Jew must cease to be an anomaly.

The Palestine of the Zionist dream is not the Palestine which we know from Sunday School books and missionary reports. In the Westward march of Empire, Asia is once more to be brought into the line of the world's thought and commerce. From two sides the sound of the twentieth century has made itself heard in that slumbering continent. Through Japan on the one side and Russia on the other, influences have been sown which are bound to bear fruit before many decades have passed away. The partition of China will bring the active commercial rivalry of Europe into that bee-hive of humanity. The trans-Siberian railway and the threatened absorption by Russia of Armenia and Persia, will rapidly drive away the sleepy pall which has hung

over the whole country. When the Euphrates Valley railway shall have been completed, Mesopotamia will awake from its lethargy. When that country once more supports a teeming population, as it did in the times of the old Babylonian and Assyrian Kings, the hour for a new Palestine will have struck. The nearest outlet for Asia Europewards, is the border land of the Mediterranean Sea. That inland ocean will once again be covered with merchantmen, as it was in the days of the Italian Republics. In that up-building work, the Jewish people in Palestine will find an occasion to use those powers which have been generated in their midst during the long centuries of exile. Already the puff of the locomotive is heard in the Judean valleys and Assyrian hills. Joined once more to the soil from which they were so violently snatched, the Jewish husbandmen will till the fruitful places. As the waste country is built up again, greater needs will make themselves felt; factories will take the place of the old feudal ruins; an active commerce will make of the Jews not only producers but also mediators between the East and the West; but not mediators as in the Middle Ages, foot-sore and wandering, forced beggars for the world's grace; rather open sharers in the work of building up a new century which shall be a fitting follower of the nineteenth.

It is idle to speculate as to the form which such a commonwealth will take on. Time will work that out in a manner befitting its own needs. The world cannot go backward, but must ever move on to greater perfection. Is it too much for those who have Judaism as a religion at heart to hope that then the Jewish church will become a reality? Free from the *onus* of conditions through which it cannot break, at liberty to develop upon its own lines, it can show what seed is in it. It will be able to answer its own questions in its own way; to throw off what is useless and what is the product only of the cramped life of the Ghetto, and to realize the "beauty of holiness."

Is this nothing but a dream? How great a call is here made upon the resources, physical and spiritual, of my people! I cannot but feel that the power which could withstand the onslaughts of the Middle Ages and the blandishments of the nineteenth century, will be equal to the task. Only "Israel must choose, in order that God may again choose them." A free choosing coupled with the grand ideal! Will the people who walk in darkness see

the new lights? If they do not, they are all unworthy of the heritage which is theirs; undeserving the rich past of patriarchs, prophets and priests; of heroes, martyrs and teachers; of the sobs of children and the hot tears of mothers; of the blood of those who died that their faith might be transmitted to posterity

But not alone! Ten millions of Jews, even though every one were inspired, are but a drop in the bucket of the world's working force. Turkey, the Suzerain of Palestine and Syria, must come to see the value of gaining the affection and the loyal support of such a people, tried in the world's cruelest crucible, bringing the ripe experience of past ages with them, putting new life into the soil and using all the glorious conquests of machinery and electricity over the dumb forces of nature; giving fullness in place of want, life in place of death.

And the Christian Powers of Europe? Without their aid, too, the Zionist ideal cannot be realized. It is said that the Christian sentiment of Europe and America will never permit that the Holy Places in the Holy Land should be in the possession of the Holy People. The suggestion is almost a libel on all that is best and truest in modern Christianity. Will the Church, by a new Crusade, perpetuate the wrong, which is now centuries old? Will it not rather right that wrong by active aid, in making it possible for the Jews to take up their history again in the land of their birth at the point where they let it go? Self-interest, too, dictates a policy on lines similar to such an ideal. No matter what its genesis, no matter what its cause, the Jewish question is of the most serious import to the statesmen of Europe. It can be solved if the Jews will lead the way, either renouncing their traditional hopes and giving the death-blow to their own history, or realizing that Judaism and Zionism in the end are synonymous. If they choose the latter course, what a grand lesson the nations of the daughter faith could give to a twentieth century Peace Congress, in showing a love for the people of the mother faith which is really desirous of Israel's good. Then might the two faiths work together to realize the Kingdom of God on earth, and the triumph of that righteousness for which both faiths pray.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

ATHLETICS FOR POLITICIANS.

BY THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M.P.

THE prominent men of the United States have not much turn towards gymnastics. They walk, I am told, or rather rush about from one place to another. A very few cycle or ride on horseback. Those who as youths had been given to hill-walking, common in America—an excellent exercise, which is far better than the mountaineering of a limited class of Britons—abandon the pursuit as they grow old. Ex-President Cleveland is a duck-shooter. The President of Columbia College, it is said, rides both a cycle and a horse, and takes some interest in a mild form of boating. But the ordinary American politician has little idea of sport, of athletics, or even of the open air. He belongs rather to the type of the American business-man, than to that of the American leisured-rich. The American man of business cannot find opportunity for much relaxation, and thinks time, indeed, too valuable to waste upon things which do not bring direct return. The American Universities, which are filled with keen sportsmen, have not much connection, through this class of their graduates, with politics.

On the other hand, we hear that there has arisen among the younger business generation a great delight in golf, hundreds of clubs being formed all over the country for men and women of this class. Up to the present time, the politicians have not figured among them; and walking and a little dumb-bell exercise, with the cycling and horse exercise of the very few, are all apparently that can be laid to their account. I am perhaps, therefore, a missionary as far as the United States Senator and Representative are concerned.

On our side of the water the state of things is very different. Mr. Gladstone, who had been a sculler in his early youth at

Eton, took to riding when he took to politics; and, after having been a regular horseman through a great portion of his life, became in old age a competent woodman and one of the most remarkable walkers that ever lived. The present leader of the House of Commons, although probably by nature far from a strong man, is a good golfer and a fair cyclist, greatly given to both pursuits, and spending upon them an amount of time which is returned him in obviously excellent effect upon his health and strength and Parliamentary power. The Chancellor of the Exchequer rides. The Lord Chancellor was a skilled fencer, and is now one of the most regular of walkers. The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is a regular rider; the Attorney-General a cyclist, though not the athlete that he was when the Cambridge two-mile running champion. The Solicitor-General, the Lord Advocate, and many others golf. Upon the other side of the House, Mr. Asquith is a regular golf player. Sir Edward Grey is even greater at true tennis, where he is the equal of the professionals, than in the salmon and trout fishing which he has illustrated by a remarkable book. The chief Liberal Whip, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, is a cricketer, cyclist and golfer, and, like Mr. John Burns, an all-round athlete; and while the late Attorney-General, Sir Robert Reid, who was one of our greatest cricketers, is retiring from that business under the pressure of the law, many of his brother lawyers upon the Liberal side, like Mr. Lawson Walton, are regular riders. Mr. John Morley is now regarded as the least athletic of the Liberal leaders, but even he was in his school football team. In jotting down the names of those who have occurred to me, I have omitted dozens of leading politicians who are known in various branches of sport. Generally speaking, it may be said that our politicians are mostly the sons of country fathers, and largely men who have graduated at the old Universities after having been at public schools. As boys they have ridden, shot, and played cricket; and at the Universities they have rowed, and played cricket and football. But the point is that nearly all of these, having been athletes as boys, have found it wise, as well as pleasant, to keep to some sport in later life, and probably a majority of our House of Commons shoot, or hunt in our sense—that is fox-hunt; while, as I fear, the overwhelming majority of American politicians attend to nothing except politics.

It is, of course, difficult to reform in these matters in old or even in middle age. Men who have had no athletic sport in early life take to such forms of exercise, or even to exercise of any kind, with difficulty. The result is that those who have a tendency to flesh grow fat, and die younger than would otherwise be the case; while the men of spare habit often suffer from nerve excitement, which would probably be lessened in many cases by out-door exercise. All should, then, keep up, as late as possible in life (and that is very late where the exercise is steadily pursued), any exercise that they have learned when young; and we should consider whether there are any forms of exercise which can easily be acquired in middle life.

With regard to keeping up athletics, the possibilities are great. The old are under this disadvantage: that they cannot take up with success the new sports. Some men in England, no doubt, have learned the art of cycling in middle or advanced years. But the elderly man is at a great disadvantage in picking up new tricks, though at little disadvantage, as compared with the young, in many forms of sport where the sport has been practised for long years. There is every reason why we should rather keep up the old forms of exercise than attempt to acquire new ones. The fashion in exercise changes from day to day. A quarter of a century ago, match-croquet, on full-sized grounds—40 yards by 30—with $3\frac{3}{4}$ inch steel-braced hoops, just allowing the balls to pass, which had been a fashionable and a fair exercise in its way, went out. It gave place to lawn tennis, which now in turn is going somewhat out of fashion, and match-croquet is being revived, but revived in competition with a mild form of hockey, as played by mixed clubs of ladies and gentlemen, which has recently become popular as an English sport, after having been for many years almost confined to Scotland. The old cannot follow these fashionable changes, and must adhere to the exercises of their youth, in order to continue to possess that excellence which gives pleasure.

There are some, no doubt, who in these matters are afraid of ridicule; and this may affect the minds of Americans, who, we are told, are more sensitive to ridicule than we are; and it may affect them all the more because in the United States exercise among politicians is an eccentricity. In my own country the ridicule is faced. When an undergraduate, rowing in my College boat, I remember having a feeling of scorn for an old clergyman whom I

saw rowing for a day, and rowing very well, in a rival college eight. Now I am able to smile contentedly, when remarks similar to those which I made on the white-headed clergyman are made about myself by those ignorant of the carrying power of the voice across water, and to feel that, as far as British politicians are concerned, I am in good company.

A man who has never taken violent exercise, or who, having taken it in his youth, has intermitted all such exercise for a long time, must of course be warned, as any medical man will warn him, against taking suddenly to violent exercise late in life. The test of the skilled ear applied to the region of the heart, coupled with a man's own feelings, is, however, a sufficient test of safety. But the opinion of one physician, and particularly of one specialist, should not be implicitly followed, because some doctors regard as "enlarged heart" a heart of a size and character which is only natural in the middle-aged; and two opinions on this matter are better than one. Violence in exercise having been reached progressively in middle age, the heart should be tested while excited, and while the man displays by quick breathing every symptom of being "blown." This test, if applied by a trained medical man without prejudices, is a complete one. Although exercise takes time, it saves life to those politicians who will under favorable circumstances continue or attempt it.

There are men of spare habit who believe that they are better without exercise. The most distinguished debater in the Government of the United Kingdom, who has an excellent seat on a horse, but is never now seen on one, and who is no mean hand at lawn tennis, which he scarcely ever plays, is believed to hold this view. The great majority, however, of British politicians differ from him; and, making allowance for individual peculiarities of constitution, I am convinced that they are right. Even American politicians, although not as a rule, like British politicians, men of full habit who have been athletes in youth, must many of them have been in youth men of the open air, and it is not safe for them, and it is not safe for our Colonial politicians, who nearly all are big men of fleshy habit and sanguine constitution, to abandon exercise when they enter the Legislature. I proceed, then, to assume that, for most politicians, athletics, if possible, are good, and to examine the different kinds of sport in which it is possible for them to engage.

In the United States you are, I believe, more given than we are to pure gymnastics, though less addicted to them than are the Germans. Those who in youth have had the courage needed by these forms of sport—for it needs real courage to carry on such athletics as do not lend themselves easily and daily either to competition in games or to use in varied scenery—can continue in middle age some forms of the athletics that they have learned. The use of dumb-bells and of clubs alone as a rule survives in age; and the chest-expanding rubber machine known, I believe, in America as "the Exerciser," comes into use to replace the bars, the mast and the trapeze. I am convinced, and I have tried both, that the services of a drill sergeant, who has been in the habit of teaching what are known as "extension movements" to children, will in a few days render the busy man independent of apparatus.

As far as simple posture-gymnastics go, the advantage of doing without weights is great. Every muscle in the body can be perfectly trained, developed, and kept up by extension exercises, and about fourteen or fifteen of the best should be selected by the intelligent learner for himself from among the thirty or forty which a good drill sergeant teaches, and adhered to steadily day by day. The beginner, especially if of mature years, will be amazed at the extraordinary stiffness which, even in a strong man, some of the simplest of such exercises at first produce. I am an enthusiast for posture-gymnastics without apparatus, as I am for the reasonable hill-walking, which is also, as I have said, peculiarly an American delight.

The drawback to posture-gymnastics is their incredible and wearisome dullness. Games have an enormous advantage over them for all but very persevering men. The ball games of the United States are suitable, I fear, mainly to the young, and the same may be said of light-boat rowing, unless a perfect mastery of the art has been acquired early in life.

The pastime of rowing has been immensely improved, when considered as a gymnastic pursuit for the development of the body and its maintenance at a high standard, by the proper use of the sliding seat. In the old days, when I first learned to row, the strain of rowing on the fixed seats then always used—sitting against rather than upon them—was terrible, and it was impossible to race adequately without considerable risk of cramp. Upon the sliding seat, the skilled oarsman, who really knows how to

take the fullest advantage of the slide, finds an easing-off of the work which prevents downright strain, however great may be the positive exertion. But the delight of rowing or sculling with the perfect use of the slide, and with the bringing of great numbers of the various muscles of the body into play, which constitutes the charm of "best-boat" sculling or light-boat rowing, is not for any save those who have taken to rowing before they are twenty years of age. I have never rowed upon your American tank machines, which owing to the mildness of our winters are unnecessary here. They appear to have produced in your best crews a greater uniformity of style than we can pretend to; and I look forward regretfully to the day when we shall succumb to oarsmen from across the seas, as in professional sculling we have already lowered our flag to the Americans of the United States, the Canadians, and our colonists of Australia.

In keeping up rowing, after youthful competence, into middle age, it is probable that American oarsmen will find for themselves, as I have found, the advantage of constantly increasing the size of the oar, and, with a view to balance, the spread of the out-rigger. Muscular strength in those who pursue exercises does not fall off in middle age, but rather increases. What goes is "wind," and the power of sustained exertion at a high rate of speed. The big oar allows the strength to tell and equal pace to be obtained at a lower rate of movement. The best big oars in the world are from the United States, whence I import my own; stiff, strong and light. We are beginning to imitate them here.

Boat sailing, although more an American and Australian pursuit, proportionately speaking, than a British sport, is common to both our countries, and I turn now to other exercises not specially American or specially British, but which should be considered.

Cycling is a sport on which my observations must be taken with a grain of salt. I have long been connected with a large cycling club; for the pursuit prevailed among clerks in England before, a few years ago, it extended to "Society" on the one hand and to the workmen on the other. But I cannot cycle. I have never tried. There can be no greater mistake for the middle-aged and the old, who already practise gymnastics in which they are competent, than to attempt to acquire new ones, which, if they give sufficient time already to their old forms of sport, they cannot do without jeopardizing that excellence which is essential to in-

terest and amusement. That cycling has spread so widely would seem, at first sight, to prove that it must be excellent; but some deductions should be made from this conclusion. It spread very slowly, until it suddenly became fashionable, except among those to whom it was useful, not as an exercise, but as a positive means of locomotion. Cycling prevailed in France, in virtually its present form, for a great number of years before it spread either to great numbers of persons in France or to other countries. It became fashionable, I think, because of the sudden improvement in machines. Considered as gymnastics, cycling makes people work and causes the blood to circulate; but, as it seems to me, in such a manner as not perfectly to exercise the whole body. Many cyclists lean forward on their machines, and I cannot myself believe that this treatment of the chest is advantageous. Cycling, however, is not only widespread, and, on the whole, cheap and easily practised in a country of good roads, but it is an exercise which undoubtedly has in many cases been competently pursued by the middle-aged, and among them by middle-aged politicians who had not learned when they were young.

Golf is another exercise, much favored in both our countries, which is capable of being acquired in middle age, but also one as to which I cannot speak from personal acquaintance. Its enormous advantage appears to me to be that it is a sport in which it is possible to handicap fairly all except the very worst class of players. It is impossible to overestimate the gain to an exercise from this possibility. In running, swimming, cycling, lawn tennis and some other sports, handicapping is possible. In others it is, indeed, difficult to apply. Golf permits of a fair handicapping, which is essential to competition among those of various ranks in the art.

All that I have said of the dullness of posture-gymnastics, and of the advantage, especially in middle and old age, of some element of sport which renders athletics amusing, and gives to the pursuit of them the illusion of youthfulness, illustrates the importance of selecting games in which the superior and the inferior players can meet upon something like fair terms; and of these two great sports, cycling and golf (neither of which I practise), I must unhesitatingly give the palm to golf, on the ground of the advantage which I have attempted to describe.

There is one fashionable amusement of recent times which is

common to both our countries, but which is hardly worth naming in an article on athletics for politicians. Skating on in-door ice is the delight of some young men and of many ladies of youthful or of doubtful age; but it is not, I think, to be recommended to mature politicians, and there is a consideration applying to it, and to at least two other forms of exercise, which involves the confession that, as one grows older, one dislikes being hurt. Why at eighteen a man should rather like to receive a violent blow on the nose, and why at fifty he should regard such an occurrence with unutterable disgust, it is somewhat hard to say. It is not a question, I think, of courage. My impression is that, as a rule, the courage of resolution greatly increases with age. Certainly, in my own case, I was much more of a coward when a boy than I am now; and believe that this is a common, if not a general or a universal, experience. But as a boy, while I liked to hit my companions terrific blows upon the leg or the funny bone of the arm with a single-stick, I did not at all mind being myself hit in the same way. I do now. Boxing must be ruled out as an exercise for the middle-aged and the old—although it is a grand pastime—because of this disinclination to be hurt. No middle-aged man who has received from his teacher or his friend a "double knock" upon "the mark," will deny this statement. Single-stick may be carried on in pads, but I do not myself believe in any exercise for which padding is necessary: for padding in non-professionals means indifference and also slowness, although the shin-guard of the professional footballer does not seem to make him slow. The former of these considerations does not apply to cricket, because it is not the body, as a rule, at all events, that is bowled at, but the stumps, and, padding or no padding, the stumps go down. I return to in-door ice. I fear that, lying as it does on concrete which cannot "give," indoor ice is even harder to fall upon than is outdoor ice, and that is saying a good deal. Boys and girls can be tumbled about on ice without as a rule being maimed for life; but this is not the case with the old gentleman. Racquets and the various forms of tennis are not very suitable to middle life. Punting, now a most popular British exercise, can be kept up, on suitable waters (which are not everywhere to be found), by those who have learnt it young. Canoeing is not, in my opinion, an exercise to be recommended. The "Rob Roy" canoe, formerly popular in England, and the Canadian canoe of recent days, both possess the

advantage of introducing the canoeist in an agreeable way to some forms of scenery which can hardly otherwise be visited. But the position in each case is a somewhat cramped one, and the exercise develops the arm at the expense of the chest and leg. Running, swimming, and American baseball I omit as unsuitable for the old, but billiards should be mentioned, as many an old gentleman walks four or five miles quietly at this game after his dinner, with good results. Baseball, I understand, can be kept up into middle-life, though not, of course, in first-class company. The chief drawback to billiards, as an exercise for the old, is the unfortunate atmosphere which is too often artificially created in billiard rooms. The game needs the eye of a cricketer and the hand of a violinist: what wonder if the old gentleman is beaten by his son!

I pass briefly over such British sports as fox-hunting, both because it is unlikely to be useful to recommend it to American politicians, and because jumping is not to be recommended to the old. Jumping means great risk of rupture; and while some fox-hunters continue their sport until late in life, they are the exception and not the rule. Those who have hunted here in youth generally retain the habit of riding, but it is park riding as an easy exercise. Many of our politicians have ridden habitually until they are over eighty years of age, and the eloquent Mr. Gathorne Hardy, now Lord Cranbrook, cuts an admirable figure on his horse at the age of eighty-five. Our shooting is a tamer sport than your "hunting," and means only walking with a weight. Some of our sportsmen shoot in such a manner as to manage to walk without the weight, or even not to walk at all. Deer-stalking is a form of British sport enjoyable only by the very rich or their best friends, which is no doubt admirable, but not easily capable of imitation. Cricket is a peculiarly British sport, although not unknown in the United States. Its weak point as an exercise is that it is a game for only one season of the year. Cricket can be kept up in late middle-age, as we know by the case of Dr. Grace. But Dr. Grace is an exceptional man; and all-round cricket, involving fielding in all forms, is not a sport which can often be kept up into old age, far less one which can be acquired by the middle-aged.

There is one exercise which, though French, Italian and Magyar, is worthy of consideration by Britons and by the people, and even the politicians, of the United States.

Fencing has recently come into fashion in England among a limited class as a pure sport, without that unfortunate connection with the duel which it formerly had in England and Scotland, Spain and France, and still has in France, Italy and Hungary. It is difficult to say why fencing has not spread more as a mere form of gymnastics. It has immense advantages. It is a sport into which the element of competition enters largely. It is a quick exercise, if I may be allowed this convenient expression: it thoroughly warms the body and produces in a few minutes the feeling of lightness which is essential in a good exercise. In its rapidity in producing this result it rivals boxing, without the element of pain, and sawing without the element of dullness. Fencing, like boxing, can be practised all the year round, and is, therefore, at an advantage as compared with such games as are not possible in wet or cold or windy weather—a great point in the case of any recreation to be pursued regularly for the double purpose of health and amusement. Fencing is a cheap exercise. It is true that when a boy goes to a fencing school to learn, his unfortunate parents are made on the first day to invest not only in the useful mask, but also in the unnecessary padded jacket, in the foolish glove (instantly burst and spoilt), and in special shoes which are not only unnecessary but harmful. What is needed for fencing, besides a good mask provided with a leather beard to save the throat, is the ordinary riding glove and the thinnest, and therefore cheapest, pair of rubber shoes that can be bought. For fencing upon planks or smooth pavement the thin rubber shoe, fitting tightly to the foot, has an immense advantage over the ordinary fencing shoe of leather; and for fencing upon gravel, or loose cinder-path, or brick rubbish, ordinary boots—if the heels are not too high—are excellent. A pair of foils will with care last a long time, especially if too great proximity of the fencers to each other is discouraged, and the pupils are prevented from practising the dangerous folly of drawing back the hand until it is close to or in a line with the lunger's body. Rapier fencing is more costly, because it is impossible, in fencing with spirit, to avoid a certain percentage of breakage in the blades, and good rapier blades are extraordinarily difficult to procure. Fencing is an exercise which, if skill is attained even in middle life, can be kept up to a great age, and there are many good fencers in France who are old men.

The most serious difficulty about fencing is the absence of competent teachers. We have now one Englishman who is a really good teacher, but this is a novel phenomenon. The ordinary drill-master is so slow of hand that, while he knows all the movements and the names for them, and has a sort of grammatical knowledge of the art, he is unable to impart the sacred fire. France alone, as yet, has produced teachers of fencing who are able to teach the more classical side of this art. There is in fencing "*haute-école,*" as there is in Viennese and was in Parisian riding, and classical fencing is an art which rivals the best dancing in grace, but is infinitely more difficult of attainment. It is not fencing of this kind, taught only by a limited number of French masters, that I recommend. Perfection or even competence in it can only be acquired at the expense of years of drill under a good master, a training which is costly and dull.

Some may wonder that I have passed over the Italian school of fencing. But I have not done so; I am coming to it. I have passed it over only as far as *haute-école* is concerned. As I myself, though self-taught, belong to what is called by some a form of the Italian school, I may be allowed to say that to compare our art to the highest art of France is like comparing a good dray horse to a thoroughbred. The modern rapier fencer, while possessing an excellent gymnastic, is neither classical nor beauteous.

The origin of the latest developments of rapier fencing was the duel. French barristers and politicians rose in revolt against the superstition which condemned them to be run through the body, because the responsible editor of some libel was alleged to be some gentleman who had been a master of the foil through life. These able and practical men said to one another, "These people practise with a foil which has no guard for the hand; they count only by a pure convention touches of the body, neglecting the head and leg, and above all the arm. What if we learn to fence with heavy rapiers, with a large guard for the hand, exactly the same as those with which we have to fight?" They practised, and they found to their amazement that, after a few lessons, they began to develop a style in which any man with a strong arm and with courage could more than hold his own against the graceful foil fencer, who was no sooner placed in front of them than he forthwith touched his own hand or arm upon their all-but motionless points.

So far, so good; but then came the institution of rapier schools, often conducted in the open air under duelling conditions, and the discovery that a style which was useful against a foil fencer of the graceful *haute-école* was of no effective use between two rapier fencers. Of protective use it might be. They stood looking at one another; neither could do anything at all, and the result was the gradual development of a new school of fencing.

There appeared in 1887 a book of rapier lessons, bearing the name of Jacob, a well-known rapier teacher, with excellent prefaces by Messrs. Ranc, the Senator and Historian, de Cassagnac, the well-known politician, and other rapier fencers. Jacob's method was based, as has all along been that of M. de Cassagnac, on the essential difference between rapier and foil fencing; but neither the teacher nor the amateur ever went so far as to forbid the bending of the arm. On the contrary, although the guard was to be a lower one than for the foils, and the rapier was to remain in a horizontal position, yet it was distinctly specified that the arm should be bent for the purpose of being able to make proper parries and to give lung power either in attack or in *riposte*. Jacob and his friends went further, and maintained that it was easier to escape touch on the arm if it were bent than if it were straight.

Tavernier, both in the first edition of his book on the art of duelling, in 1884, and in the later editions, agrees with this proposition, and, although he attacks the classical school as unfit for rapier work, he directly opposes the teaching which is now beginning to prevail. Says Tavernier:

"Some amateurs are in the habit of fencing with the arm always straight at full length. I have even heard that a French fencing master teaches this method, which comes from the Italian school. Practice has shown that the system offers little advantage and great drawback, and I am unable to understand the partial success which welcomed this extremely irregular mode of fencing. Of course, it is true that the first time that the fencer finds in his face this spit, always stuck out, he is upset by it, especially if he is a fencer without judgment. On the other hand, as soon as one understands this play one easily masters it. Beats, as well as *froissés* and *croisés*, may be usefully employed against this tension style."

Tavernier also thinks that it is possible to tire out those who resort to this mode of fencing. Moderate as Tavernier was in his censure on classical school work as applied to rapier fencing, he was, nevertheless, attacked by the strongest of the classics.

There has indeed been a remarkable change in the last few years. It may be safely said that all the best masters of the day have come at least as far as Tavernier, or somewhat further; that the fencing of the high-and-dry classical school is no longer attempted by any rapier fencer; and that the entirely new school which Tavernier himself condemned has grown and strengthened, and is not unlikely to win.

Tavernier thought that the method of Baudry and the new men was Italian. That they have learned something from the Italians is undoubted, but the main characteristic of Italian rapier fencing is its eccentricity; and of all schools of fencing the new French school is the least eccentric. In other words, while the new French rapier fencers adopt from the Italians, or have equally discovered for themselves, the fact that the arm should be stretched at length and the point perpetually kept almost in line, they do not attempt to scare the adversary by any of the methods to which the Italians resort, but very properly hold that all such barbarous devices are useless against well-trained men.

Considered as an exercise, the duelling rapier fencing of France is admirable for the middle-aged and old. It possesses every advantage, and the sole drawback is, as I have said above, the difficulty of finding teachers. If, however, an able man, such as one of your politicians should be, would invest in rapiers from Alsace or from France, with extra screw blades in dozens, and would learn the ordinary movements from any ordinary drill instructor, he and his friends would, I think, very soon be able to develop duelling fencing for themselves, and would find that they could make it for themselves an excellent game, capable of being practised in the open air in summer, and in almost any room in the bad season.

This article would not be complete without some hint as to training. Many middle-aged men take to athletics of some form for the purpose of making themselves thinner. Reduction of fat is easy, but not by means of gymnastics. The object can be attained at once by diminution of the taking of liquids and foods containing water, but either the services of a physician should be called in to watch the process, or the patient must take every possible means of most carefully watching the effect of the process for himself. There is a superfluous weight and a superfluous circumference which can be easily reduced to a certain point.

But as we grow older the limit of safe reduction is very easily reached, and the moment that is passed danger at once arises. I can reduce my weight two pounds a day steadily, but after I have done it for five or six days I reach the danger point, and I fancy that a few more days would kill or irreparably harm me. Most men, I fear, eat and drink too much in early middle life. We all get ourselves into a state which in our dogs would lead us to say, "I fear the old fellow will have but a short life." We have to deal with facts as we find them, and to take ourselves as we are at the given time. A gradual diminution of liquids is desirable, but the process must not be pushed too far and must be watched with the greatest care. The amount of exercise during a vacation can, of course, be increased day by day even in middle age. The heart's action strengthens, the breathing becomes freer—the fact that there is no overstrain can be tested by constant observation of the heart by a medical man, and if sleep is improved no danger need be feared. I am no advocate of coddling, and I do not even preach against abstention from competitive athletics in late middle age. But we are on the edge of danger, and while competition may be immensely beneficial in preserving that illusion of youth which is essential to all spring in life and to all good work, watchfulness must be constant against excess in the imitation of the athletics of the young.

To politicians I would say (and the remark applies also to professional men) that good exercise, as contrasted with mere chamber gymnastics, gives them the chance of that greatest of delights—a second life, a life in another world, a life of illusion, perhaps, as Ibsen would tell us, but one which takes them entirely out of themselves, and causes them to cease to trouble others or to be troubled by the vexations of working life.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

THE CENSORSHIP OF THE STAGE IN ENGLAND.

BY G. BERNARD SHAW.

In England, no play may be publicly performed until a certificate has been procured from the Lord Chamberlain that it "does not in its general tendency contain anything immoral or otherwise improper for the stage." The Lord Chamberlain, who must be distinguished from the hereditary Great Chamberlains of England, is not a democratic official. He has nothing to do with the great offices by which the British Empire is administered—such as the Home Office, the Colonial Office, the India Office, staffed by bureaucrats elected by competitive examination to posts which they hold irremovably, through all changes of government, under the command of the Secretary of State for their department, a cabinet minister resigning whenever his party, defeated in the House of Commons, goes out of office. He is only a member of the Queen's household retinue—the Malvolio of St. James' Palace—responsible to nobody but the Queen, and therefore really not responsible at all, because the Queen's interference with the fantastic agglomeration of little dignities and functions which serve as excuses for the perquisites of her retinue, does not spread far beyond her presence and her residence (which is not St. James' Palace), and is politically and conventionally limited even there.

The Lord Chamberlain does not condescend to read plays himself; and the Examiner of Plays, who does it for him, is perhaps the obscurest unit in the imposing procession of Pages of the Back Stairs, Pages of the Chambers, Pages of the Presence, Masters of the Music, Keepers of the Jewels, Keepers of the Swans, Gentleman Usher Daily Waiters, Gentlemen Usher Quarterly Waiters, Bargemasters, Grooms of the Privy Chamber, Gen-

tlemen Ushers of Privy Chamber, and all the other breath-bereaving retainers of whom only one, the Poet Laureate, has succeeded in imposing the fact of his existence on the consciousness of the British public. The Lord Chamberlain himself, with all this pageantry to superintend, has no time to keep any check on his subordinate, even if he could pretend to know anything more than he about dramatic criticism and the foundations of morality. The result is that the Examiner of Plays, humble, untitled, "middle-class" though he be, is yet the most powerful man in England or America. Other people may make England's laws; he makes and unmakes its drama, and therefore also the drama of America; for no American dramatic author can afford to defy a despot who can, by a nod, cut him off from an English stageright worth possibly $20,000 in London alone. The monarchy is limited; the Cabinet, with tears of rage, cannot assert itself even against Anti-Vaccinators; the House of Lords, nominally omnipotent, puts down its foot only to emphasize the humiliation of having to take it up again; but the Examiner of Plays, greater than all these, does what he likes, caring not a dump for nations or constitutions, English or American. The President of the United States himself practically cannot see a new play with first getting the Examiner's leave.

It will be inferred that no pains are spared to secure the services of a very highly qualified and distinguished person to wield this astonishing power—say the holder of a University chair of Literature or Dramaturgy. The inference is erroneous. You are not allowed to sell stamps in an English post office without previously passing an examination; but you may become Examiner of Plays without necessarily knowing how to read or write. The post is held at present by one George Alexander Redford, said to have been a bank clerk, but not ascertained to have been anything except lucky enough to obtain a place at court with a salary of some fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars a year, and powers to exact from every author or manager producing a new play five dollars and a quarter for each one-act piece, and ten dollars and a half for each piece of two or more acts.

The resultant income must not be estimated merely by the number of English plays whose fame reaches the United States. In England the law of dramatic copyright, or stageright, is mere madness and confusion. Not long ago a popular novelist an-

nounced for performance a stage version of one of his books. He was promptly warned that his version was an infringement of the stageright of a version already made by a sharp country solicitor, and duly licensed by the Examiner of Plays and performed. The author had actually to buy back the stageright of his own story from the pirate who had stolen a march on him. In such a state of affairs, every prudent novelist whose book contains valuable dramatic material takes the precaution to put together some sort of stage version, no matter how brief or inept, and to have it furtively performed at a suburban hall with a theatrical license, the actors being a few friends who read their parts anyhow, and the audience a single confederate who complies with the law by paying for his seat. The price of admission is prohibitive to the casual student of the bill on the door—usually about five dollars and a quarter.

Further, the English stageright in a play is forfeited if the play is performed first in America. Consequently, the first thing a dramatic author has to do, when his play is not written for immediate production in England, is to give a copyrighting performance of the kind described above. The dramatic authors and the novelists between them thus keep up a series of theatrical performances of which the public knows nothing, but upon every one of which the Examiner of Plays levies his ten dollars and a half. What is more, these freaks of the law of copyright greatly increase his power, since not only the performance of the play in England, but the acquisition of valuable property rights elsewhere, is made dependent on his pleasure.

There is another way in which the Examiner can increase his emoluments. Formerly, if a play was susceptible of amendment, the Examiner specified the lines to which he objected, suggesting additions to alter the complexion of the moral situation in the play, and even altering expressions which were against his rules: for example, changing "as drunk as a Lord" to "as drunk as a Heaven," in pursuance of a rule, now fallen into disuse, that Heaven should always be substituted for the name of any of the Persons of the Trinity. Mr. Redford's immediate predecessor, refusing to license a translation of a French play, on the ground that the heroine, a married woman, had been guilty of an indiscretion in early life, was visited by the actress cast for the part, who naturally used all her powers of persuasion to induce him to

revoke his decision. Finally he consented, on condition that the words "I sinned but in intention" were introduced into her part. Accordingly, every night, during the burst of welcome which hailed her first entrance in the piece, the actress remarked confidentially to the conductor of the band, "I sinned but in intention," and thereby rescued her country from demoralization by French levity. A little later, a gifted American actress wrote a painfully powerful piece in which a mother, to save her child from growing up a helpless cripple, kills it. To this the Examiner had no objection; but, unfortunately, the mother baptized the child before killing it, a proceeding incompatible with his rules. He refused the necessary license. The American lady, unaccustomed to be so suppressed, swooped down on the Examiner as he sat at breakfast, and demanded an explanation. He soon weakened so far as to ask what, exactly, the lady proposed to do with the infant. She thereupon made a rag baby of his napkin, and, with the help of the hot water from his tea-tray, rehearsed the scene. He admitted its propriety; and she went off in triumph with her license. The very form in which the license is issued provides for these contingencies by excepting such passages as may be endorsed on the back of the certificate.

But Mr. Redford is a sharper man of business than his predecessor. On his refusal to license a certain play of mine, I asked the usual questions as to the particular passages objected to. Mr. Redford replied impressively that, if a new play were submitted to him, he would endeavor to forget having read the former one. This meant that if I would guess the obnoxious passages, and send him another ten dollars and a half, he would tell me whether my guess was right. He thus extracted double fees from me; and if I had required the license for an ordinary production of the play, instead of for a mere copyrighting formality, it might very well have taken half a dozen minimum guesses at ten dollars and a half apiece to ascertain the exact line drawn by his moral opinions without needlessly going beyond it. As it was, I simply deprived the play of the passages which explained its meaning (the residue being sufficient for my purpose), and so secured my license without further expenditure. This procedure on the part of the Examiner is unquestionably both logical and businesslike. It must increase his fees and economize his work very considerably. No wonder his post, with its fees, its powers,

its unassailable permanence, and its unimpeachable gentility as a post in Her Majesty's household, is much sought after.

The statutory penalty for defying the Censor is a fine of fifty pounds, which can, theoretically, be levied on any person connected with a forbidden performance, call-boy, checktaker, carpenter, bandsman, actor, author, manager, stage-doorkeeper, and who not? No attempt has been made in recent cases to recover this penalty, ostensibly because the department has no funds with which to institute prosecutions, but really, one suspects, because the cases would have to be tried by jury, and the average British juryman, though usually a worm under the foot of the judge, can turn if he likes. Even judges have flashes of the constitutional spirit at odd moments. Here we have the weak place in the Examiner's powers which led to the famous evasion of him on the centenary of Shelley's birth. It was proposed to celebrate that occasion by a performance of "The Cenci." The Examiner would not hear of it; but the performance was given for all that in the Grand Theatre, Islington (a northern suburb of London), before an audience of poets, headed by Browning, and a crowd of their disciples. Technically, this performance was not a public representation of the play: it was only a meeting of the Shelley Society. The spectators did not pay at the doors: they had all joined the Shelley Society for the season, and were attending this particular "private" meeting of it in the exercise of their ordinary right as members. For the moment the defeat of the Censor was complete. But the performance had taken place in a London theatre; and London theatres are subject to the Lord Chamberlain, who licenses them from year to year. The unfortunate lessee, having let his house to the Shelley Society (without any knowledge of the plot in hand), found himself at the mercy of the outraged Chamberlain when the time came for renewing his license. What passed between them is not known; but there is now a clause in the lease of that theatre stipulating that no performances of unlicensed plays shall be given in it. When the Shelley Society proposed to repeat "The Cenci" some years later, the Lord Chamberlain was master of the situation. With a single revolutionary exception, no manager dared lend or let his theatre for the purpose. The terror was so complete that a manager who, not realizing his risk, had discussed quite favorably the possibility of placing his house at the disposal of the Society, was compelled to

write to the press vehemently denying that he had ever contemplated such an enormity, although his letters were in the hands of the very persons he was publicly contradicting.

Since then, the blockade has been run only by the Independent Theatre, which succeeded in producing Ibsen's "Ghosts" on three occasions without a license. In this case, no license was applied for, its refusal being practically certain; and the first performance, which was technically "private," like that of the Shelley Society, was over before the lessee of the theatre knew that anything exceptional was happening. After this, the theatres were thoroughly on their guard; but, later on, the founder of the Independent Theatre, Mr. Grein, invited his friends (including all the subscribers) to an "At Home," hiring for the purpose one of the numerous halls which are let in London for dances, minor political meetings, lectures and the like. Here he entertained his guests with a second performance of "Ghosts." A third was accomplished some years later, virtually in the same way. No attempt was made by the Lord Chamberlain, on any of these occasions, to enforce the statutory fine, restrain the projectors by injunction, or otherwise assert any right of interference with performances which are not opened to the public by taking money at the doors for admission. But it is evident, from the fact that nothing will now persuade any manager or proprietor of a licensed theatre to allow such a performance to take place in his house, that the power of closing theatres which the Lord Chamberlain wields as the licensing authority, makes him effectively the Tzar of the drama.

To Americans, who, as I have pointed out, are as much concerned in the Censorship as the English are, the drama being practically international, this state of things may seem so Russianly subversive of fundamental western rights as to stand condemned by the mere statement of it. In England, the only question that arises is: How does the institution work? The fact that it violates those Rights of Man which are expressly constitutional in America is to the English mind all in its favor. No doubt the Englishman is earnestly jealous for his religious liberty, and at least excitable about his political liberty. An attempt to force the Salvation Army to have their hymns licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the daily papers to have their political leaders licensed by the Queen's Lectrice, would produce an over-

whelming agitation at once; though there is rather more to be said for either measure than for the censorship of the English dramatists by Mr. Redford. But beyond this the Englishman does not go. Far from believing that either he himself or anybody else can be safely trusted with further liberties, he lives absolutely convinced that only by a strenuous maintenance of restrictive laws and customs, supported on every public occasion by the most reverent professions of faith and loyalty, feigned or sincere, can society be withheld from casting all moral considerations to the winds and committing suicide in a general Saturnalia of reckless debauchery. I do not pretend that this will be accepted in England as a sane statement of fact; for, if England were conscious of its own absurdity, it would cease to be absurd. Still less do I mean to suggest that it is a delusion at all peculiar to England or unknown in America. But I am concerned here only with an application of it which *is* peculiar to England. Nobody will deny that the normal assumption in England is that without a Censor the stage would instantly plunge to the lowest practicable extreme of degradation—an assumption quite undisturbed by the fact that Literature, without a Censor, behaves far more decently than Drama with one. For myself, as a dramatic author, I can say that few things would surprise me more than to meet a representative Englishman who regarded my desire to abolish the Censor otherwise than he would regard the desire of a pickpocket to abolish the police. To such an Englishman, it seems the most obvious piece of common sense that some respectable person should be made responsible for the propriety of the plays to which his daughters go; so that he may be guaranteed against the natural propensity of the theatre towards licentiousness. Accepting the court standard of decorousness as absolute, he considers that if a lord who is a member of Her Majesty's household cannot be trusted to decide questions of propriety, nobody can. No competitive examination, no professorship of Dramatic Literature, no control by an elected representative body, could give him any greater sense of security than the position of the Lord Chamberlain. And, I may add, they could give the dramatists no greater sense of security either.

Let us, then, embrace this apparently common-sensible view of the institution, and inquire simply how it fulfils, not its original purpose (it was instituted by Walpole to prevent Fielding from

exposing parliamentary corruption on the stage), but the purpose for which it survives. What sort of plays does it license; and what sort of plays does it suppress? A very conclusive answer to this question would be a description of the most unpleasant play licensed within my experience by Mr. Redford's predecessor, who refusel to license "The Cenci," and of the most unpleasant play licensed by Mr. Redford himself. But, fastidious reader, suffice it to say that, were such an answer attempted, the guaranteed morality of the Censor-protected stage would appear as an outrage in the columns of the free Press.

Since the Censorship does not protect the playgoer's daughter from improper plays, it is evident that it either does not protect her at all, or else protects her only from further extremities. But further extremities would be dealt with by the police. The Censor does not prevent either the sexual sensationalists or the mere blackguards from doing their worst on the stage; he only protects them by his certificates.

This is not the fault of the Censor. A moment's consideration will show it to be so inevitable, that if you or I, punctilious reader, were Examiner of Plays, it would not be altered in the least. Let us examine the position. You take a commonplace official; confront him with a play by a man probably cleverer than himself, possibly a genius destined to be remembered for many centuries; and ask him to decide whether the net effect of a performance of that play on the destiny of the human race will be helpful or harmful. The Delphic oracle itself would not have the impudence to pretend that it could answer such a question. Even the Roman Catholic Church does not profess to exercise its censorship without supernatural guidance; and the Roman Catholic Church, which is at least not less qualified for the task than Mr. Redford, has admittedly made serious mistakes both through the Inquisition and in the compilation of its *Index Expurgatorius;* failing to add anything to the natural check of public opinion upon really licentious literature, whilst restricting popular access to the Bible, and missing its mark in the suppression of books so frequently that the placing of a work in the *Index* almost raises a European and American presumption in its favor. But, pray, do not be so unjust as to conclude, because the British citizen thoughtlessly expects Mr. Redford to succeed where a great Church has failed, that Mr. Redford himself puts forward

any such pretension. When Mr. Redford refuses to license Tolstoï's "Dominion of Darkness," for example, he does not refuse on the ground that he, Redford, is a more highminded man, or a philosopher with a greater power of distinguishing the conventions of propriety from the realities of moral evil, or a more disinterested and public-spirited citizen of the world, a deeper seer into the future, a keener observer of the present, a wiser critic of life than Tolstoï. If he took that ground, a shout of laughter from the whole civilized world would be the answer. What Mr. Redford and every such censor does say to Tolstoï (if he has sense enough to understand his own position is: "You are a much cleverer and, no doubt, a better fellow than I am; and I cannot pretend to criticise you. But I must administer the rules of my office as a judge administers the laws; and your play is against my rules. It may be a very good play; and certainly lots of the plays that are inside my rules are shockingly bad ones; but I can't help that: if I were to discriminate outside my rules I should be setting myself up as a sort of Platonic philosopher-king, which I'm not, and which no official is at all likely to be. I do my best to march with the times, stretching the rules as much as possible, or even dropping one out when it becomes too ridiculous; but I must point out to you that there is one rule that never varies, and never can vary; and that rule is that a play must not be made the vehicle of new opinions on important subjects, because new opinions are always questionable opinions, and I cannot make Her Majesty the Queen responsible for questionable opinions by licensing them. The other rules are simple enough. You mustn't dramatize any of the stories in the Bible. You mustn't make fun of ambassadors, cabinet ministers, or any living persons who have influence in fashionable society, though no notice will be taken of a gag at the expense of General Booth, or a Socialist or Labor member of the County Council, or people of that sort. You mustn't have any love affairs within the tables of Consanguinity in the Prayer Book. If you introduce a male libertine in a serious play, you had better 'redeem' him in the end by marrying him to an innocent young lady. If a female libertine, it will not matter if she dies at the end, and takes some opportunity to burst into tears on touching the hand of a respectable girl. There are lots of little ways in which a play can disclaim any unusual views as to the relations of the sexes, even when it stretches our rules

as to conduct. In farcical comedy and musical farce, you cannot come into conflict with us, because all the fun in them depends on the conventional view of bad conduct. The observance of these rules of ours constitutes a sort of *technique* which is easily picked up, which is in harmony with the common usages of gentlemen, and which is never objected to by anybody but the people who would be disqualified anyhow by having new views—the cranks, in short. That's how our place works. You owe me two guineas, please, for refusing to allow you to produce your play. Thank you. Good morning."

The rules here spoken of are not printed for the guidance of dramatists. They are traditional and probably unwritten. They are not the invention of any individual Censor: they simply codify the present and most of the past prejudices of the class he represents. To write a play which complies with them in form whilst grossly violating their purpose is as easy as lying: it is the trade of the adapter of French farces. To write a play which holds their purpose as sacred as any Examiner can, whilst violating their form in every scene, is as difficult as the achievement of greatness: it is the fate of the man of genius, necessarily always defending humanity against plutocracy and reality against hypocrisy. Each successive Censor makes the best of these rules when he is young and elastic, and the worst of them when he is old and ossified; but, in the main, they bind him as tightly as they bind the public. He may admire "The Cenci;" but he dare not license it. He may feel as deeply as Matthew Arnold did the degradation of the English theatre, and may know quite well that English Literature towers high above English Drama, because Literature is subject to no judgment but that of its natural masters, the authors. Not only Matthew Arnold, but Byron and Shelley, Ruskin and Carlyle, Dickens, Thackeray and Mark Twain, Darwin and Mill, Huxley and Tyndall, George Eliot and Sarah Grand, Meredith and Tolstoï—all those, in short, whose eminence makes the roll of acted dramatists so petty by contrast, must have been suppressed by an Examiner of Books, had such an official existed. Mr. Redford cannot help himself: a Censorship cannot work in any other way, until a Censor can be found greater than the greatest dramatists. That being impossible, he is doomed still to put his hall-mark on profligate farces and thinly sentimentalized tom-cat love tales, and to shut the stage door

against the great dramatic poets. For these poets must say to themselves what Carlyle said to himself: "One thing in the middle of this chaos I can more and more determine to adhere to: to clear myself of cants and formulas as of poisonous Nessus shirts; to strip them off me, by what name soever called, and follow, were it to Hades, what I myself know and see." And the Censor must reply: "I really cannot allow you to do anything so ungentlemanly. My instructions are to admit nobody to the stage without a complete Nessus suit on, in which he must make up his mind to face straight for Church Parade in the Park, and turn his back decisively on Hades, no matter what he knows or sees."

And so, in the end, the public gets neither the dramatist's view of life, nor the Examiner's view of life, nor its own view of life, nor in fact any real view of life at all. It does not get a clean stage, simple as that seemed: there is always one theatre, at least, in London where the fun consists of mere blackguardism under a royal certificate of propriety. It does not even get the laws against the exhibition on the stage of very young children enforced: reproachful-eyed babies are still tossed about from hand to hand in lewd farces; and infamous ballets are danced at eleven o'clock at night by tiny children kept awake only by unhealthy excitement. This at least the Censorship might stop; but it never does. No serious steps to make London theatres safe were taken, until the responsibility was transferred to the County Council. Desiring to give a judicial air to this article, I have racked my brains and searched my pretty exhaustive experience as a critic of the theatres to find a single item to the credit of the Censorship's account in the books of the Recording Angel. I find none. Shame, folly, ridicule, and mischief are the fruits of it, and the sole possible ones, as, I repeat, they would equally be if I or Tolstoï himself were Censor. Nobody profits by it except the Examiner, who lives by it, and the Lord Chamberlain, who is occasionally presented by the managers with silver plate, which he publicly accepts as naïvely as those Stuart Masters of the Revels (the original Censors), who entered in their journals the presents made to their wives by the actor-managers of the day.

What, then, is to be done with the Censorship? Nothing can be simpler. Abolish it, root and branch, throwing the whole legal responsibility for plays on the author and manager, precise-

ly as the legal responsibility for a book is thrown on the author, the printer, and the publisher. The managers will not like this: their present slavery is safer and easier; but it will be good for them, and good for the Drama. And transfer the authority to license theatres from year to year from the Lord Chamberlain to the London County Council, which already deals with music halls, and is jealously criticised by the Press and the electorate.

Alas! when we pass from the What to the How, the simplicity of the problem vanishes. Some years ago, when the London Playgoer's Club invited my opinion as to how the Censor could be got rid of, I had to reply that, as far as I could see, nothing short of abolishing the monarchy could touch him. But we are not going to burn down our house to roast our pig in that fashion. Besides, nobody, except Mr. William Archer and a few dramatists whose plays have been suppressed, seems to object to the Censorship. There are no complaints in Parliament, none in the Press, no petitions from the Society of Authors or from the managers. A forgotten Royal Commission on the subject came to the unimpeachable conclusion that a perfect censorship is a desirable thing; and the consensus among the manager-witnesses as to the superhuman personal qualities of their master, the then Examiner, quite outweighed the display of petulant shallowness made by that gentleman when he was invited to shine on the Commission in person. The public is either satisfied or indifferent, because the class in England which feels social matters deeply does not go to the theatre, and the class which does go wants to be amused there, and not edified or conscience-stricken. There is no money in the question, no vote-catching power, no popular interest in or knowledge or comprehension of it, and consequently no political capital to be made out of it. The censorship will probably outlive the House of Lords and the supremacy of the Established Church, as quietly as it has outlived the Metropolitan Board of Works and the Irish Church. In England this article will be entirely wasted: no English editor has ever dreamt of asking me to deal with the subject. In America, it may be useful, in view of the likelihood of attempts to set up State Censorships in that country. In which case, O my friends across the sea, remember how the censorship works in England, and DON'T.

G. Bernard Shaw.

A CENTURY OF SALONS AND ACADEMIES.

BY ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL.

NEVER, since the world began, has there been so much self-conscious talk about art as during the last hundred years, never such an enormous effort to develop it, such a deliberate determination to patronize it. In France, from the moment the Revolution did away with the old restrictions of the *Académie*, until the establishment of a second *Salon* in our own day, it has been one long story of agitation and development, of secession and revolt,—of Romanticists pitted against Classicists, of Impressionism struggling against Naturalism, of the rise and fall of more *isms* and *ists* than one can count. In England, by 1800, the Academy, founded by artists after the French model and approved by Royalty, was already flourishing; by the middle of the century, the enthusiasm had reached such a pitch that the gigantic forcing-house for the manufacture of more artists was started at South Kensington; and, after that, there is no keeping pace with the Schools, Societies, Classes, Missions, Extension Lectures, East End Exhibitions set going, in order to bring art to the people, with, loud above the turmoil of the self-appointed teachers and preachers, the voice of Mr. Ruskin, the Prophet, proclaiming the new Gospel.

It is interesting, therefore, now we have come to the last shows of the century, where, if anywhere, the results of the agitation and enthusiasm should be seen, to stop and ask just how much art has profited by modern patronage and protection, and what has been done for the artist. Next summer, the Paris Exhibition may round out the century more perfectly; but there, after all, it will be easier to enjoy the great things accomplished during recent years, than to judge of the true state of affairs at

the present moment. That is why it seems to me that the *Salons* and Academy of this season have a special importance, apart from any question of the merit of individual work.

If there is one point upon which people whose opinion is of value agree, it is that these shows are of unparalleled dulness. The dulness has been gradually growing, to be sure; artists have not leaped into it at a bound. But it seems to have culminated this spring, as if in honor of the close of a century that has gloried, rather ostentatiously, in its love for art. In Paris, they will tell you, it is because everybody is holding back to make the finer display in 1900. In London, they drag out again the old plea of a winter of fog and influenza. But, at least, there is no doubt in anybody's mind of the dulness, while the more enterprising are busy seeking for an excuse to explain it away.

No such excuse is needed at the Royal Academy. That it should get together a distinguished collection in its annual show, is the last thing that has been expected of it since the days of Reynolds and Gainsborough. The whole Academical system is against such a possibility. Good work has at times been seen on its walls, the promising performances of the younger men sometimes discovered stowed away in odd corners. Is it not still recorded as an astounding fact that Mr. Whistler's "Portrait of His Mother" once graced the exhibition, that for the "Christ Washing Peter's Feet," of Ford Madox Brown, a bad place was grudgingly found, that room was made for the earlier canvases of the Pre-Raphaelites? Indeed, good work may still be buried in the year's accumulation of rubbish, but I do not believe in hunting for art in a picture gallery, as if it were a needle in a haystack. When you read a book, you are not supposed to wade through hundreds of pages of advertisements before you come to that which can be called literature; at a concert, you do not sit and listen to a medley of music-hall songs as a preparation for Wagner.

The New Gallery, on the other hand, inherited the traditions of the Grosvenor as the headquarters of the independents, as a refuge from the Academy; and, consequently, one had a right to ask for better things from it. As long as Sir Edward Burne-Jones lived, his work was the Gallery's most conspicuous feature; and, with its richness of invention, the poetry of its symbolism, it commanded respect, even if one was not in sympathy with the painter's methods. But now, this year, what is there?

I do not exaggerate, I am expressing not only my own views, but those of the three or four London critics whose criticism carries weight, when I say that, beyond a group of portraits by Mr. Sargent and Mr. Orchardson, and a little landscape by Mr. Mark Fisher, there is nothing in either show, absolutely nothing, of genuine distinction. And yet there are some three thousand other contributions: among them, a few pictures that might be described in a detailed notice for a local paper; pictures that mark the progress or degeneracy of the painter, or are noteworthy for some other reason of the kind, but are without the merit that alone would justify a description of them being sent across the Atlantic, or, for that matter, across the Channel. A vague attempt to revive eighteenth century affectations or to play the primitive, a feeble effort to copy the success of the Academy last year, or the sensation of the *Salon* the year before, and the artist is at the end of his resources. He cannot see for himself, he has not the energy to study the work of men who can. When it comes to Mr. Sargent, his portraits, though so much better than the poor stuff surrounding them, scarcely equal his own most brilliant achievements. At the New Gallery, his "Colonel Ian Hamilton," a fine spirited presentment of the finest type of soldier, is a sketch, not a finished portrait; at the Royal Academy, his "Lady Faudel-Phillips," the most striking of the several there, is one of his audaciously clever pieces of characterization, amusing in its pitiless realism, amazing in its renderings of jewels and all the details of a gorgeous costume; but it does not compare with the "Mr. Wertheimer" of last year, and I very much question if, in a show of all of Mr. Sargent's portraits, one would pick out either of these two for special mention or eulogy.

However, it is not only in the absence of individual work of note that the two exhibitions are so depressing. It is rather in their lifelessness, their colorlessness as a whole. They carry on no good traditions; they reveal no tendencies, new or old; they represent no school, no movement, no group; they announce no revolution, no new departure. That too many artists to-day can only demolish and not create, that they have become the politicians of art, is, I know, felt to be a serious fault in them. But, if the painters and sculptors at the Academy would only show the slightest desire to demolish anything, if they would only give us something as definite as politics, it would be far more hopeful, far

more entertaining, far more stimulating, than their present content to hold what one critic defines as "a bazaar for the sale of bad art and the encouragement of bad artists."

As for the New Gallery, with the death of Burne-Jones it has simply lost every reason for its existence. It has dwindled into a mere annex of the Academy, another stall in the yearly bazaar, that is all. The truth is that the chief movement the Grosvenor countenanced and supported was but the fashion of a day. A revival as entirely artificial as the Neo-Gothic could not last longer. A much more honest revolt against the Academy and its conventions was that of the younger men, of some fifteen years ago, who founded the New English Art Club. But they, as "the younger men" always will do, flew to extremes; they were too narrow in their exclusiveness; they gave too free play to their prejudices, with the result that, though their exhibitions are still pleasant, still distinctly artistic in intention—which is more than can be said of most of the other shows—they themselves have lost the little influence that was once theirs.

Whatever hope there is at the present moment, whatever promise, whatever vitality, centres in the International Society of Painters, Sculptors, and Gravers, now in its second year. The name explains that it does not confine itself to British art and artists. But, unlike the Academy—which does occasionally encourage the foreigner, to the great indignation of the native—the International accepts only the best, the most vigorous, the most distinguished expression of foreign art. It prefers Mathew or James Maris to Alma-Tadema, as a Dutchman; Besnard to Bouguereau, as a Frenchman. And when it is remembered that it can claim Mr. Whistler as its president; that it is the only London gallery open to the Glasgow men, who, if they have their defects, have also the qualities of those defects; that it is not hedged about by privileges for the few, restrictions for the many; that the poor or indifferent work which creeps in fails from too much rather than too little ambition; that its galleries are arranged with some feeling for effect, unity of purpose, and consideration for every separate picture, and not solely in the vain desire to crowd in as many things as they can hold; it will be understood why, upon the International, the future of art in England, or I should say, Great Britain, seems to rest.

And now, to turn to Paris. The *Salons* also are dull, and one

feels it the more keenly because, again this year, both are sheltered under the vast roof of the *Palais des Machines.* Dulness is no new thing at the "Champs-Elysées" *Salon,* as it is still familiarly known; that is, the show of the older *Société des Artistes Français.* Since the secession of its most accomplished members, after the split of 1889, it has been virtually as dreary as the Royal Academy. It is larger; there is a higher level of technical ability in the work—in Paris, at least, as has been said, "they know which end of the brush to put in their mouth, though in London it is still a matter of taste;" and more courage and enterprise are displayed in the size of the canvases. I can find no other difference, and I sometimes think that the *Salon* is drearier than the English exhibition, simply because it is so immense, and because the artists are well enough trained to know better. I wandered through the wilderness of galleries this year, I passed the usual acres of canvases and tons of stone, and the only pictures I saw—the only pictures I have seen in these last ten dreary years, until I am tired of saying so—were the gray moorlands of M. Pointelin, the stately riverside landscapes by M. Harpignies, the idyls by M. Fantin-Latour. I am not speaking of the sound work, of the meritorious work, of the promising work, of the work that is found by searching for it, catalogue in hand; but of the work with just that little more in it that tells in a huge modern exhibition, where even the sensation of heroic proportions has ceased to thrill or astonish. M. Rochegrosse may vie with M. Tattegrain in the number of square yards he can cover with his brush and in the horrors with which he can fill his big *Salon machine,* but the year's *reclame* is all for the statue of Balzac by M. Falguière. Not because of any charm, or distinction, or beauty in the bulky, shapeless, commonplace figure, but altogether because of last year's gossip over M. Rodin's melodramatic "Balzac," and the refusal of the *Société des Gens de Lettres* to accept it, and their choice of M. Falguière to design another more to their taste, and M. Falguière's noble but disappointed hope that two masterpieces would be the result. Where there is such splendid copy for the journalist, who cares if there be scant glory for the artist? The incident is typical; that is why I have referred to it.

The *Salon* of the *Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts,* the "Champ-de-Mars" *Salon,* is, as it always has been from the start, gayer, more amusing, more adventurous. But to anyone who has

followed its career, who has been to its every exhibition since the first, as I have, the gaiety now seems a trifle forced, the adventure half-hearted, the actual accomplishment, of which there is much, but a repetition, a re-echo, of what has already been done, and better done, by the same artists in previous shows. On every side are signs of lassitude and fatigue. There is no one to take the place of Puvis de Chavannes; his death occurred at the very crisis when the exhibition could least afford to lose those calm, stately, low-toned decorations, that, in their reticence and sobriety, filled one with a sense of repose after the loud restlessness, the hot, strident color of the mere clever experiment, the picture painted frankly to tell—to scream—on exhibition walls.

Time, or over-production, seems to have destroyed, or lessened, the vigor and vitality of this society's other leaders. M. Carrière is so overwhelmed by the tragedy of life that he no longer sees its beauty. Weariness has taken possession of M. Aman-Jean: his was never a robust talent, but now you can almost fancy the brush slipping from his fingers, in his sheer physical prostration, as he labored to be in time for the *Salon*. M. Gaudara is oppressed by the millinery of his sitters, M. Blanche by the elegance of his composition. Were I writing a description of the work, I should have something to say in praise of M. Besnard's ceiling, in doubt of M. Boutet-de-Mouvel's decoration; I might speak in detail of the studies and landscapes by M. Cazin, and, here and there, of another suggestive or interesting canvas. But, as my object now is to give an idea of the character of the collection as a whole, I cannot but dwell on this effect of general fatigue, which struck me above all else. Several artists, among them, unfortunately, Mr. Whistler, who can ill be spared, absent themselves altogether. The American section—Mr. Sargent and Mr. Dannat unrepresented, Mr. Alexander and Mr. McLure Hamilton sending only one or two portraits,—would be surprisingly weak were it not for Mr. St. Gaudens. His "General Sherman" and M. Rodin's "Eve" are the triumphs of the year.

And, as at the Royal Academy, it is not only in individual performances that this distressing inertia declares itself. In vain I looked for the activity—not the most desirable characteristic, perhaps, but still better than indifference—that expresses itself in new movements, in new schools, in new departures. For long at this *Salon*, one was sure to come upon a little group of painters

who were struggling with new problems of light or atmosphere, or boldly trying new experiments in technique, and whose work, if in a measure but a bid for notoriety, had, undeniably, life in it. There is nothing of the kind now. Nor any indication of the talent, that, however strange or bewildering or bizarre it may at first seem, one knows must in the end vindicate itself—prove itself right. And this is not, as in the near past, because subject has become all-absorbing. The wave of mysticism has passed; the religious picture is no more, and M. Carolus-Duran, in his dingy "Crucifixion," only succeeds in sealing its fate. All the energy and vigor that survive, I thought, was to be found in the prints and drawings, though in them also, compared to the delightful collections of recent years, there is a sad falling off.

Here, then, at the close of the century, we have, in the two great art centres of Europe, the large exhibitions of the season justly, as well as universally, admitted to be, with one exception, the poorest held for years. The older men—it must be understood that I am speaking generally; again, there are exceptions—have exhausted not only themselves, but, apparently, all possibilities for the younger men. There are no younger men—as yet, no material from which the art of the next generation is to spring. It is no wonder that this unexpected conclusion to a hundred years of effort, of supervision, of deliberate culture, leaves the honest critic saddened and amazed; no wonder that he seeks, here, there, and everywhere, for the reason of it.

In England, the responsibility is laid upon the Academy. The complaints against it, that began with Gainsborough and were continued by Haydon, that have been officially recorded in the reports of two commissions appointed to examine into them, have strengthened with the years. The mistake might be to see in the Academy anything but a pleasant club, were it not for the power it wields: it organizes what is supposed to be the national exhibition of the year, it administers the Chantrey and other bequests, it has numerous privileges to bestow. It is natural that it should be the ambition of every British artist to belong to it and share its advantages; and, as long as this is the case, the task of reforming it and its shows will be left to the chance enthusiast or faddist. However, the scandal of its summer exhibition, now a rallying-place for the amateur from every corner of the United Kingdom, a gallery where all but the artist may apply, has be-

come so great that the Academy itself has felt obliged to grant concessions. It is proposed, in order to make the show what it should be, that henceforward the eight pictures Academicians and Associates have the right to hang on the line, shall be reduced to six; the eight the outsiders are allowed to submit, to three: which means, chiefly, that work will be lightened for the jury—this year it is reported that, crammed as the Academy is, no fewer than twelve thousand works were rejected; it means also that competition with outsiders will be stifled, that there will be more space for the oldest and most senile Academician to fill with his banalities, more chance of admission for a still greater number of amateurs and bunglers. As to the artist, is it likely that he would be more welcome in the future with three fine pictures, or statues, or drawings, than now, with the eight he does not send? It is not the Academy, even in its most generous and amiable mood, that will show the way out of the difficulty.

But if in England the active supremacy of the Academy is thought at fault, in France the root of the evil is found in the indolence of the *Académie*. Restore it to the important position it held, in reality as in name, before the Revolution, some irrepressible optimists urge, and art will revive and flourish as of old. Others go to the opposite extreme, with M. Gabriel Mourey, and believe that the less official interference there is, the better. So far from wanting to kindle new life in an old, worn-out institution, they say, do not let us have any institutions at all.

Artists whose faith is not yet shaken in the galleries blame the dealer, who buys for his profit where the patron bought for his pleasure. But I have heard the dealers say that all would once more be well with the world, if the patron or collector, who knows nothing, still relied upon him—the dealer—who knows everything; as it is, the artist can sell any trash he chooses to paint, and exhibit it into the bargain, and the tone of the exhibitions is inevitably lowered. Reinstate the dealer, and the miracle is worked: the Reign of the Ugly is at an end.

Ingenious as are these various arguments, their real interest is the proof they give of an increasing distrust in the present exhibition system. I have no particular sympathy with the extremists, the anarchists. A modern exhibition has been, and can be, as delightful in its way as the National Gallery and the Louvre are in theirs; but not if it is managed by people who are just as

willing to accept bad work as good, and quite unwilling to hang work that is better than their own. I think a clue to the evil is to be had in a fact pointed out in an essay by Mr. Naegely, the very latest of the Academy's critics. "The British School of Painting," he writes, "is represented at present in the National Gallery by the works of fifty-three deceased Masters (?). It covers a period of about two centuries and a half—from Dobson to Pickersgill. How many of these fifty-three artists have an incontestable claim to eminence?" But no one questions the possibility of the Academy's finding seventy contemporary artists, whom, by their election, it proclaims masters of painting, sculpture and engraving. The century's colossal blunder has been to believe that art and artists could be manufactured. Commercial at heart, it thought all that had to be done was to create the demand, and the supply would follow, as a matter of course; and, for a while, the army of students in the Academy and South Kensington schools, and in the studios of Paris, the countless canvases in the galleries were accepted as unanswerable proofs of this truth. Some twenty or thirty years ago, faith in the exhibitions was so complete that a picture had only to hang on the line in the Academy, or to be medalled in the *Salon*, to be considered a masterpiece. Those were the happy days when palaces went up by the dozen in the art purlieus of Kensington, and the youths of all nations rushed to Paris to try their luck in the Klondyke of art; the deplorable days when the exhibitions began to set the standard for the artist. The modern necessity of working up or down to the exhibition level has been regretted too often already, for me to insist upon it now.

But the good times could not last. The patrons of art who had made, in the Academy, those wonderful collections, like the Tate now saddled on a long-suffering nation, began to find that the masterpieces, for which they had paid thousands, would not in the open market fetch as many hundreds, and the pictures on the line ceased to sell as readily. The sensations in the *Salon* began to pall; when everyone painted big *machines* size was no distinction; and the whole medal system was so abused that it was really the cause of the split in 1889. In a word, the Exhibition Bubble burst, though it has taken some few years for artists and public alike to realize the fact. But how remain blind to it after this spring, when, just before the shows, we were promised,

as the supreme achievement of the Academy, a painting by a policeman—which, at the last moment, did not get hung; as the *clou* of the *Salons*, a picture with a frame opening by a spring, which may have enjoyed its success, for all I know! The worst of it is that, as the struggle has become harder, the artist, instead of understanding the real cause, has gone on giving more and more exhibitions; while, on the other hand, the public, puzzled, confused, convicted of ignorance, is now simply bored by the whole business. You have only to consult the press to learn how widespread is the new indifference. Only two of the London literary weeklies continue to publish a regular article on art. Popular sheets lengthen their columns of dramatic and literary notes; art notes are gradually disappearing. I noticed their absence, especially in the two short-lived Sunday ventures, both of which made every possible bid they could to popular taste. There is no doubt that the people have had enough of art. And it is at this moment of stagnation and dejection that American artists, who have heard rumors that London is rapidly replacing Paris as the world's great art centre, are coming to London in shoals! If they could but be made to realize that, if a few American artists, so few they could be counted on the fingers of one hand, have climbed to the top of the English ladder, it is only after an average, among the leading four or five, of thirty years of hard struggle and striving!

I have stated the facts. They are just now the subject of lamentation, but, I must say, I see in them more reason for rejoicing. Art need not depend on exhibitions. Take black and white work, for example. In all the galleries, except the Royal Academy—which seems to make a point of rejecting anything with the least pretence to character—it reveals more originality and life than the painting and sculpture, largely because it is entirely independent of these shows. The illustrator exhibits the drawings and prints he happens to have made; he does not make them in order to exhibit them. And so it ought to be with the painter and the sculptor. There has been too much sham, too much sentiment in the century's craze for art. When the artists who organize exhibitions, and the people who go to see them, would rather have two or three good pictures in a gallery than a thousand bad or sensational ones, the reproach of dulness will be silenced, the true millennium will have come.

E. R. Pennell.

GIRLS' NOVELS IN FRANCE.

BY YETTA BLAZE DE BURY.

REPLYING to the question, Why has neither Flaubert, Maupassant, nor Paul Bourget written books that girls may read? I should like to point out that Flaubert has written *"Cœur Simple,"* Maupassant, *"L'Infirme,"* and *"Revenants,"* wonderful studies in psychology from which love is absent. Now, love is the object of a girl's greatest curiosity, and, consequently, girls will read neither *"Cœur Simple,"* nor *"L'Infirme,"* nor *"Revenants,"* since they would not find in them what they seek. Moreover, to speak of love to the French girl is a difficult matter.

In American or even in English society, where work, being obligatory, so to speak, leaves but to very few the leisure of the *dolce far niente,* in these societies where there is a certain amount of liberty in the relations between the sexes, a girl may be justified in allowing some licence to her imaginative sensibility. So much the worse for her if, while seeking to realize in life that which she has planned out of her reading, she only succeeds in getting married after a series of broken-off engagements. Her experience is acquired; the heart of an American or English woman has formed its supreme attachment only after passing through a novitiate. This previous knowledge, however, which is a kind of guarantee as regards the security of the Saxon household, would involve for the Frenchwoman an almost certain condemnation to celibacy. Such being the case, since sentiment properly so-called has no more than an exceptional relation to marriage, and since after marriage the life of sentiment has only to do with naturalistic novels forbidden to young people, would it not be logical to declare the reading of novels as hurtful to girls before marriage in France as to young wives after. In both cases such reading would serve only to excite their thirst in the desert.

Since New Year's Day, 1620, when Pierre Arnaud announced to his fifteen-year-old daughter, Angelica, just as her mind was filled with dreams of fashionable life, that she was appointed Abbess of Port Royal; since then down to our own time, the convent in France has remained the refuge of women left without natural protectors. To these involuntary recluses of bygone days, who in their heart of hearts were all opposed to the vows they had been compelled to take, the gaiety of not a few abbeys rendered their lives agreeable, even when they possessed a most decidedly worldly disposition. But this gaiety no longer exists.

To-day, however, as formerly, the marriage day is the termination of the despotism exercised among us by the family, and the girl who refuses the lot chosen for her beforehand must wait a long time before she can have in French society a position equal to that, not of the married woman, but of the woman separated from her husband when she is not disgraced.

In France, the unmarried woman oscillates between two equally painful extremes in her relations with the other sex. The men either show her such an exaggerated respect that they seem to point her to the cloister as being her proper abode, or else they assume an aggressive familiarity towards her, and a tone bordering on libertinage. She must either belong to God alone, or else become common property, this ownerless individual, who, having no other protection than what is obtainable from the courtesy of each, has not much to expect from anyone.

In a society the interior *strata* of which are capable of resisting the effects of any revolution, in a society where certain prejudices form, so to speak, its *raison d'être*, and where, in reference to this very question of celibacy, a duke's daughter does not differ from the daughter of a *concierge*, in a society, in fine, where sentiment is *a priori* excluded from marriage, what necessity is there for a girl to read novels? On the contrary, it is better for her to cultivate all that can calm and restrain her imagination. Since to-day as formerly for the French girl, marriage, in the best acceptation of the word, exception being made of ambitious and society women, is but the *sine qua non* of maternity; the less a modern *bourgeoise* swerves from the rules of education of the seventeenth century, the better will she observe the mean that lies between a narrow religious practice and the requirements of the household.

A *bourgeoise* in the time of Pascal had not much leisure for

sentiment; and as a Tartuffe was not to be met with by every Elmire, many a woman passed her life without ever being troubled by conflicts resulting from its activity. It may be objected that French memoirs are made up of stories in which sentiment plays the chief part. This is true; but the heroines are rarely girls, and the typical novel of the seventeenth century, *"La Princesse de Clèves,"* bears out what I say, inasmuch as, whatever may have been Madame de Clèves' virtue and purity of mind, the Duc de Nemours wooed her not as Mademoiselle de Chartres, but as the married Princesse de Clèves.

To the reproach foreigners are fond of making, that we write no fiction which girls can read, we might reply that we have left this task for them, since it is the Tauchnitz edition and the translations of these volumes which form the staple of our French girls' reading. Such books as these, being introduced among young people whose future is rarely based on a love-match, have suggested to our authors, especially our women authors, a new literature of imitation.

The weak point in this innovation would appear to be that it reveals to our young girl readers only the noble and generous side of love, and too easily persuades these young hearts that men are, as a rule, chivalrous and only too ready to marry girls without fortune.

Already the so-called harmless "Tauchnitz" had sown hurtful illusions in the minds of those who were destined to the *"mariage de raison,"* since the awakening was much more bitter for girls that had regarded their husbands as lovers, than for those that had taken the common-sense view and looked upon their future husband as the embodiment of marriage and the family.

If every book in the Tauchnitz edition showed, together with the infidelities we seek to hide from our girls, the hard lessons taught by such conduct, as Goldsmith does in "The Vicar of Wakefield," then "girls' novels" would be reasonable enough. The sentimentality of Saxon marriages, set forth in English and American novels, has led so many French girls to transform the solicitor's clerk who marries them into a hero of the romantic kind, that one might almost conclude there is a "Tauchnitz" in the innermost heart of many of our "Emma Bovaries."

When one considers what is the life led by a woman belonging to the middle classes in France, it is nothing but logical to assert

that its legitimate consequence is a starving of the imagination. Our great-grandmothers were educated under a system that made their childhood one round of filial and religious duties, and their married life a round of maternal and household tasks. Magistrates' wives, like Madame Pernelle and others of Molière's comedies, had no five o'clock receptions, for they supped at five, had family prayers at seven, and at nine everyone was in bed. In such a life, girls had no more opportunity to read tales of romance than married women of the same period had to become heroines of a Paul Bourget novel.

One consequence of the Second Empire and of the modification it brought about by its cosmopolitanism among the French middle classes, was the spread of the knowledge of the English language. The English novel thus became a school text-book, as being comparatively easy to read; and furnished a model to Madame Craven, who at once began to write the novel with a purpose of the Faubourg St. Germain and religious style. Madame Gréville followed suit with the simply moral novel, where the society is elegant but not aristocratic. As for the novel "accessible" to girls, but written equally for their mothers, that is to say, the real, human novel, the authors who have reached the greatest literary excellence are Madame Bentzon and Madame Caro. They are without rivals in this particular kind of writing. In Madame Bentzon's books, one does not see the fixed determination to depict only one social phase which is exhibited in the writing of Madame Craven. What is especially visible is the development of an "idea," in the domain of morals or conscience, certain familiar evolutions of the mind, leading to remorse, a conversion, a divorce even, so many minute studies of the inner life which it is wise to let girls read in order to stimulate their mental vigilance and encourage them to examine their own hearts.

I.

The monotony of Madame Craven's writing is due to two causes, of which one has already been mentioned, the prominence of purpose; the other is the constant reproduction of two uniform types. Alexandrine d'Alopéus and Fernand de Laferronays, her heroes in the *"Récit d'une Soeur,"* fall in love, and get married; and their correspondence, which, according to the reader's standpoint, may be considered either interesting or absurd, is at any

rate true to life, palpitating with reality, and consequently touching. As a novel of magic love the book is admirable; and the demand existing among the public for such a publication is proved by the fact that no fewer than forty editions have been issued. This, however, is no reason why, in her succeeding books, Madame Craven should have always presented us with Alexandrines and Fernands, why other lovers, Gauthier and Lucie, Anne Séverin and Guy, for example, should necessarily pass through the same anxieties of ardent affection and devotion as the heroes of the "*Récit d'une Soeur.*" The repetition becomes wearisome in the end. One of this author's latest works is "*Le Valbriant,*" in which we find, no less than in her first, the same double note of tenderness and devotion, together with some vigorous tones of the spirit of caste, which give their character to the whole book. Lucie, Marchioness de Livernois, has been unfortunate enough to have as a husband a bettor, a gambler, a libertine, whom she nevertheless adored. On returning, a widow, to her father's house, she meets once more with the companion of her childhood, Gauthier d'Arcy, who, in spite of his noble birth, has made himself a business man. In the eyes of the Marchioness, therefore, Gauthier is a "*déchu.*" "A gentleman cannot fall lower than in becoming a manufacturer," she says. On his side, Gauthier, who has always loved Lucie, even before her marriage, feels very keenly the cruelty of such social distinctions. Let us remark *en passant* the childishness of Madame Craven's resources; since she is reduced to separate her two heroes for such absurd causes. One is puzzled to know whence this woman, who declares Gauthier dishonored because he works, obtains the Christian humility needful for prayer, when kneeling beside Gauthier, she declares herself one with the man she so much despises. An accident, which gives Gauthier opportunity of performing an heroic action, and which at the same time makes a martyr of him (he becomes blind), touches the heart of the Marchioness, who marries him. A character at once so religious and so inflexible, who passes her life at the feet of the Christ, while wilfully forgetting, it must be presumed, that Joseph was a carpenter, a character to whom it needs no less than the blindness of the man she loves to make her experience a generous impulse, is really too little of a woman to exercise much charm on a reader. Let us hope, at least, that the emulation of Madame Craven's women readers will not be aroused.

If in "Anne Séverin" the moral is somewhat less childish, it is scarcely more probable. The Marquis de Villois (we are always among the Marquises), is smitten with the charms of Mademoiselle de Nailles, and marries her at the time of the great emigration. Their son, Guy, falls in love with his cousin, Anne Séverin, they have passed their childhood together, and the little Anne is so perfect that already at nine years old she adjures Guy to "show himself more affectionate than ever to his father at times when the latter was most unjust." But a beautiful English girl crosses Guy's path, and he offers his heart to this foreigner, so that Anne believes herself abandoned. Here Madame Craven gets out of a difficulty by bringing Catholic proselytism into play. On Good Friday, under the dome of St. Peter's itself, the beautiful English girl makes fun of the priest who is preaching, and Guy, whom we may excuse for being shocked, breaks off his engagement with the eccentric foreigner and marries Anne. It must be confessed that such books as these are written for a special public, a public composed of fossils, a public which since 1830 has given up everything excepting the admiration of its own obstinacy.

When in the "*Correspondant*," which is the organ of this coterie, Mrs. Craven was able to devote herself to biography and came to speak of Father Damiens and Lady Georgiana Fullerton, she showed what she was capable of. She rose into the sphere of abstract considerations, and the abstract is what she succeeds in best. On the other hand, a cleverer writer even than Madame Craven would not thrive within such narrow bounds. Where hearts can love only Duchesses, and love's most passionate yearnings are invariably and solely religious, how can the author be normally interesting?

The same "*parti pris*" which stamps the writing of Madame Craven will be found in different guise, but quite as marked, in that of Madame Gréville. Instead of the reign of the Duchesses, we shall see that of the "*Bourgeoisie*." The sceptre is of different material but quite as despotic; there is the same systematic disdain of all that does not exactly square with the kind of society depicted. Take, for example, Madame Ramey and her niece, Sylvie, in the "*Fiancé de Sylvie*." We have two women of education and elegant manners, whom we should expect to be on visiting terms with the "Chateaux" round about. Such, how-

ever, is not the case, and the inmates of the "Herbages," which is the name of Madame Ramey's country-house, appear to be reduced to the society of their Paris friends. There is a good deal of truth in this representation of provincial exclusiveness. But the *"Bourgeoisie"* in the provinces is separated from the nobility mainly by its own pride and good qualities; so that the exclusiveness comes rather from its own side. Faithful to its traditions of austerity, it refuses to indulge in racing and sporting amusements, from which its common sense, quite as wide awake as in the time of Molière, keeps it aloof, well knowing that it would only compromise its fortune in them. If, out of the twenty novels or so written by Madame Gréville, I have chosen as an example, *"Le Fiancé de Sylvie,"* it is because this book, like those of Madame Craven, shows us the same rigid indifference of the characters to all that does not belong to their own circle, and a narrowness of thought under cover of Liberalism quite as unyielding as that of Catholic proselytism. We have seen Madame Craven preach love in marriage, when the marriage was between Catholic *"grands seigneurs."* Here we shall have love in marriage once more; but, at the same time, we shall perceive the frailty of this love. Will it be a very edifying piece of reading for girls to see a husband, after twenty years of faithful married life, so easily led to neglect his excellent wife by the manœuvres of a child?

Pierre Clermont has married Amélie for love. They have no children and their ward, Sylvie, takes the place of one. But Sylvie Germain systematically refuses to marry. She loves her guardian and he, being touched by this affection, comes to share her feeling. Neither of them really fails in relations of duty to Amélie; but Pierre considers he is doing no harm in speaking tenderly to Sylvie, in listening to the confession of her feelings, and in letting himself be affected by her charm. However, Jacques Debrancy, the *fiancé* to whom Sylvie has given his *congé*, goes to Amélie Clermont for consolation, and, when the latter pours balm into his wounded heart, he perceives that, while imagining himself to be in love with Sylvie, he in reality had loved her godmother, Amélie. As all the harm has been caused by Sylvie, it is she who will make reparation. She has no difficulty in bringing Pierre back to the path of duty, from which, indeed, they both had strayed only in thought; and ulti-

mately she marries Jacques. But is not the essence of error in the thought? And, for young minds, is there not great danger in insisting on the difference between thought and action where duty is concerned.

In reference to these questions of conscience, there appears to us to be much more relevancy in the novels of Madame Caro and Madame Bentzon; especially in the "*Un Remords*" of the latter. Here the working of the heroine's conscience is the main part of the work, and we see the culpability of the character depend not on acts but on the tacit consent of the mind; a thing which it is so important to inculcate in the young conscience. We will consider first the writing of Madame Caro.

II.

One of the advantages of Madame Caro's novels, especially for foreign readers, is that they do not deal with an exclusive phase of society, but, upon the whole, describe the various phases, mixed as they are in actual life, and without separating them into coteries. The "*Roman de Jeune Fille*" represents provincial life, like the "*Fiancé de Sylvie*;" but a provincial life which has been better studied and is nearer to reality. The scene of the story is a part of the country where the pettiness and paltriness peculiar to small places is somewhat ennobled by a sentiment of joint responsibility and relationship. Such a sentiment is often found uniting the inhabitants of a town where the fathers have begun friendships that the children continue. Lise Dauny is in love with the handsome Captain d'Esparvis. Lise is only the humble daughter of a clerk in the *Mairie* offices, and she has no fortune. The Baron d'Esparvis might with his title make a marriage for money, but he loves Lise and is going to marry her when Arthur Dauny, Lise's brother, who has fallen into low company, is condemned to eight years' penal servitude. As d'Esparvis will not consent to give up Lise, even in face of this dishonor, she heroically sacrifices herself and says adieu to her lover. Henceforth, Lise Dauny is alone, for her poor mother did not survive the disgrace. One day, Arthur returns to his native place and, while living with his sister, renders her life still more wretched by his conduct and bad company. Her father's home is made a veritable hell; on one occasion she is threatened with criminal violence by one of

her brother's associates, and she flies half mad from the house. At length, Arthur is smitten with paralysis, but even in this state he succeeds in torturing his sister; he requires her not only to care for him, but personally to wait on him at all times, harasses and terrifies her, and enjoys being able to make her suffer. When, at last, death delivers Lise from this wretch she is worn out with her trials and struggles; and, after her existence of sacrifice, would have nothing but despair left to her if Georges Werner, an old companion of her childhood and a man of noble heart, did not come forward to tell her that he loved her. When she was attached to d'Esparvis, he had forborne to urge his suit, but, now that she was free, he offered her his hand and his heart.

Compared with "*Péché de Madeleine*," Madame Caro's "*chef d'oeuvre*," or with "*Souci*," "*Fausse Route*" and many other books from her powerful and delicate pen, the "*Roman de Jeune Fille*" may be regarded as one of those most suited to her talent. We get a novel in which the facts themselves suggest a moral line of conduct and the morality permeates the facts, a novel of exceedingly subtle psychology whence a lesson is obtained without preaching; the virtue of Lise, the admirable sacrifice of her love to the honor of d'Esparvis, the gentle patience she shows to her ignoble brother, and above all, the elevation of soul which leads her to say to Arthur, "in order to nurse you better, my brother, I will love you;" everything in this study is so ordered as to produce a book of wholesome and bracing reading for girls, a true "*Roman de Jeune Fille*."

We select now from the repertory of Madame Bentzon an example of a nature no less strongly tempered than that of Lise, but whose perfecting process was much more arduous, inasmuch as it fathomed the bottom of the moral abyss before rising into the true possession of itself. Lucette d'Armançon, the heroine in Madame Bentzon's "*Tony*," who has lost her mother, is left to the care of her father, a man of intemperate habits and controlled by a woman who serves in the house. The father dies and Lucette finds that, instead of the inheritance she had a right to expect, not more than an eighth remains. At the same time, she realizes that she loves Raynal, an American who has gone back to his own country to seek his fortune. For eight years Lucette lives on the letters she receives from Raynal. This torturing absence, however, has not been without

profit; it has developed her nature, fortified her conscience, and when, after so long a time, Raynal writes to Lucette, "For eight years I have been repressing the cry of my heart: 'Lucette, be my wife,'" when Raynal and Lucette at length get married, all girl readers of the book have amply received the teaching that every book written for the young should contain. But since this novel speaks only of Lucette and Raynal, why is it entitled "Tony?" For this reason Monsieur d'Armançon had a son by the servant mentioned above, and it is partly owing to this natural brother, that Lucette obtains her moral salvation. In her childhood Lucette's violent and passionate character rendered her so jealous of the preference Monsieur d'Armançon accorded to Tony that one day she pushed the latter into the pond; immediately filled with horror and despair she threw herself in after him, and it was from this baptism of crime that Lucette came forth regenerated; so that "Tony" is the most appropriate name for the book, which shows us Lucette's mind passing from death to resurrection through her brother's indirect agency.

In "*Remords*" the story is, if such a thing be possible, still more impregnated with the conscience "*motif*" than in "Tony." Everything turns on a tacit complicity, on a duty neglected, not on a fault committed. "*Remords*" shows us that it is not enough to devote oneself to others, we ought to love them. The remorse of Manuela is not the feeling of having done wrong, but that of not having done right. Manuela, who is a beautiful Mexican girl, arrives in Paris and falls in love with one of those novelists whose own adventures and experiences furnish them with the material necessary to their literary production. The novelist abandons her and she marries Walrey, a man of noble character and loyal heart, but, being only a Flemish manufacturer, somewhat heavy and not at all romantic.

The tedium of living in the midst of blast furnaces induces Manuela, whose heart sometimes overflows, to confide to paper the souvenirs of her bygone love. A violent and refractory foreman, who nourishes a mad passion for Manuela, finds one of the leaves of this journal, and, in order to render Manuela free, he kills her husband. Just at the moment when Manuela sees Walrey receiving his death wound, she awakes to the consciousness that it is in reality herself who is the murderer. She has killed her husband by her yearning after the past; she has killed

him by her egotistic self-contemplation. She has killed him because, instead of learning to love him, noble and generous as he was, she has only lived in pity of herself.

Providence, however, is merciful. Walrey survives for a month, during which time the unfortunate man, who now feels that he is adored, but has no strength to penetrate into the causes of the change, experiences such an infinite sweetness and tranquillity of happiness that Manuela, without soothing her conscience, can at least feel in the intense love she has for him who merits it enough torture to make her expiate her mistake.

After the death of Walrey we see Manuela gradually waste away under the influence of her self reproaches, and the volume closes with the remark of the old *curé* who, knowing all, looks at Manuela and says, "When the soul can no longer support its burden, God delivers it." *"Remords"* touches not only negligent wives or those who do not realize their duty. Many a girl, on examining her conscience, must accuse herself of having performed her task in the letter only, while neglecting the spirit. In *"Remords"* will be found a call to active good, which is profitable to everyone, an admirable example of inner awakening, an implicit warning to all consciences to pause before the temptation that leads to passive satisfactions; in fine, a thoroughly wholesome incentive to the quickening of our acts by love, and an implied judgment that our tasks, however well accomplished they may be, are only half done if our hearts are not in them.

III.

After the short sketch we have given of our most eminent writers for girls, it remains only to add a few concluding observations. Our opinion is that the depicting of objective situations, however risky they may be, is far less likely to injure the impressionable minds of our girls than moral *data* which are too elastic. In a word, it is less dangerous to show a girl moving in society the manners and morals even of an irregular phase of life, since she neither has, nor will have, any experience of it, than to show her characters without decision or definite outline, who are incapable of analysis or self-direction. If, however, this is done it should be done after the manner of Madame Bentzon in *"Remords"* or in *"Tony,"* and in such a way as to arouse

young minds to a realization of their inner life, and arm them against a sluggish conscience as against their worst enemy.

The books, on the contrary, written by Madame Craven are useless and perishable, the religion they teach is not the religion of the gospel but of a coterie; and the representation of human duty is just as false in these books, where honor and honesty turn their backs upon each other. The Duchesses in France for whom Mrs. Craven, herself* a *"grande dame,"* wrote, have, for a long time now, come chiefly from the manufacturing class; they are women who owe their fortune and the dukedom it buys to the industry of their fathers. The social morality of Madame Craven's books is consequently as relaxing and unlikely as their religious morality. Morally speaking, the case is similar in Madame Gréville's books, which are so many passionate pleadings to prove the contrary of what is taught in Madame Craven's novels; that is to say, they are written to prove that, outside the *"Sainte Bourgeoisie,"* there can exist nothing which is good. In Madame Craven's writings there are too many churches, in Madame Gréville's too few. The novel is not a Catechism, nor yet a "Citizen's Manual," it is rather the history of the human heart in its relations with love. It is as little reasonable to make the moral forces of the soul depend on its mystical tendencies as it is to do the reverse, by affirming that the only strong souls are those which are void of religious tendencies.

In our opinion, the true "girl's novel" is the one that accentuates the *rôle* of personal responsibility instead of diminishing it, the novel, in fine, such as it is conceived by Madame Caro and Madame Bentzon, the novel which enables girls to see clearly into their own hearts. The taste for the things of the soul, the preference the French woman has for seeking to know what is going on in the heart, is peculiarly manifest in the child, who among us will be much more interested in Cinderella's thoughts and feelings than in the splendor of the godmother's coach.

It is therefore necessary to speak to her heart, but also to her mind. Like Madame Bentzon, the novelist should not be afraid to lead her even to the contemplation of crime itself, when an awakening is to follow from it as with Lucette in *"Tony."*

YETTA BLAZE DE BURY.

*Madame Craven was the daughter of the Comte de la Ferronays, French Ambassador at Rome under Charles X.

THE PLEASURES OF POVERTY.

(A WIFE'S PLEADING.)

BY MAX O'RELL.

(*Conversation overheard in a richly furnished studio: Monsieur is painting, Madame is watching him.*)

She (*reading an envelope*). "Philip Grantham, Esq., A. R. A." Lots of people live in the hope of adding letters to their names. You, my darling, will soon drop one.

He. Who knows? Perhaps—thanks to your encouragements, your praises, your love. I must finish this picture to-day, a few hours' work will do it. Now, take a cushion and come and sit beside me. (*She does.*) That's it. Closer than that—good. I can work so much better when you are near me.

She. Don't you think that there is a good deal of romance about our lives?

He (*goes on painting*). What do you mean, dear?

She. Oh! I mean—that we are so happy!

He. Yes, but that's hardly what people call romance. A romantic life means an eventful life, and happy people have no events in their lives. I don't believe that the most inventive dramatist could get a one-act play out of our lives. There is no plot to be found in our lives.

She. And we positively decline to plot.

He. Of course we do, darling (*a little preoccupied*), of course we do. (*Stops painting and thinks. She observes it and draws the cushion still closer*).

She. Philip (*he starts*), what are you thinking about?

He. You, dear, always you. (*Resumes painting*).

She. No, you were not thinking about me just now. (*Coaxingly*). You cannot deceive me. (*Pause*). Do you know that of late I have observed a little change in you—oh! just a little change?

He. A change?

She. Yes, you seem absent-minded, anxious, even irritable, and, worse than all that—this morning you had forgotten that it was the anniversary of our wedding—yes, you had.

He. All in your imagination, my dear child.

She. No, it isn't. A woman's intuition is often a safer guide than her eyes.

He. Your intuition, then, for once, is wrong.

She. Tell me, have you any troubles, any little troubles?

He (*a little annoyed*). No, darling, none. Oh! let me work. Don't ask such silly questions.

She. Very well, I won't. (*After a pause, she rises, places her hands on her husband's shoulders and looks into his face*). Philip, what is it?

He. My darling, it's no use trying to work if you—

She. If I—well, it is getting dark, stop. (*He stops*). What is it?

He. Nothing, I tell you. I feel as usual, although—

She. Although? Ah! you see. I was right after all. Well?

He (*kissing his wife tenderly*). Well, sometimes I feel that I should like to do so much more for you than I have been able to.

She. What an idea! I am perfectly happy. There is not a woman in the world with whom I should like to change places. How could you make me happier?

He. What is your definition of happiness?

She. To be loved by a husband of whom you are proud. To be rich enough to afford all the necessary comforts of life; to be poor enough to make pulling together a necessity. And what is yours?

He. Well, I confess that I should like to be a little richer than that.

She. I see. You are beginning to be tired of this quiet life. Ah, take care, dear; noise frightens happiness away. I believe that many old proverbs want re-editing now-a-days. One should be: "When wealth comes in at the door, love and happiness fly out of the window." Take my word for it, too often Plutus leads to Pluto.

He. My dear child, we have to live for the world a little, and—

She. Excuse me if I do not understand you. I am only a woman. I can live for you, and for you alone. I know that love is not sufficient even for the most devoted and affectionate of husbands. A woman can live on love and die of it. That's the difference. Now, what is your definition of happiness?

He. To be blessed with a dear, adorable wife; to have money enough to enable me to surround her with every luxury—and, my dear, we are a long, a very long, way from being rich.

She. Ah, but think what an enviable lot yours is, after all. Yours is the most honorable of callings. You have no poor wretches sweating for you. Your income is the fruit of your personal handiwork. You are your own master. You help make life beautiful. You have a fame increasing every day. You enjoy the respect of everybody, the admiration of the public, the appreciation of the best critics, the company and the friendship of all the brain in London. A King might well envy the life of a great artist!

He. But you, my darling! It is you I am thinking of.

She. I share all your honors.

He. I should like to see you the mistress of such a house as you were brought up in.

She. Good Heavens! It is all I can do to keep this dear little one properly.

He. I should like to see you drive in a handsome carriage of your own.

She (*laughing*). A hansome cab is much more convenient, goes faster and costs less.

He. I should like to see *rivières* of diamonds on your lovely neck, precious stones on your fingers.

She (*Serious—almost sad*). I wish no better collar for my neck than your true, manly arms, my Philip. On my fingers? Do you see this little ring?

He. A five-pound ring!

She. A priceless ring! Do you remember—ah, I do!—how for many weeks you put away ten shillings a week so as to be able to buy it for me on my birthday. A five-pound ring, indeed! (*She kisses the ring passionately*). Not for the Koh-i-noor would I exchange it. To me the real value of a jewel is the love it represents in the giver, and no rich gems could be richer in that sense than this dear little ring. (*He kisses her*). Ah! Philip, the rich don't know the pleasures they miss, the sweetest pleasures of poverty. Their gifts cost them no sacrifice. They don't possess their wealth, it is their wealth that possesses them. They have not the satisfaction of knowing that they are loved for their own sake. I would not give one year of my life for ten years of a millionaire's life. Why, they don't even have the proof that they are honest. They have no temptations. I would shudder at the idea that I might be rich one day.

He. Well, I think I could bear it with fortitude. My darling, the philosophers of all ages have taught that money does not make happiness; but sensible men of all times have come to the conclusion that it considerably helps to make it. I want money for no sordid reason. Money is round, it was meant to roll—and I mean to spend it.

She (*reproachfully and pathetically*). No, dear, money is flat, it was meant to stop and be piled up a little. You have made over a thousand pounds this year, and we have kept very nearly half of it. We are rich, you see, since we don't want all we have.

He. You are a dear, lovely little housewife.

She. Am I? Perhaps you will say a good little *bourgeoise*. Possibly! But I will tell you this: happy as I am now, I am not sure that I was not happier still when we were quite poor, pulling, struggling together, hand in hand. I have never dreaded poverty; on the contrary, I have enjoyed it, loved it by your side. To poverty I owe the happiest days of my life. Do you remember, for instance, how we enjoyed the play when, once a month, obscure, unknown to everybody, we went to the upper circle? Wasn't it lovely? And how we often yawn now, once a week in the stalls!

He. Yes, and how we made the dinner shorter, so as to be able to afford the price of two seats in that upper circle?

She. Right, and that's why we enjoyed the play so much. We were not overfed in those days. You cannot enjoy, even appreciate, anything intellectual after a dinner of six or eight courses; you are only fit for a pantomime or a music hall. And that's why those pathetic forms of entertainment are so successful now. Why, look at the people in the boxes, indifferent, half sulky, lifting their eyebrows and staring their eyes out—like that—awful!

He. Yes, all the response, all the appreciation, all the warmth come from the pit and gallery.

She. And do you also remember when, two years after we were married, our *general* suddenly gave notice, and left us alone to manage housekeeping as best we could? And how I cooked all the meals, and how you never enjoyed them better. Now, say it's true.

He. Perfectly true.

She. And the house was gay, happy, ringing with our laughter all day long; so that, in a month, baby put on six pounds of flesh?

He. And how I cleaned the knives?

She. Which helped your appetite for breakfast.

He. And the boots? Now, I did not like cleaning the boots.

She. Yes, you did, and they never shone so beautifully.

He. Well, I flatter myself I was able to make myself useful.

She. Those were and will always be the dear old days of my life.

He. And how pretty you looked with a white apron on, and your sleeves tucked up, showing your lovely arms?

She. Ah! and how you were once turned out of the kitchen for kissing the cook? You were sorry when I got a new servant.

He. Upon my word, I believe I was.

She. Ah, you will never picnic like that again, you will never have such lovely times. My dear Philip, the very rich people must lead very dull lives. We look for happiness far ahead of us, when often we have it close at hand. The poet is right: Paradise is cheap enough, it's only the hells we make for ourselves that are expensive. We are as rich now as we should ever wish to be. And, let me tell you that, if ever we get really rich (that will be through your fault), I shall find my consolation in the constant recollection of all the pleasures I enjoyed when I was poor—as the ear remains for ever under the charm of some sweet old melody that once struck it. I could go on for ever on this theme. Now, do you know the holiday of my life that I shall never forget?

He. Our trip to Paris with ten pounds in our pockets.

She. That's not fair; you guess too quickly. Well, didn't we do it after all? We saw everything, the museums, the theatres, the gardens; and when we arrived home—

He. We had to borrow one-and-six from the servant to pay the cab fare.

She. Lovely! What fun we had, real, good, wholesome fun! Now, look at our little girl. She will hardly look at the beautiful dolls she has. She always goes back to the old stuffed stocking with a face painted on the ball of cotton that does duty for a head. Now, why? Tell me why she prefers it to all the others.

He. Oh! probably because she can ill-use it to her heart's content.

She. Not a bit of it; because it reminds her of the happiest, the jolliest days of her life. The pleasures of poverty again, my dear Philip, the sweetest, the never-to-be-forgotten ones, alas, never to be enjoyed again, perhaps!

He. I will see that they are not.

She. Oh, Philip, you are teasing me. At any rate, tell me that you are happy now, that the ambition of your life will be your work, your work, not money.

He. Certainly, darling. But let me tell you also, honestly, that the greatest pleasure in connection with my days of poverty—(*pause*).

She. Well?

He. Is that I am poor no longer.

She. You incorrigible cynic!

MAX O'RELL.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXIV.

SEPTEMBER, 1899.

THE AGNOSTIC'S SIDE.*

BY ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

"Doubt is called the beacon of the wise."

MY DEAR MR. FIELD:

I ANSWER your letter because it is manly, candid and generous. It is not often that a minister of the gospel of universal benevolence speaks of an unbeliever except in terms of reproach, contempt and hatred. The meek are often malicious. The statement in your letter, that some of your brethren look upon me as a monster on account of my unbelief, tends to show that those who love God are not always the friends of their fellow men.

Is it not strange that people who admit that they ought to be eternally damned, that they are by nature totally depraved, and that there is no soundness or health in them, can be so arrogantly egotistic as to look upon others as "monsters?" And yet "some of your brethren," who regard unbelievers as infamous, rely for salvation entirely on the goodness of another, and expect to receive as alms an eternity of joy.

*This article was published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW in November, 1887, in reply to an open letter addressed to Colonel Ingersoll by the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Field and published in the REVIEW in August of the same year.—EDITOR N. A. R.

Copyright, 1899, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.
Copyright, 1887, by Allen Thorndike Rice.

The first question that arises between us, is as to the innocence of honest error—as to the right to express an honest thought.

You must know that perfectly honest men differ on many important subjects. Some believe in free trade, others are the advocates of protection. There are honest Democrats and sincere Republicans. How do you account for these differences? Educated men, presidents of colleges, cannot agree upon questions capable of solution—questions that the mind can grasp, concerning which the evidence is open to all and where the facts can be with accuracy ascertained. How do you explain this? If such differences can exist consistently with the good faith of those who differ, can you not conceive of honest people entertaining different views on subjects about which nothing can be positively known?

You do not regard me as a monster. "Some of your brethren" do. How do you account for this difference? Of course, your brethren—their hearts having been softened by the Presbyterian God—are governed by charity and love. They do not regard me as a monster because I have committed an infamous crime, but simply for the reason that I have expressed my honest thoughts.

What should I have done? I have read the Bible with great care, and the conclusion has forced itself upon my mind not only that it is not inspired, but that it is not true. Was it my duty to speak or act contrary to this conclusion? Was it my duty to remain silent? If I had been untrue to myself, if I had joined the majority—if I had declared the book to be the inspired word of God—would your brethren still have regarded me as a monster? Has religion had control of the world so long that an honest man seems monstrous?

According to your creed—according to your Bible—the same Being who made the mind of man, who fashioned every brain, and sowed within those wondrous fields the seeds of every thought and deed, inspired the Bible's every word, and gave it as a guide to all the world. Surely the book should satisfy the brain. And yet, there are millions who do not believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures. Some of the greatest and best have held the claim of inspiration in contempt. No Presbyterian ever stood higher in the realm of thought than Humboldt. He was familiar with

Nature from sands to stars, and gave his thoughts, his discoveries and conclusions, "more precious than the tested gold," to all mankind. Yet he not only rejected the religion of your brethren, but denied the existence of their God. Certainly, Charles Darwin was one of the greatest and purest of men,—as free from prejudice as the mariner's compass,—desiring only to find amid the mists and clouds of ignorance the star of truth. No man ever exerted a greater influence on the intellectual world. His discoveries, carried to their legitimate conclusion, destroy the creeds and sacred scriptures of mankind. In the light of "Natural Selection," "The Survival of the Fittest," and "The Origin of Species," even the Christian religion becomes a gross and cruel superstition. Yet Darwin was an honest, thoughtful, brave and generous man.

Compare, I beg of you, these men, Humboldt and Darwin, with the founders of the Presbyterian Church. Read the life of Spinoza, the loving pantheist, and then that of John Calvin, and tell me, candidly, which, in your opinion, was a "monster." Even your brethren do not claim that men are to be eternally punished for having been mistaken as to the truth of geology, astronomy, or mathematics. A man may deny the rotundity and rotation of the earth, laugh at the attraction of gravitation, scout the nebular hypothesis, and hold the multiplication table in abhorrence, and yet join at last the angelic choir. I insist upon the same freedom of thought in all departments of human knowledge. Reason is the supreme and final test.

If God has made a revelation to man, it must have been addressed to his reason. There is no other faculty that could even decipher the address. I admit that reason is a small and feeble flame, a flickering torch by stumblers carried in the starless night, —blown and flared by passion's storm,—and yet it is the only light. Extinguish that, and nought remains.

You draw a distinction between what you are pleased to call "superstition" and religion. You are shocked at the Hindoo mother when she gives her child to death at the supposed command of her God. What do you think of Abraham, of Jephthah? What is your opinion of Jehovah himself? Is not the sacrifice of a child to a phantom as horrible in Palestine as in India? Why should a God demand a sacrifice from man? Why should the infinite ask anything from the finite? Should the sun beg of the

glow-worm, and should the momentary spark excite the envy of the source of light?

You must remember that the Hindoo mother believes that her child will be forever blest—that it will become the especial care of the God to whom it has been given. This is a sacrifice through a false belief on the part of the mother. She breaks her heart for the love of her babe. But what do you think of the Christian mother who expects to be happy in heaven, with her child a convict in the eternal prison—a prison in which none die, and from which none escape? What do you say of those Christians who believe that they, in heaven, will be so filled with ecstasy that all the loved of earth will be forgotten—that all the sacred relations of life, and all the passions of the heart, will fade and die, so that they will look with stony, unreplying, happy eyes upon the miseries of the lost?

You have laid down a rule by which superstition can be distinguished from religion. It is this: "It makes that a crime which is not a crime, and that a virtue which is not a virtue." Let us test your religion by this rule.

Is it a crime to investigate, to think, to reason, to observe? Is it a crime to be governed by that which to you is evidence, and is it infamous to express your honest thought? There is also another question: Is credulity a virtue? Is the open mouth of ignorant wonder the only entrance to Paradise?

According to your creed, those who believe are to be saved, and those who do not believe are to be eternally lost. When you condemn men to everlasting pain for unbelief, that is to say, for acting in accordance with that which is evidence to them—do you not make that a crime which is not a crime? And when you reward men with an eternity of joy for simply believing that which happens to be in accord with their minds, do you not make that a virtue which is not a virtue? In other words, do you not bring your own religion exactly within your own definition of superstition?

The truth is, that no one can justly be held responsible for his thoughts. The brain thinks without asking our consent. We believe, or we disbelieve, without an effort of the will. Belief is a result. It is the effect of evidence upon the mind. The scales turn in spite of him who watches. There is no opportunity of being honest or dishonest in the formation of an opinion. The

conclusion is entirely independent of desire. We must believe, or we must doubt, in spite of what we wish.

That which must be, has the right to be.

We think in spite of ourselves. The brain thinks as the heart beats, as the eyes see, as the blood pursues its course in the old accustomed ways.

The question then is, not have we the right to think,—that being a necessity,—but have we the right to express our honest thoughts? You certainly have the right to express yours, and you have exercised that right. Some of your brethren, who regard me as a monster, have expressed theirs. The question now is, have I the right to express mine? In other words, have I the right to answer your letter? To make that a crime in me which is a virtue in you, certainly comes within your definition of superstition. To exercise a right yourself which you deny to me is simply the act of a tyrant. Where did you get your right to express your honest thoughts? When, and where, and how did I lose mine?

You would not burn, you would not even imprison me, because I differ with you on a subject about which neither of us knows anything. To you the savagery of the Inquisition is only a proof of the depravity of man. You are far better than your creed. You believe that even the Christian world is outgrowing the frightful feeling that fagot, and dungeon, and thumb-screw are legitimate arguments, calculated to convince those upon whom they are used, that the religion of those who use them was founded by a God of infinite compassion. You will admit that he who now persecutes for opinion's sake is infamous. And yet, the God you worship will, according to your creed, torture through all the endless years the man who entertains an honest doubt. A belief in such a God is the foundation and cause of all religious persecution. You may reply that only the belief in a false God causes believers to be inhuman. But you must admit that the Jews believed in the true God, and you are forced to say that they were so malicious, so cruel, so savage, that they crucified the only Sinless Being who ever lived. This crime was committed, not in spite of their religion, but in accordance with it. They simply obeyed the command of Jehovah. And the followers of this Sinless Being, who, for all these centuries, have denounced the cruelty of the Jews for crucifying a man on account of his opinion,

have destroyed millions and millions of their fellow men for differing with them. And this same Sinless Being threatens to torture in eternal fire countless myriads for the same offence. Beyond this, inconsistency cannot go. At this point absurdity becomes infinite.

Your creed transfers the Inquisition to another world, making it eternal. Your God becomes, or rather is, an infinite Torquemada, who denies to his countless victims even the mercy of death. And this you call "a consolation."

You insist that at the foundation of every religion is the idea of God. According to your creed, all ideas of God, except those entertained by those of your faith, are absolutely false. You are not called upon to defend the Gods of the nations dead, nor the Gods of heretics. It is your business to defend the God of the Bible—the God of the Presbyterian Church. When in the ranks doing battle for your creed, you must wear the uniform of your Church. You dare not say that it is sufficient to insure the salvation of a soul to believe in *a* god, or in *some* god. According to your creed, man must believe in *your* God. All the nations dead believed in Gods, and all the worshippers of Zeus, and Jupiter, and Isis, and Osiris, and Brahma prayed and sacrificed in vain. Their petitions were not answered, and their souls were not saved. Surely you do not claim that it is sufficient to believe in any one of the heathen gods.

What right have you to occupy the position of the deists, and to put forth arguments that even Christians have answered? The deist denounced the God of the Bible because of his cruelty, and at the same time lauded the God of Nature. The Christian replied that the God of Nature was as cruel as the God of the Bible. This answer was complete.

I feel that you are entitled to the admission that none have been, that none are, too ignorant, too degraded, to believe in the supernatural; and I freely give you the advantage of this admission. Only a few—and they among the wisest, noblest, and purest of the human race—have regarded all gods as monstrous myths. Yet a belief in "the true God" does not seem to make men charitable or just. For most people, theism is the easiest solution of the universe. They are satisfied with saying that there must be a Being who created and who governs the world. But the universality of a belief does not tend to establish its truth.

The belief in the existence of a malignant Devil has been as universal as the belief in a beneficent God, yet few intelligent men will say that the universality of this belief in an infinite demon even tends to prove his existence. In the world of thought, majorities count for nothing. Truth has always dwelt with the few.

Man has filled the world with impossible monsters, and he has been the sport and prey of these phantoms born of ignorance and hope and fear. To appease the wrath of these monsters man has sacrificed his fellow man. He has shed the blood of wife and child; he has fasted and prayed; he has suffered beyond the power of language to express, and yet he has received nothing from these gods—they have heard no supplication, they have answered no prayer.

You may reply that your God "sends his rain on the just and on the unjust," and that this fact proves that he is merciful to all alike. I answer, that your God sends his pestilence on the just and on the unjust—that his earthquakes devour and his cyclones rend and wreck the loving and the vicious, the honest and the criminal. Do not these facts prove that your God is cruel to all alike? In other words, do they not demonstrate the absolute impartiality of the divine negligence?

Do you not believe that any honest man of average intelligence, having absolute control of the rain, could do vastly better than is being done? Certainly there would be no droughts or floods; the crops would not be permitted to wither and die, while rain was being wasted in the sea. Is it conceivable that a good man with power to control the winds would not prevent cyclones? Would you not rather trust a wise and honest man with the lightning?

Why should an infinitely wise and powerful God destroy the good and preserve the vile? Why should he treat all alike here, and in another world make an infinite difference? Why should your God allow his worshippers, his adorers, to be destroyed by his enemies? Why should he allow the honest, the loving, the noble, to perish at the stake? Can you answer these questions? Does it not seem to you that your God must have felt a touch of shame when the poor slave mother—one that had been robbed of her babe—knelt and with clasped hands, in a voice broken with sobs, commenced her prayer with the words "Our Father?"

It gave me pleasure to find that, notwithstanding your creed, you are philosophical enough to say that some men are incapacitated, by reason of temperament, for believing in the existence of God. Now, if a belief in God is necessary to the salvation of the soul, why should God create a soul without this capacity? Why should he create souls that he knew would be lost? You seem to think that it is necessary to be poetical, or dreamy, in order to be religious, and by inference, at least, you deny certain qualities to me that you deem necessary. Do you account for the atheism of Shelley by saying that he was not poetic, and do you quote his lines to prove the existence of the very God whose being he so passionately denied? Is it possible that Napoleon—one of the most infamous of men—had a nature so finely strung that he was sensitive to the divine influences? Are you driven to the necessity of proving the existence of one tyrant by the words of another? Personally, I have but little confidence in a religion that satisfied the heart of a man who, to gratify his ambition, filled half the world with widows and orphans. In regard to Agassiz, it is just to say that he furnished a vast amount of testimony in favor of the truth of the theories of Charles Darwin, and then denied the correctness of these theories—preferring the good opinion of Harvard for a few days to the lasting applause of the intellectual world.

I agree with you that the world is a mystery, not only, but that everything in Nature is equally mysterious, and that there is no way of escape from the mystery of life and death. To me, the crystallization of the snow is as mysterious as the constellations. But when you endeavor to explain the mystery of the universe by the mystery of God, you do not even exchange mysteries—you simply make one more.

Nothing can be mysterious enough to become an explanation.

The mystery of man cannot be explained by the mystery of God. That mystery still asks for explanation. The mind is so that it cannot grasp the idea of an infinite personality. That is beyond the circumference. This being so, it is impossible that man can be convinced by any evidence of the existence of that which he cannot in any measure comprehend. Such evidence would be equally incomprehensible with the incomprehensible fact sought to be established by it, and the intellect of man can grasp neither the one nor the other.

You admit that the God of Nature—that is to say, your God—is as inflexible as Nature itself. Why should man worship the inflexible? Why should he kneel to the unchangeable? You say that your God "does not bend to human thought any more than to human will," and that "the more we study him, the more we find that he is not what we imagined him to be." So that, after all, the only thing you are really certain of in relation to your God is, that he is not what you think he is. Is it not almost absurd to insist that such a state of mind is necessary to salvation, or that it is a moral restraint, or that it is the foundation of social order?

The most religious nations have been the most immoral, the cruelest and the most unjust. Italy was far worse under the Popes than under the Cæsars. Was there ever a barbarian nation more savage than the Spain of the sixteenth century? Certainly you must know that what you call religion has produced a thousand civil wars, and has severed with the sword all the natural ties that produce "the unity and married calm of States." Theology is the fruitful mother of discord; order is the child of reason. If you will candidly consider this question—if you will for a few moments forget your preconceived opinions—you will instantly see that the instinct of self-preservation holds society together. Religion itself was born of this instinct. People, being ignorant, believed that the Gods were jealous and revengeful. They peopled space with phantoms that demanded worship and delighted in sacrifice and ceremony, phantoms that could be flattered by praise and changed by prayer. These ignorant people wished to preserve themselves. They supposed that they could in this way avoid pestilence and famine, and postpone perhaps the day of death. Do you not see that self-preservation lies at the foundation of worship? Nations, like individuals, defend and protect themselves. Nations, like individuals, have fears, have ideals, and live for the accomplishment of certain ends. Men defend their property because it is of value. Industry is the enemy of theft. Men, as a rule desire to live, and for that reason murder is a crime. Fraud is hateful to the victim. The majority of mankind work and produce the necessities, the comforts, and the luxuries of life. They wish to retain the fruits of their labor. Government is one of the instrumentalities for the preservation of what man deems of value.

This is the foundation of social order, and this holds society together.

Religion has been the enemy of social order, because it directs the attention of man to another world. Religion teaches its votaries to sacrifice this world for the sake of that other. The effect is to weaken the ties that hold families and States together. Of what consequence is anything in this world compared with eternal joy?

You insist that man is not capable of self government, and that God made the mistake of filling a world with failures—in other words, that man must be governed not by himself, but by your God, and that your God produces order, and establishes and preserves all the nations of the earth. This being so, your God is responsible for the government of this world. Does he preserve order in Russia? Is he accountable for Siberia? Did he establish the institution of slavery? Was he the founder of the Inquisition?

You answer all these questions by calling my attention to "the retributions of history." What are the retributions of history? The honest were burned at the stake; the patriotic, the generous, and the noble were allowed to die in dungeons; whole races were enslaved; millions of mothers were robbed of their babes. What were the retributions of history? They who committed these crimes wore crowns, and they who justified these infamies were adorned with the tiara.

You are mistaken when you say that Lincoln at Gettysburg said: "Just and true are thy judgments, Lord God Almighty." Something like this occurs in his last inaugural, in which he says, —speaking of his hope that the war might soon be ended,—"If it shall continue until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'" But admitting that you are correct in the assertion, let me ask you one question: Could one standing over the body of Lincoln, the blood slowly oozing from the madman's wound, have truthfully said: "Just and true are thy judgments, Lord God Almighty?"

Do you really believe that this world is governed by an infinitely wise and good God? Have you convinced even yourself of this? Why should God permit the triumph of injustice? Why

should the loving be tortured? Why should the noblest be destroyed? Why should the world be filled with misery, with ignorance, and with want? What reason have you for believing that your God will do better in another world than he has done and is doing in this? Will he be wiser? Will he have more power? Will he be more merciful?

When I say "your God," of course I mean the God described in the Bible and the Presbyterian Confession of Faith. But again I say, that in the nature of things, there can be no evidence of the existence of an infinite being.

An infinite being must be conditionless, and for that reason there is nothing that a finite being can do that can by any possibility affect the well-being of the conditionless. This being so, men can neither owe nor discharge any debt or duty to an infinite being. The infinite cannot want, and man can do nothing for a being who wants nothing. A conditioned being can be made happy, or miserable, by changing conditions, but the conditionless is absolutely independent of cause and effect.

I do not say that a God does not exist, neither do I say that a God does exist; but I say that I do not know—that there can be no evidence to my mind of the existence of such a being, and that my mind is so that it is incapable of even thinking of an infinite personality. I know that in your creed you describe God as "without body, parts, or passions." This, to my mind, is simply a description of an infinite vacuum. I have had no experience with gods. This world is the only one with which I am acquainted, and I was surprised to find in your letter the expression that "perhaps others are better acquainted with that of which I am so ignorant." Did you, by this, intend to say that you know anything of any other state of existence—that you have inhabited some other planet—that you lived before you were born, and that you recollect something of that other world, or of that other state?

Upon the question of immortality you have done me, unintentionally, a great injustice. With regard to that hope, I have never uttered "a flippant or a trivial" word. I have said a thousand times, and I say again, that the idea of immortality, that, like a sea, has ebbed and flowed in the human heart, with its countless waves of hope and fear beating against the shores and rocks of time and fate, was not born of any book, nor of any creed, nor of any religion. It was born of human affection, and it will

continue to ebb and flow beneath the mists and clouds of doubt and darkness as long as love kisses the lips of death.

I have said a thousand times, and I say again, that we do not know, we cannot say, whether death is a wall or a door—the beginning, or end, of a day—the spreading of pinions to soar, or the folding forever of wings—the rise or the set of a sun, or an endless life, that brings rapture and love to every one.

The belief in immortality is far older than Christianity. Thousands of years before Christ was born billions of people had lived and died in that hope. Upon countless graves had been laid in love and tears the emblems of another life. The heaven of the New Testament was to be in this world. The dead, after they were raised, were to live here. Not one satisfactory word was said to have been uttered by Christ—nothing philosophic, nothing clear, nothing that adorns, like a bow of promise, the cloud of doubt.

According to the account in the New Testament, Christ was dead for a period of nearly three days. After his resurrection, why did not some one of his disciples ask him where he had been? Why did he not tell them what world he had visited? There was the opportunity to "bring life and immortality to light." And yet he was silent as the grave that he had left—speechless as the stone that angels had rolled away.

How do you acccount for this? Was it not infinitely cruel to leave the world in darkness and in doubt, when one word could have filled all time with hope and light?

The hope of immortality is the great oak round which have climbed the poisonous vines of superstition. The vines have not supported the oak—the oak has supported the vines. As long as men live and love and die, this hope will blossom in the human heart.

All I have said upon this subject has been to express my hope and confess my lack of knowledge. Neither by word nor look have I expressed any other feeling than sympathy with those who hope to live again—for those who bend above their dead and dream of life to come. But I have denounced the selfishness and heartlessness of those who expect for themselves an eternity of joy, and for the rest of mankind predict, without a tear, a world of endless pain. Nothing can be more contemptible than such a hope—a hope that can give satisfaction only to the hyenas of the human race.

When I say that I do not know—when I deny the existence of perdition, you reply that "there is something very cruel in this treatment of the belief of my fellow creatures."

You have had the goodness to invite me to a grave over which a mother bends and weeps for her only son. I accept your invitation. We will go together. Do not, I pray you, deal in splendid generalities. Be explicit. Remember that the son for whom the loving mother weeps was not a Christian, not a believer in the inspiration of the Bible nor in the divinity of Jesus Christ. The mother turns to you for consolation, for some star of hope in the midnight of her grief. What must you say? Do not desert the Presbyterian creed. Do not forget the threatenings of Jesus Christ. What must you say? Will you read a portion of the Presbyterian Confession of Faith? Will you read this?

"Although the light of Nature, and the works of creation and Providence, do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God as to leave man inexcusable, yet they are not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his will which is necessary to salvation."

Or, will you read this?

"By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestined unto everlasting life and others foreordained to everlasting death. These angels and men, thus predestined and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished."

Suppose the mother, lifting her tear-stained face, should say: "My son was good, generous, loving, and kind. He gave his life for me. Is there no hope for him?" Would you then put this serpent in her breast?

"Men not professing the Christian religion cannot be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to conform their lives according to the light of Nature. We cannot by our best works merit pardon of sin. There is no sin so small but that it deserves damnation. Works done by unregenerate men, although, for the matter of that, they may be things which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and others, are sinful and cannot please God or make a man meet to receive Christ or God."

And suppose the mother should then sobbingly ask: "What has become of my son? Where is he now? Would you still read from your Confession of Faith, or from your Catechism—this?

"The souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torment and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. At the last day the righteous shall come into everlasting life, but the wicked shall be cast into eternal torment and punished with everlast-

ing destruction. The wicked shall be cast into hell, to be punished with unspeakable torment, both of body and soul, with the devil and his angels, forever."

If the poor mother still wept, still refused to be comforted, would you thrust this dagger in her heart?

"At the Day of Judgment you, being caught up to Christ in the clouds, shall be seated at his right hand there openly acknowledged and acquitted, and you shall join with him in the damnation of your son."

If this failed to still the beatings of her aching heart, would you repeat these words which you say came from the loving soul of Christ?

"They who believe and are baptized shall be saved, and they who believe not shall be damned; and these shall go away into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels."

Would you not be compelled, according to your belief, to tell this mother that "there is but one name given under heaven and among men whereby" the souls of men can enter the gates of Paradise? Would you not be compelled to say: "Your son lived in a Christian land. The means of grace were within his reach. He died not having experienced a change of heart, and your son is forever lost. You can meet your son again only by dying in your sins; but if you will give your heart to God you can never clasp him to your breast again."

What could I say? Let me tell you.

"My dear madam, this reverend gentleman knows nothing of another world. He cannot see beyond the tomb. He has simply stated to you the superstitions of ignorance, of cruelty and fear. If there be in this universe a God, he certainly is as good as you are. Why should he have loved your son in life—loved him, according to this reverend gentleman, to that degree that he gave his life for him; and why should that love be changed to hatred the moment your son was dead?

"My dear woman, there are no punishments, there are no rewards—there are consequences; and of one thing you may rest assured, and that is, that every soul, no matter what sphere it may inhabit, will have the everlasting opportunity of doing right.

"If death ends all, and if this handful of dust over which you weep is all there is, you have this consolation: Your son is not within the power of this reverend gentleman's God—that is something. Your son does not suffer. Next to a life of joy is the dreamless sleep of death."

Does it not seem to you infinitely absurd to call orthodox Christianity "a consolation?" Here in this world, where every human being is enshrouded in cloud and mist,—where all lives are filled with mistakes,—where no one claims to be perfect, is it "a consolation" to say that "the smallest sin deserves eternal pain?" Is it possible for the ingenuity of man to extract from the doctrine of hell one drop, one ray, of "consolation?" If that doctrine be true, is not your God an infinite criminal? Why should he have created uncounted billions destined to suffer forever? Why did he not leave them unconscious dust? Compared with this crime, any crime that man can by any possibility commit is a virtue.

Think for a moment of your God,—the keeper of an infinite penitentiary filled with immortal convicts,—your God an eternal turnkey, without the pardoning power. In the presence of this infinite horror, you complacently speak of the atonement,—a scheme that has not yet gathered within its horizon a billionth part of the human race,—an atonement with one-half the world remaining undiscovered for fifteen hundred years after it was made.

If there could be no suffering, there could be no sin. To unjustly cause suffering is the only possible crime. How can a God accept the suffering of the innocent in lieu of the punishment of the guilty?

According to your theory, this infinite being, by his mere will, makes right and wrong. This I do not admit. Right and wrong exist in the nature of things—in the relation they bear to man, and to sentient beings. You have already admitted that "Nature is inflexible, and that a violated law calls for its consequences." I insist that no God can step between an act and its natural effects. If God exists, he has nothing to do with punishment, nothing to do with reward. From certain acts flow certain consequences; these consequences increase or decrease the happiness of man; and the consequences must be borne.

A man who has forfeited his life to the commonwealth may be pardoned, but a man who has violated a condition of his own well-being cannot be pardoned—there is no pardoning power. The laws of the State are made, and, being made, can be changed; but the facts of the universe cannot be changed. The relation of act to consequence cannot be altered. This is above all power, and, consequently, there is no analogy between the laws of the State and the facts in Nature. An infinite God could

not change the relation between the diameter and circumference of the circle.

A man having committed a crime may be pardoned, but I deny the right of the State to punish an innocent man in the place of the pardoned—no matter how willing the innocent man may be to suffer the punishment. There is no law in Nature, no fact in Nature, by which the innocent can be justly punished to the end that the guilty may go free. Let it be understood once for all: Nature cannot pardon.

You have recognized this truth. You have asked me what is to become of one who seduces and betrays, of the criminal with the blood of his victim upon his hands. Without the slightest hesitation I answer, whoever commits a crime against another must, to the utmost of his power in this world and in another, if there be one, make full and ample restitution, and in addition must bear the natural consequences of his offence. No man can be perfectly happy, either in this world or in any other, who has by his perfidy broken a loving and a confiding heart. No power can step between acts and consequences—no forgiveness, no atonement.

But, my dear friend, you have taught for many years, if you are a Presbyterian, or an evangelical Christian, that a man may seduce and betray, and that the poor victim, driven to insanity, leaping from some wharf at night where ships strain at their anchors in storm and darkness—you have taught that this poor girl may be tormented forever by a God of infinite compassion. This is not all that you have taught. You have said to the seducer, to the betrayer, to the one who would not listen to her wailing cry,—who would not even stretch forth his hand to catch her fluttering garments,—you have said to him: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and you shall be happy forever; you shall live in the realm of infinite delight, from which you can, without a shadow falling upon your face, observe the poor girl, your victim, writhing in the agonies of hell. You have taught this. For my part, I do not see how an angel in heaven meeting another angel whom he had robbed on the earth, could feel entirely blissful. I go further. Any decent angel, no matter if sitting at the right hand of God, should he see in hell one of his victims, would leave heaven itself for the purpose of wiping one tear from the cheek of the damned.

You seem to have forgotten your statement in the commencement of your letter, that your God is as inflexible as Nature—that he bends not to human thought nor to human will. You seem to have forgotten the line which you emphasized with italics: *"The effect of everything which is of the nature of a cause, is eternal."* In the light of this sentence, where do you find a place for forgiveness—for your atonement? Where is a way to escape from the effect of a cause that is eternal? Do you not see that this sentence is a cord with which I easily tie your hands? The scientific part of your letter destroys the theological. You have put "new wine into old bottles," and the predicted result has followed. Will the angels in heaven, the redeemed of earth, lose their memory? Will not all the redeemed rascals remember their rascality? Will not all the redeemed assassins remember the faces of the dead? Will not all the seducers and betrayers remember her sighs, her tears, and the tones of her voice, and will not the conscience of the redeemed be as inexorable as the conscience of the damned?

If memory is to be forever "the warder of the brain," and if the redeemed can never forget the sins they committed, the pain and anguish they caused, then they can never be perfectly happy; and if the lost can never forget the good they did, the kind actions, the loving words, the heroic deeds, and if the memory of good deeds gives the slightest pleasure, then the lost can never be perfectly miserable. Ought not the memory of a good action to live as long as the memory of a bad one? So that the undying memory of the good, in heaven, brings undying pain, and the undying memory of those in hell brings undying pleasure. Do you not see that if men have done good and bad, the future can have neither a perfect heaven nor a perfect hell?

I believe in the manly doctrine that every human being must bear the consequences of his acts, and that no man can be justly saved or damned on account of the goodness or the wickedness of another.

If by atonement you mean the natural effect of self-sacrifice, the effects following a noble and disinterested action; if you mean that the life and death of Christ are worth their effect upon the human race,—which your letter seems to show,—then there is no question between us. If you have thrown away the old and barbarous idea that a law had been broken, that God demanded a

sacrifice, and that Christ, the innocent, was offered up for us, and that he bore the wrath of God and suffered in our place, then I congratulate you with all my heart.

It seems to me impossible that life should be exceedingly joyous to any one who is acquainted with its miseries, its burdens, and its tears. I know that as darkness follows light around the globe, so misery and misfortune follow the sons of men. According to your creed, the future state will be worse than this. Here, the vicious may reform; here, the wicked may repent; here, a few gleams of sunshine may fall upon the darkest life. But in your future state, for countless billions of the human race, there will be no reform, no opportunity of doing right, and no possible gleam of sunshine can ever touch their souls. Do you not see that your future state is infinitely worse than this? You seem to mistake the glare of hell for the light of morning.

Let us throw away the dogma of eternal retribution. Let us "cling to all that can bring a ray of hope into the darkness of this life."

You have been kind enough to say that I find a subject for caricature in the doctrine of regeneration. If, by regeneration, you mean reformation,—if you mean that there comes a time in the life of a young man when he feels the touch of responsibility, and that he leaves his foolish or vicious ways, and concludes to act like an honest man,—if this is what you mean by regeneration, I am a believer. But that is not the definition of regeneration in your creed—that is not Christian regeneration. There is some mysterious, miraculous, supernatural, invisible agency, called, I believe, the Holy Ghost, that enters and changes the heart of man, and this mysterious agency is like the wind, under the control, apparently, of no one, coming and going when and whither it listeth. It is this illogical and absurd view of regeneration that I have attacked.

You ask me how it came to pass that a Hebrew peasant born among the hills of Galilee, had a wisdom above that of Socrates or Plato, of Confucius or Buddha, and you conclude by saying, "This is the greatest of miracles—that such a being should live and die on the earth."

I can hardly admit your conclusion, because I remember that Christ said nothing in favor of the family relation. As a matter of fact, his life tended to cast discredit upon marriage. He said

nothing against the institution of slavery; nothing against the tyranny of government; nothing of our treatment of animals; nothing about education, about intellectual progress; nothing of art, declared no scientific truth, and said nothing as to the rights and duties of nations.

You may reply that all this is included in "Do unto others as you would be done by;" and "Resist not evil." More than this is necessary to educate the human race. It is not enough to say to your child or to your pupil, "Do right." The great question still remains: What is right? Neither is there any wisdom in the idea of non-resistance. Force without mercy is tyranny. Mercy without force is but a waste of tears. Take from virtue the right of self-defence, and vice becomes the master of the world.

Let me ask you how it came to pass that an ignorant driver of camels, a man without family, without wealth, became master of hundreds of millions of human beings? How is it that he conquered and overran more than half of the Christian world? How is it that on a thousand fields the banner of the cross went down in blood, while that of the crescent floated in triumph? How do you account for the fact that the flag of this imposter floats to-day above the sepulchre of Christ? Was this a miracle? Was Mohammed inspired? How do you account for Confucius, whose name is known wherever the sky bends? Was he inspired—this man who for many centuries has stood first, and who has been acknowledged the superior of all men by hundreds and thousands of millions of his fellow men? How do you account for Buddha, —in many respects the greatest religious teacher this world has ever known,—the broadest, the most intellectual of them all; he who was great enough, hundreds of years before Christ was born, to declare the universal brotherhood of man, great enough to say that intelligence is the only lever capable of raising mankind? How do you account for him, who has had more followers than any other? Are you willing to say that all success is divine? How do you account for Shakespeare, born of parents who could neither read nor write, held in the lap of ignorance and love, nursed at the breast of poverty—how do you account for him, by far the greatest of the human race, the wings of whose imagination still fill the horizon of human thought; Shakespeare, who was perfectly acquainted with the human heart, knew all depths

of sorrow, all heights of joy, and in whose mind were the fruit of all thought, of all experience, and a prophecy of all to be; Shakespeare, the wisdom and beauty and depth of whose words increase with the intelligence and civilization of mankind? How do you account for this miracle? Do you believe that any founder of any religion could have written "Lear" or "Hamlet?" Did Greece produce a man who could by any possibility have been the author of "Troilus and Cressida?" Was there among all the countless millions of almighty Rome an intellect that could have written the tragedy of "Julius Cæsar?" Is not the play of "Antony and Cleopatra" as Egyptian as the Nile? How do you account for this man, within whose veins there seemed to be the blood of every race, and in whose brain there were the poetry and philosophy of a world?

You ask me to tell my opinion of Christ. Let me say here, once for all, that for the man Christ—for the man who, in the darkness, cried out, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"—for that man I have the greatest possible respect. And let me say, once for all, that the place where man has died for man is holy ground. To that great and serene peasant of Palestine I gladly pay the tribute of my admiration and my tears. He was a reformer in his day—an infidel in his time. Back of the theological mask, and in spite of the interpolations of the New Testament, I see a great and genuine man.

It is hard to see how you can consistently defend the course pursued by Christ himself. He attacked with great bitterness "the religion of others." It did not occur to him that "there was something very cruel in this treatment of the belief of his fellow creatures." He denounced the chosen people of God as a "generation of vipers." He compared them to "whited sepulchres." How can you sustain the conduct of missionaries? They go to other lands and attack the sacred beliefs of others. They tell the people of India and of all heathen lands, not only that their religion is a lie, not only that their gods are myths, but that the ancestors of these people—their fathers and mothers who never heard of God, of the Bible, or of Christ—are all in perdition. Is not this a cruel treatment of the belief of a fellow creature?

A religion that is not manly and robust enough to bear attack with smiling fortitude is unworthy of a place in the heart or brain. A religion that takes refuge in sentimentality, that

cries out: "Do not, I pray you, tell me any truth calculated to hurt my feelings," is fit only for asylums.

You believe that Christ was God, that he was infinite in power. While in Jerusalem he cured the sick, raised a few from the dead, and opened the eyes of the blind. Did he do these things because he loved mankind, or did he do these miracles simply to establish the fact that he was the very Christ? If he was actuated by love, is he not as powerful now as he was then? Why does he not open the eyes of the blind now? Why does he not with a touch make the leper clean? If you had the power to give sight to the blind, to cleanse the leper, and would not exercise it, what would be thought of you? What is the difference between one who can and will not cure, and one who causes disease?

Only the other day I saw a beautiful girl—a paralytic, and yet her brave and cheerful spirit shone over the wreck and ruin of her body like morning on the desert. What would I think of myself had I the power by a word to send the blood through all her withered limbs freighted again with life, should I refuse?

Most theologians seem to imagine that the virtues have been produced by and are really the children of religion.

Religion has to do with the supernatural. It defines our duties and obligations to God. It prescribes a certain course of conduct by means of which happiness can be attained in another world. The result here is only an incident. The virtues are secular. They have nothing whatever to do with the supernatural, and are of no kindred to any religion. A man may be honest, courageous, charitable, industrious, hospitable, loving, and pure without being religious—that is to say, without any belief in the supernatural; and a man may be the exact opposite and at the same time a sincere believer in the creed of any church—that is to say, in the existence of a personal God, the inspiration of the Scriptures and in the divinity of Jesus Christ. A man who believes in the Bible may or may not be kind to his family, and a man who is kind and loving in his family may or may not believe in the Bible.

In order that you may see the effect of belief in the formation of character, it is only necessary to call your attention to the fact that your Bible shows that the devil himself is a believer in the existence of your God, in the inspiration of the Scriptures, and

in the divinity of Jesus Christ. He not only believes these things, but he knows them, and yet, in spite of all, he remains a devil still.

Few religions have been bad enough to destroy all the natural goodness in the human heart. In the deepest midnight of superstition some natural virtues, like stars, have been visible in the heavens. Man has committed every crime in the name of Christianity—or at least crimes that involved the commission of all others. Those who paid for labor with the lash, and who made blows a legal tender, were Christians. Those who engaged in the slave trade were believers in a personal God. One slave ship was called "The Jehovah." Those who pursued with hounds the fugitive led by the Northern star prayed fervently to Christ to crown their efforts with success, and the stealers of babes, just before falling asleep, commended their souls to the keeping of the Most High.

As you have mentioned the apostles, let me call your attention to an incident.

You remember the story of Ananias and Sapphira. The apostles, having nothing themselves, conceived the idea of having all things in common. Their followers who had something were to sell what little they had, and turn the proceeds over to these theological financiers. It seems that Ananias and Sapphira had a piece of land. They sold it, and after talking the matter over, not being entirely satisfied with the collaterals, concluded to keep a little—just enough to keep them from starvation if the good and pious bankers should abscond.

When Ananias brought the money, he was asked whether he had kept back a part of the price. He said that he had not. Whereupon God, the compassionate, struck him dead. As soon as the corpse was removed, the apostles sent for his wife. They did not tell her that her husband had been killed. They deliberately set a trap for her life. Not one of them was good enough or noble enough to put her on her guard; they allowed her to believe that her husband had told his story, and that she was free to corroborate what he had said. She probably felt that they were giving more than they could afford, and, with the instinct of woman, wanted to keep a little. She denied that any part of the price had been kept back. That moment the arrow of divine vengeance entered her heart.

Will you be kind enough to tell me your opinion of the apostles in the light of this story? Certainly murder is a greater crime than mendacity.

You have been good enough, in a kind, fatherly way, to give me some advice. You say that I ought to soften my colors, and that my words would be more weighty if not so strong. Do you really desire that I should add weight to my words? Do you really wish me to succeed? If the commander of one army should send word to the general of the other that his men were firing too high, do you think the general would be misled? Can you conceive of his changing his orders by reason of the message?

I deny that "the Pilgrims crossed the sea to find freedom to worship God in the forests of the new world." They came not in the interest of freedom. It never entered their minds that other men had the same right to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences that the Pilgrims themselves had. The moment they had power they were ready to whip and brand, to imprison and burn. They did not believe in religious freedom. They had no more idea of liberty of conscience than Jehovah.

I do not say that there is no place in the world for heroes and martyrs. On the contrary, I declare that the liberty we now have was won for us by heroes and by martyrs, and millions of these martyrs were burned, or flayed alive, or torn in pieces, or assassinated by the Church of God. The heroism was shown in fighting the hordes of religious superstition.

Giordano Bruno was a martyr. He was a hero. He believed in no God, in no heaven, and in no hell, yet he perished by fire. He was offered liberty on condition that he would recant. There was no God to please, no heaven to expect, no hell to fear, and yet he died by fire, simply to preserve the unstained whiteness of his soul.

For hundreds of years every man who attacked the Church was a hero. The sword of Christianity has been wet for many centuries with the blood of the noblest. Christianity has been ready with whip and chain and fire to banish freedom from the earth.

Neither is it true that "family life withers under the cold sneer—half pity and half scorn—with which I look down on household worship."

Those who believe in the existence of God, and believe that they are indebted to this divine being for the few gleams of sunshine in this life, and who thank God for the little they have enjoyed, have my entire respect. Never have I said one word against the spirit of thankfulness. I understand the feeling of the man who gathers his family about him after the storm, or after the scourge, or after long sickness, and pours out his heart in thankfulness to the supposed God who has protected his fireside. I understand the spirit of the savage who thanks his idol of stone, or his fetich of wood. It is not the wisdom of the one or of the other that I respect, it is the goodness and thankfulness that prompt the prayer.

I believe in the family. I believe in family life; and one of my objections to Christianity is that it divides the family. Upon this subject I have said hundreds of times, and I say again, that the roof-tree is sacred, from the smallest fibre that feels the soft, cool clasp of earth, to the topmost flower that spreads its bosom to the sun, and like a spendthrift gives its perfume to the air. The home where virtue dwells with love is like a lily with a heart of fire, the fairest flower in all this world.

What did Christianity in the early centuries do for the home? What have nunneries and monasteries, and what has the glorification of celibacy done for the family? Do you not know that Christ himself offered rewards in this world and eternal happiness in another to those who would desert their wives and children and follow him? What effect has that promise had upon family life?

As a matter of fact, the family is regarded as nothing. Christianity teaches that there is but one family, the family of Christ, and that all other relations are as nothing compared with that. Christianity teaches the husband to desert the wife, the wife to desert the husband, the children to desert their parents for the miserable and selfish purpose of saving their own little, shrivelled souls.

It is far better for a man to love his fellow men than to love God. It is better to love wife and children than to love Christ. It is better to serve your neighbor than to serve your God—even if God exists. The reason is palpable. You can do nothing for God. You can do something for wife and children. You can add to the sunshine of a life. You can plant flowers in the pathway of another.

It is true that I am an enemy of the orthodox Sabbath. It is true that I do not believe in giving one-seventh of our time to the service of superstition. The whole scheme of your religion can be understood by any intelligent man in one day. Why should he waste a seventh of his whole life in hearing the same thoughts repeated again and again?

Nothing is more gloomy than an orthodox Sabbath. The mechanic who has worked during the week in heat and dust, the laboring man who has barely succeeded in keeping his soul in his body, the poor woman who has been sewing for the rich, may go to the village church which you have described. They answer the chimes of the bell, and what do they hear in this village church? Is it that God is the Father of the human race; is that all? If that were all, you never would have heard an objection from my lips. That is not all. If all ministers said: Bear the evils of this life; your Father in heaven counts your tears; the time will come when "pain" and "death" and "grief" will be forgotten words, I should have listened with the rest. What else does the minister say to the poor people who have answered the chimes of your bell? He says: "The smallest sin deserves eternal pain." "A vast majority of men are doomed to suffer the wrath of God forever." He fills the present with fear and the future with fire. He has heaven for the few, hell for the many. He describes a little grass-grown path that leads to heaven, where travellers are "few and far between," and a great highway worn with countless feet that leads to everlasting death.

Such Sabbaths are immoral. Such ministers are the real savages. Gladly would I abolish such a Sabbath. Gladly would I turn it into a holiday, a day of rest and peace, a day to get acquainted with your wife and children, a day to exchange civilities with your neighbors; and gladly would I see the church in which such sermons are preached changed to a place of entertainment. Gladly would I have the echoes of orthodox sermons—the owls and bats among the rafters, the snakes in crevices and corners—driven out by the glorious music of Wagner and Beethoven. Gladly would I see the Sunday-school, where the doctrine of eternal fire is taught, changed to a happy dance upon the village green.

Music refines. The doctrine of eternal punishment degrades. Science civilizes. Superstition looks longingly back to savagery.

You do not believe that general morality can be upheld without the sanctions of religion.

Christianity has sold, and continues to sell, crime on a credit. It has taught, and it still teaches, that there is forgiveness for all. Of course it teaches morality. It says: "Do not steal, do not murder;" but it adds: "but if you do both, there is a way of escape: believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." I insist that such a religion is no restraint It is far better to teach that there is no forgiveness, and that every human being must bear the consequences of his acts.

The first great step toward national reformation is the universal acceptance of the idea that there is no escape from the consequences of our acts. The young men who come from their country homes into a city filled with temptations, may be restrained by the thought of father and mother. This is a natural restraint. They may be restrained by their knowledge of the fact that a thing is evil on account of its consequences, and that to do wrong is always a mistake. I cannot conceive of such a man being more liable to temptation because he has heard one of my lectures in which I have told him that the only good is happiness—that the only way to attain that good is by doing what he believes to be right. I cannot imagine that his moral character will be weakened by the statement that there is no escape from the consequences of his acts. You seem to think that he will be instantly led astray—that he will go off under the flaring lamps to the riot of passion. Do you think the Bible calculated to restrain him? To prevent this, would you recommend him to read the lives of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and the other holy polygamists of the Old Testament? Should he read the life of David, and of Solomon? Do you think this would enable him to withstand temptation? Would it not be far better to fill the young man's mind with facts so that he may know exactly the physical consequences of such acts? Do you regard ignorance as the foundation of virtue? Is fear the arch that supports the moral nature of man?

You seem to think that there is danger in knowledge, and that the best chemists are the most likely to poison themselves.

You say that to sneer at religion is only a step from sneering at morality, and then only another step to that which is vicious and profligate.

The Jews entertained the same opinion of the teachings of

Christ. He sneered at their religion. The Christians have entertained the same opinion of every philosopher. Let me say to you again—and let me say it once for all—that morality has nothing to do with religion. Morality does not depend upon the supernatural. Morality does not walk with the crutches of miracles. Morality appeals to the experience of mankind. It cares nothing about faith, nothing about sacred books. Morality depends upon facts, something that can be seen, something known, the product of which can be estimated. It needs no priest, no ceremony, no mummery. It believes in the freedom of the human mind. It asks for investigation. It is founded upon truth. It is the enemy of all religion, because it has to do with this world, and with this world alone.

My object is to drive fear out of the world. Fear is the jailer of the mind. Christianity, superstition—that is to say, the supernatural—makes every brain a prison and every soul a convict. Under the government of a personal deity, consequences partake of the nature of punishments and rewards. Under the government of Nature, what you call punishments and rewards are simply consequences. Nature does not punish. Nature does not reward. Nature has no purpose. When the storm comes, I do not think: "This is being done by a tyrant." When the sun shines, I do not say: "This is being done by a friend." Liberty means freedom from personal dictation. It does not mean escape from the relations we sustain to other facts in Nature. I believe in the restraining influences of liberty. Temperance walks hand in hand with freedom. To remove a chain from the body puts an additional responsibility upon the soul. Liberty says to the man: You injure or benefit yourself; you increase or decrease your own well-being. It is a question of intelligence. You need not bow to a supposed tyrant, or to infinite goodness. You are responsible to yourself and to those you injure, and to none other.

I rid myself of fear, believing as I do that there is no power above which can help me in any extremity, and believing as I do that there is no power above or below that can injure me in any extremity. I do not believe that I am the sport of accident, or that I may be dashed to pieces by the blind agency of Nature. There is no accident, and there is no agency. That which happens must happen. The present is the child of all the past, the mother of all the future.

Does it relieve mankind from fear to believe that there is some God who will help them in extremity? What evidence have they on which to found this belief? When has any God listened to the prayer of any man? The water drowns, the cold freezes, the flood destroys, the fire burns, the bolt of heaven falls —when and where has the prayer of man been answered?

Is the religious world to-day willing to test the efficacy of prayer? Only a few years ago it was tested in the United States. The Christians of Christendom, with one accord, fell upon their knees and asked God to spare the life of one man. You know the result. You know just as well as I that the forces of Nature produce the good and bad alike. You know that the forces of Nature destroy the good and bad alike. You know that the lightning feels the same keen delight in striking to death the honest man that it does or would in striking the assassin with his knife lifted above the bosom of innocence.

Did God hear the prayers of the slaves? Did he hear the prayers of imprisoned philosophers and patriots? Did he hear the prayers of martyrs, or did he allow fiends, calling themselves his followers, to pile the faggots round the forms of glorious men? Did he allow the flames to devour the flesh of those whose hearts were his? Why should any man depend on the goodness of a God who created countless millions, knowing that they would suffer eternal grief?

The faith that you call sacred—"sacred as the most delicate manly or womanly sentiment of love and honor"—is the faith that nearly all of your fellow men are to be lost. Ought an honest man to be restrained from denouncing that faith because those who entertain it say that their feelings are hurt? You say to me: "There is a hell. A man advocating the opinions you advocate will go there when he dies." I answer: "There is no hell. The Bible that teaches it is not true." And you say: "How can you hurt my feelings?"

You seem to think that one who attacks the religion of his parents is wanting in respect to his father and his mother.

Were the early Christians lacking in respect for their fathers and mothers? Were the Pagans who embraced Christianity heartless sons and daughters? What have you to say of the apostles? Did they not heap contempt upon the religion of their fathers and mothers? Did they not join with him who denounced

their people as a "generation of vipers?" Did they not follow one who offered a reward to those who would desert fathers and mothers? Of course you have only to go back a few generations in your family to find a Field who was not a Presbyterian. After that you find a Presbyterian. Was he base enough and infamous enough to heap contempt upon the religion of his father and mother? All the Protestants in the time of Luther lacked in respect for the religion of their fathers and mothers. According to your idea, Progress is a Prodigal Son. If one is bound by the religion of his father and mother, and his father happens to be a Presbyterian and his mother a Catholic, what is he to do? Do you not see that your doctrine gives intellectual freedom only to foundlings?

If by Christianity you mean the goodness, the spirit of forgiveness, the benevolence claimed by Christians to be a part, and the principal part, of that peculiar religion, then I do not agree with you when you say that "Christ is Christianity and that it stands or falls with him." You have narrowed unnecessarily the foundation of your religion. If it should be established beyond doubt that Christ never existed, all that is of value in Christianity would remain, and remain unimpaired. Suppose we should find that Euclid was a myth, the science known as mathematics would not suffer. It makes no difference who painted or chiselled the greatest pictures and statues, so long as we have the pictures and statues. When he who has given the world a truth passes from the earth, the truth is left. A truth dies only when forgotten by the human race. Justice, love, mercy, forgiveness, honor, all the virtues that ever blossomed in the human heart, were known and practised for uncounted ages before the birth of Christ.

You insist that religion does not leave man in "abject terror" —does not leave him "in utter darkness as to his fate."

Is it possible to know who will be saved? Can you read the names mentioned in the decrees of the Infinite? Is it possible to tell who is to be eternally lost? Can the imagination conceive a worse fate than your religion predicts for a majority of the race? Why should not every human being be in "abject terror" who believes your doctrine? How many loving and sincere women are in the asylums to-day fearing that they have committed "the unpardonable sin"—a sin to which your God has

attached the penalty of eternal torment, and yet has failed to describe the offence? Can tyranny go beyond this—fixing the penalty of eternal pain for the violation of a law not written, not known, but kept in the secrecy of infinite darkness? How much happier it is to know nothing about it, and to believe nothing about it! How much better to have no God!

You discover a "Great Intelligence ordering our little lives, so that even the trials that we bear, as they call out the finer elements of character, conduce to our future happiness." This is an old explanation—probably as good as any. The idea is, that this world is a school in which man becomes educated through tribulation—the muscles of character being developed by wrestling with misfortune. If it is necessary to live this life in order to develop character, in order to become worthy of a better world, how do you account for the fact that billions of the human race die in infancy, and are thus deprived of this necessary education and development? What would you think of a schoolmaster who should kill a large proportion of his scholars during the first day, before they had even had the opportunity to look at A?

You insist that "there is a power behind Nature making for righteousness."

If Nature is infinite, how can there be a power outside of Nature? If you mean by "a power making for righteousness" that man, as he becomes civilized, as he becomes intelligent, not only takes advantage of the forces of Nature for his own benefit, but perceives more and more clearly that if he is to be happy he must live in harmony with the conditions of his being, in harmony with the facts by which he is surrounded, in harmony with the relations he sustains to others and to things; if this is what you mean, then there is "a power making for righteousness." But if you mean that there is something supernatural back of Nature directing events, then I insist that there can by no possibility be any evidence of the existence of such a power.

The history of the human race shows that nations rise and fall. There is a limit to the life of a race; so that it can be said of every nation dead, that there was a period when it laid the foundations of prosperity, when the combined intelligence and virtue of the people constituted a power working for righteousness, and that there came a time when this nation became a spendthrift, when it ceased to accumulate, when it lived on the labors of its

youth, and passed from strength and glory to the weakness of old age, and finally fell palsied to its tomb.

The intelligence of man guided by a sense of duty is the only power that makes for righteousness.

You tell me that I am waging "a hopeless war," and you give as a reason that the Christian religion began to be nearly two thousand years before I was born, and that it will live two thousand years after I am dead.

Is this an argument? Does it tend to convince even yourself? Could not Caiaphas, the high priest, have said substantially this to Christ? Could he not have said: "The religion of Jehovah began to be four thousand years before you were born, and it will live two thousand years after you are dead?" Could not a follower of Buddha make the same illogical remark to a missionary from Andover with the glad tidings? Could he not say: "You are waging a hopeless war. The religion of Buddha began to be twenty-five hundred years before you were born, and hundreds of millions of people still worship at Great Buddha's shrine?"

Do you insist that nothing except the right can live for two thousand years? Why is it that the Catholic church "lives on and on, while nations and kingdoms perish?" Do you consider that the survival of the fittest?

Is it the same Christian religion now living that lived during the Middle Ages? Is it the same Christian religion that founded the Inquisition and invented the thumb-screw? Do you see no difference between the religion of Calvin and Jonathan Edwards and the Christianity of to-day? Do you really think that it is the same Christianity that has been living all these years? Have you noticed any change in the last generation? Do you remember when scientists endeavored to prove a theory by a passage from the Bible, and do you now know that believers in the Bible are exceedingly anxious to prove its truth by some fact that science has demonstrated? Do you know that the standard has changed? Other things are not measured by the Bible, but the Bible has to submit to another test. It no longer owns the scales. It has to be weighed,—it is being weighed,—it is growing lighter and lighter every day. Do you know that only a few years ago "the glad tidings of great joy" consisted mostly in a description of hell? Do you know that nearly every intelligent minister is now ashamed to preach about it, or to read about it, or to talk

about it? Is there any change? Do you know that but few ministers now believe in "the plenary inspiration" of the Bible, that from thousands of pulpits people are now told that the creation according to Genesis is a mistake, that it never was as wet as the flood, and that the miracles of the Old Testament are considered simply as myths or mistakes?

How long will what you call Christianity endure, if it changes as rapidly during the next century as it has during the last? What will there be left of the supernatural?

It does not seem possible that thoughtful people can, for many years, believe that a being of infinite wisdom is the author of the Old Testament, that a being of infinite purity and kindness upheld polygamy and slavery, that he ordered his chosen people to massacre their neighbors, and that he commanded husbands and fathers to persecute wives and daughters unto death for opinion's sake.

It does not seem within the prospect of belief that Jehovah, the cruel, the jealous, the ignorant, and the revengeful, is the creator and preserver of the universe.

Does it seem possible that infinite goodness would create a world in which life feeds on life, in which everything devours and is devoured? Can there be a sadder fact than this: Innocence is not a certain shield?

It is impossible for me to believe in the eternity of punishment. If that doctrine be true, Jehovah is insane.

Day after day there are mournful processions of men and women, patriots and mothers, girls whose only crime is that the word "Liberty" burst into flower between their pure and loving lips, driven like beasts across the melancholy wastes of Siberian snow. These men, these women, these daughters go to exile and to slavery, to a land where hope is satisfied with death. Does it seem possible to you that an "Infinite Father" sees all this and sits as silent as a god of stone?

And yet, according to your Presbyterian creed, according to your inspired book, according to your Christ, there is another procession, in which are the noblest and best, in which you will find the wondrous spirits of this world, the lovers of the human race, the teachers of their fellow men, the greatest soldiers that ever battled for the right; and this procession of countless millions in which you will find the most generous and the most

loving of the sons and daughters of men, is moving on to the Siberia of God, the land of eternal exile, where agony becomes immortal.

How can you, how can any man with brain or heart, believe this infinite lie?

Is there not room for a better, for a higher philosophy? After all, is it not possible that we may find that everything has been necessarily produced, that all religions and superstitions, all mistakes and all crimes, were simply necessities? Is it not possible that out of this perception may come not only love and pity for others, but absolute justification for the individual? May we not find that every soul has, like Mazeppa, been lashed to the wild horse of passion, or like Prometheus, to the rocks of fate?

You ask me to take the "sober second thought." I beg of you to take the first, and if you do, you will throw away the Presbyterian creed; you will instantly perceive that he who commits the "smallest sin" no more deserves eternal pain than he who does the smallest virtuous deed deserves eternal bliss; you will become convinced that an infinite God who creates billions of men knowing that they will suffer through all the countless years is an infinite demon; you will be satisfied that the Bible, with its philosophy and its folly, with its goodness and its cruelty, is but the work of man, and that the supernatural does not and cannot exist.

For you, personally, I have the highest regard and the sincerest respect, and I beg of you not to pollute the soul of childhood, not to furrow the cheeks of mothers, by preaching a creed that should be shrieked in a mad-house. Do not make the cradle as terrible as the coffin. Preach, I pray you, the gospel of Intellectual Hospitality—the liberty of thought and speech. Take from loving hearts the awful fear. Have mercy on your fellow men. Do not drive to madness the mothers whose tears are falling on the pallid faces of those who died in unbelief. Pity the erring, wayward, suffering, weeping world. Do not proclaim as "tidings of great joy" that an Infinite Spider is weaving webs to catch the souls of men.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

THE INFLUENCE OF INGERSOLL.

BY THE REV. HENRY M. FIELD, D.D.

When a man dies who has been for a long time at the head of a party in politics or religion, it is natural to think that his party may die with him. In no case could this seem more probable than in the sudden death of the brilliant and defiant leader of agnosticism in this country. He is gone, and we cannot but ask ourselves whether his scattered followers will rally round some new leader, or be so demoralized that they can only wrap their cloaks about them and fall with dignity.

While awaiting the issue, I am asked by the North American Review to give an opinion as to the future, inasmuch as I once had a controversy with Robert Ingersoll in its pages, though with no other wish on either side than to get at the truth.

It is a dozen years since I first saw Ingersoll in a court room in Washington, and by his invitation spent an evening under his roof. Though it might seem that I was venturing into the lion's den, no one could be more courteous to a stranger. He was a man of generous instincts, who, if he did not quite come up to the Gospel rule to love all men, at least came half way; he loved his friends and hated his enemies. When he came to New York to live, our acquaintance was renewed; and I was a frequent visitor at his house, where I was made to feel at home. If I came in when they were in the midst of a conversation, I did not interrupt it, but another chair was drawn up to the table, or, if it was mid-winter, to the open fire, while "Robert" (as his wife always called him), talked of the events of the day; or, if in a mood for recalling bygone years, he would turn the conversation to men whom he had known in public life. There was no one whom he loved to talk about so much as Abraham Lincoln, whom he had known in

his early manhood, when they were both at the Bar in Illinois; and, during the war, when there were heavy disasters, where could he go but up to the White House, to have his anxieties calmed by a talk with "Old Abe"?

Then he would give his opinion of the latest books, for he was an omnivorous reader. He was fond of novels, which took him into the world of the imagination, and I found it to be an economy of time to take his *resumé* of a thrilling story rather than to wade through hundreds of pages. He would read poetry by the hour, to which I would listen with attention, though sometimes with a suppressed smile, as when he expressed his most positive opinion that, as a heaven-born poet, Longfellow was not to be named the same day with Walt Whitman!

The more I became acquainted with Ingersoll, the more I was interested in his personality. He was not as other men are. The typical American is a bundle of nerves, which shows itself in his quick step, in the flash of his eye, and the gesture of his hand. When Thackeray was in New York, he would sometimes take his stand at the corner of a street to watch the passing crowd as a study in national character. Had he seen a man of stalwart frame walk slowly by he would have said there goes an Englishman! In all the years that I have known Ingersoll, *I never saw him in a hurry.* The crowd might rush by, but he never quickened his pace, but walked slowly as if in deep thought. When I met him in Broadway he was always ready to stop under an awning, or by a friendly door, and discuss the questions of the day. If all the wisdom that was exchanged between us had been preserved, possibly some might have been wiser, but alas, it has been blown away like the autumn leaves!

The two gods that Americans worship are time and money. Ingersoll cared for neither. Money had no attractions for him except for the use he could make of it. I am told by one who knew of his affairs perhaps even better than Ingersoll himself, that his income from his practice at the Bar and his lectures was often not less than a hundred thousand dollars a year, yet it was soon scattered. He could not deny himself the pleasure of giving it away. The tales of his generosity had gone far and wide, and every morning there was a pile of letters on his desk from poor clerks who were starving in garrets, and young women who could not find any means of support. To such appeals he responded so

bountifully that they came faster and faster. His friends warned him against the impositions that were practised upon him, and told him that he ought to have a bureau of inquiry, but he answered that he had rather be cheated a dozen times than leave one poor girl to suffer and perhaps to die!

This lavish giving came partly from a feeling that one-half of mankind did not get their share of the good things of this life, so that he looked with an eye of pity, not only upon the poor and suffering, but upon those who had been driven to crime! One morning I met him in Gramercy Park, and told him that I was bound for Sing Sing, to which I had been invited by the warden, not to preach to the prisoners, but to tell them the story of my journey around the world, which might divert their thoughts from their own dreary loneliness. But to my surprise the very mention of our "Bastille" brought to his mind the condition of human beings shut out from the light of sun and moon and stars and the faces of all who loved them, till it overpowered him and he was ready to pronounce an anathema upon the "tomb" in which men were buried alive. "Nothing on earth," he said, "would induce me to go down those hard and stony steps and through those iron gates, that are to me like the gates of hell!" It was in vain to tell him of the crimes that these men had committed, their robberies and their murders! "But," he answered, "put yourself in their place. If you had been exposed to their temptations, you might have done the same!" I was quite overpowered by this burst of feeling, and could but think that, if he had the power, he would indeed have ordered the prison gates to be swung open, never to be shut again! But then where should we be? What terror would take possession of us all from the insecurity of our homes!

Such discussions were very earnest, but they did not abate our mutual regard, not even when we clashed weapons as to the truth and binding authority of the Christian religion. I do believe that there never was such a "give away" as in the controversy that we began in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. I had no hot desire to get the better of him, nor he to get the better of me. So we adopted a system of exchange whereby, instead of standing off and bombarding each other from a safe distance, we laid aside the tactics of war. We had no mines to explode, but carried on our contest, such as it was, in the open field. No sooner had I

taken my position, and buttressed it as well as I could, than I went to him, and almost indicated the weak points at which to aim his guns. This might seem like throwing away the case, but I had no wish for strategems, but preferred to stand on open and solid ground.

And now, perhaps I shall give a fresh interest to my story if I put a new figure on the stage; not another *man*, but the same man in another character. Though Robert Ingersoll was a captivating talker, he was far more than that; he was one of the greatest orators that our country ever produced. It was not by the fireside, but on the platform, facing thousands of men, that he showed all his power. I once asked Mr. Godkin, the editor of the *Evening Post*, if he had ever heard Ingersoll? He said "but once." It was in the old Academy of Music, and the pressure was so great that the police had to make a passage to the front of the platform. The hour to begin was eight o'clock. Ingersoll rose on the minute, and spoke till eleven, *and not a man moved!* For three hours he held that vast audience in the hollow of his hand! No wonder that the eager multitude were swept away by him as the forest is swept by the wind. He was born to be an orator. His very physique marked him as one not to be daunted by any presence, by many or by few. He had a frame of iron, and when he strode upon the stage, he was the ideal of a warrior standing on his castle walls,

"Four square to all the winds that blew."

His intonations were varied, now soft and gentle, as if he were in conversation, with many a bit of pleasantry; then, straightening himself up to his full height, he gave such a burst that the thousands who heard him trembled at the thunder of his voice. Such rhetorical effects are like great symphonies, which ring through the arches of cathedrals, or rather like the sound of distant thunder, coming nearer and nearer till there is one last tremendous peal, that rolls majestically away. The tradition of such marvellous eloquence will live as long as this generation.

But the great figure that he made upon the stage is not what we have to observe most closely. It is not enough to be thrilled by wonder and admiration, but there are practical questions to be resolved, in which wisdom and knowledge are better than a torrent of words, however grand and majestic. The flash of elo-

quence is like that of lightning, which dazzles but for a moment, while wisdom is the light that shines all night long.

Wisdom is better than riches, and here it is that we would put our haughty unbelievers to the test. What have they done for the world? Or what can they do? We at least can live in the glow of a twilight, that lingers in the path of the departing sun, while those who glory in the assertion that "all that we know is that we know nothing," seem to exult in the blackness of darkness that covers the world. We do not envy them, but wish that they might live to see the faint glow of the dawn over the tops of the mountains.

But the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW asks, not so much for memories of the past, as for a conjecture as to the future; not so much for what has been but for what shall be. Will the Old Guard of unbelievers still keep their places in the ranks, though with drooping colors, or

> "Fold their tents like the Arabs
> And silently steal away?"

To be frank, I must say that, as Robert Ingersoll was unlike any other man whom I ever knew, I do not think I shall see his like again. Genius is subject to no law of succession or of inheritance. Where is the son or grandson of Henry Clay or Daniel Webster? Or if we are governed by the rules of war, that when a leader falls his second steps forward to take command, I answer that in this case *there is no second,* and so he has no successor. I might almost say that he was a man apart, and that the race is extinct.

But eloquence alone cannot make one hair white or black. It has no creative power. For the truth, it is better to look to science than to eloquence or poetry. And here there is much to cheer us. Within our life-time, we have seen the boldest and most confident attacks upon religion, and even upon the existence of God. It is but a few years since Tyndall proudly declared before the British Association that "in matter would be found the promise and the potency of all life." What need, then, of a Creator over our head, when we have a creative power under our feet? But, even then, a greater man of science, Lord Kelvin, assured me with a smile, that this ardent explorer would not long adhere to his bold declaration, a prediction that was soon realized. One day, as we were riding over the Berkshire Hills, he looked up to the clouds that were floating across the sky, which recalled to

him how Pasteur had sent balloons up to a great height above the hoary head of Mont Blanc, and found there such evidences of life as gave a death blow to a theory that had been adopted by the French, to which they had given the pompous name of "Spontaneous Generation!"

So one after another the advocates of atheism find the ground sinking under their feet:

"The captains and the kings depart,"

while in their place come the great men of science like Newton, and Farrady and Kelvin, the last of whom has assured me over and over again that all the philosophy and all the science of the world cannot shake the simple argument from design, that is so simply and so admirably set forth in Paley's "Natural Theology." Against such authority no glittering theories can make any impression. They will have their little day and then fade away in the distance, and be seen no more, while the truth of Christianity will abide forever.

This makes an end, so far as I can see, of the fear or the hope that the followers of Ingersoll, feeling deeply, as well they may, the loss to them by his death, should make an organized body of Agnostics, not only to preserve his memory but to perpetuate his belief or unbelief. But you cannot make a party of one man, nor a creed out of mere negations. If the believers, or rather the unbelievers, should wish to form a creed, I would suggest that it should begin with the opening of the burial service:

"Man that is born of woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. As to whence he came or whither he shall go we know not. As for a Supreme Being, we know nothing, and have no means of knowing anything. Why then should we be under obligations to a power that is wholly undefined? As we were born, so shall we die. Away then with the terrors of a future life, as if we had not enough terrors in the present. Leave us alone in the boundless freedom of boundless ignorance."

So much for the creed! As to a form of worship, I would suggest that they adopt the silent adoration of the Parsees, which every visitor to Bombay will remember, when they uncover their heads at the rising and setting of the sun, as the author and preserver of all life on the earth! But if any man is hard-pressed and already feels the coming dissolution, what more can he say, or what less can he say, than to repeat the appeal of the soldier

going into battle: "O, God, if there be a God, have mercy on my soul, if I have a soul!"

But if any man feels the horror of great darkness as he approaches the end of life, let him at least have the consolation of recognizing the presence of a Higher Power, in whom is the beginning and ending of all things.

For my part the attacks upon religion are not in vain, if they do but keep our eyes turned toward the rising of the sun. The universe is bathed in light, and if the night be long, the brighter will be the glow of the morning that heralds the coming day. And for this we have in part to thank our enemies. A stout argument for a false theory sometimes leads to the discovery of the truth. The relentless persecution of Galileo, though it once broke his spirit, so far as to make him recant what he knew to be truth, still secretly urged him on till, before he closed his eyes in death, he was able to assert boldly the whole truth of the form of the earth and its revolution round the sun.

So in religion even the most violent attacks upon Christianity are better than indifference, and looking back upon the friendly discussion I once had with the great agnostic, I cannot but feel that, in these collisions of opinion, light has come out of darkness, as the flashes of a storm may guide a traveller through a dark and perilous way, so that we can say in the words of the English poet:

> "I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs;
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

HENRY M. FIELD.

"*EX ORIENTE LUX!*"

A REPLY.

BY ARCHIBALD LITTLE.

THE curiously instructive article under the above heading in the July number of the REVIEW, written by Mr. Vladimir Holmstrem, provides an interesting sketch of the Russian view of the Far Eastern question as it affects the United States. It will be equally interesting, I trust, to look at the same question from the opposite point of view of the Western merchant trading with China, and to trace, if we can, to what extent Russian political interests in the Far East are reconcilable with the commercial interests of the civilized powers who now hold the largest stake in the trade of China.

Mr. Vladimir Holmstrem's appeal to the American people is fathered by an introduction from the pen of Prince E. Ookhtomsky, the eloquent annalist of the journey of the present Emperor of Russia, then the Czarewitch, through British India and Eastern Asia, seven years ago. This short introduction is of special value to the student of Far Eastern politics of the present moment, for it indicates the basis upon which recent official action by Russia in China is avowedly founded, viz.: (1.) the idea of autocracy; (2.) the idea that the culture of the West leads to anarchy; (3.) the idea that America must emancipate herself from England's political tutelage, and co-operate with Russia in China.

Now, seeing that America is in herself the living embodiment of this Western culture which Prince Ookhtomsky so unhesitatingly condemns, and to which alone Russia is indebted for her civilization and influence in the world, it will be seen that logic does not play a high part in the Prince's argument. When we

bear in mind the extent of his travels, and of his acquaintance with European, notably English, literature, one can only account for such sentiments by the ultra patriotic wave of Pan-Slavism that dominates the conservative Russians, men who will professedly have no part in the accursed thing called Western progress, and whose leading spokesman is that notorious reactionary, the present Imperial Minister, M. Pobedonostzeff.

These are Prince Ookhtomsky's words:

> "May not the culture of the West (or an excess of it) with its pronounced individualistic tendencies, leading almost to anarchy, inflict on the Chinese, these Asiatics who have never known the meaning of material progress, nor have ever striven for it, the misery of a civilization out of harmony with their natural inclinations?"

Now, to one who knows the Chinese people, a people who, though cursed with a corrupt central government, are themselves indefatigably industrious both in agriculture and in useful arts, and certainly far more civilized than Russia, the statement that the Chinese have never known the meaning of material progress nor even striven for it, is too palpably absurd to deserve contradiction. The Chinese have progressed steadily from dynasty to dynasty, as well in peaceful and orderly self-government as in material civilization. They are as curious about new inventions as any Westerner. Steamers they took to almost with enthusiasm; if they were slower to adopt railways, this was solely because of the well-justified fear that foreign-owned railroads would, among a people helpless from a military point of view, accentuate foreign occupation. The country is intersected by magnificent waterways, and hence railways were not the pressing necessities they were in many other countries; but the Chinese authorities were gradually introducing them, as far as the poverty of the empire would admit of their doing so without borrowing foreign capital, long before the time when the Japanese war with its outrageous indemnity forced them to throw themselves, almost unreservedly, into the arms of Western financiers, and rendered the hasty development of the Empire under foreign administration a capital necessity in order to enable it to pay off its foreign indebtedness. The real point with Russia is: Are these administrators to be of the nationality of those powers who have for years long past had the trade of China in their hands—Britons, Germans, and Americans, chiefly—or are

these to be superseded by Russians, the latest comers upon the field?

The Prince proceeds:

"The dominant factor in the history of Russia's past is the influence of Asia. . . . In common with her we have created *the idea of autocracy* (which has nothing in common with the Cæsarism of the West); it is an idea that pervades all Asia and is as the breath of life to her."

All of us who know China, the leading and most populous country in Asia, and whose Empire, leaving out Siberia, covers, two-thirds of that vast continent, know that the life-breath of its prosperity is precisely its independence of autocracy. Though in name a despotism, the Emperor is little more than a figure-head; all official appointments are nominally in his hands and his decrees are regarded almost as divine, the "Son of Heaven," like the Pope of Rome, being looked upon as God's Vice-regent on earth; but he has not like the Czar of Russia an army of docile *Tchinovniks* to see his decrees carried out, and to worry and oppress the people. A Chinaman, unless in the rare instances when he is entrapped into a lawsuit or caught as a criminal, may spend his whole life without ever crossing an official. In the cities, he has neither license tax, nor house tax, nor municipal rate to trouble him. No tax collector calls at his door. He is free to trade and travel where he will; passports are unknown. He settles his disputes by the arbitration of his own voluntarily supported guilds. A nominal land-tax, a customs' entry tax of five per cent. *ad valorem*, and a transit tax, or *likin*, of two and a half per cent., together with the produce of the government salt monopoly, are estimated to burden the Chinaman with an annual contribution amounting to less than half a dollar per head, as against an exaction from the far poorer Russian people of some five dollars per head. In short, Russia is a real autocracy. China, on the other hand, is a democracy in all but name, and this democracy has been gradually evolved and fought for in the course of centuries, having started over two thousand years ago from the point which Russia has now reached in her emergence from feudal barbarism. China may, in short, be said to have reached the point toward which the Russian people are only tending, with many painful struggles yet to be passed through; and to suppose that "the idea of autocracy is the breath of life" to the Chinese is to put back the clock two thousand years.

Finally, we come to the point that "America should emancipate herself from England's political tutelage, veiled though it be in guise of cousinly friendship. The Chinese question, the touchstone of this friendship, has already displayed the duplicity of the English, etc." What this exactly means it is difficult to say. America has never shown any disposition to place herself under England's tutelage, except in so far as she has inherited her language and her common law from the same British ancestry. In China, she may be said to have followed England's lead, in sharing in the advantages consequent upon the original opening up of the country by England, much as England followed America when her merchants settled themselves in Japan, as a consequence of the opening up of that country by the treaty enforced upon the Japanese through Commodore Perry in 1857. But we fail to see any duplicity on one side or the other in cases where no interference with the rights of others is effected and where all obtain equal privileges. The duplicity is with those European powers who, under the guise of philanthropy, aim at excluding their neighbors by the establishment of preferential rights for themselves. That America should suicidally support Russia in the latter policy, as against uniting in the free cosmopolitan policy of England in China, is a supposition almost too childish for controversy. The only question for America to decide is: How far is it wise for her to abandon her present expectant policy in the Far East, and to actively interest herself in the international struggle of which the Chinese metropolis has unwittingly become the distracted centre?

For there is little doubt that events in China are hurrying to a crisis, and that every nation that would safeguard its interests in the face of such a crisis must decide on a course of action, form a definite policy and be prepared to meet eventualities that all can foresee.

If, then, America answers the question we have posed above in the affirmative, and abandons her present expectant attitude, shall she throw in her lot in China with Russia, or the contrary? Shall she work on her own account in favor of the "open door?"

Americans who read Mr. Holmstrem's article on the Russian side and who have read Lord Charles Beresford's "China and the Powers" in the May number of the REVIEW, may well feel flattered at the way in which the two great rival powers of mod-

ern Asia have descended into the arena to court and win the favor of the Great Republic. "Codlin is the friend," says the Russian writer, and he proceeds to show up the villainy and the duplicity of her would-be friend, Short. It is well to see ourselves as others see us, and it is a good thing for an Englishman to be reminded once more that the leading Russians—those who guide the inert masses of the ignorant, peaceful Russian people, profess to hold precisely the same suspicion of our motives and the same dread of our actions as we assuredly hold of theirs. Doubtless, such suspicions are not without some foundation on either side; where they are groundless, it is better for both sides to clear them up and so pave the way to a better common understanding. It is because we are anxious to see a general international understanding brought about in regard to China, that we propose to make an attempt to expose the many fallacies upon which Mr. Holmstrem's suspicions of our motives are founded, and so vindicate British policy in China from the indictment he brings against it.

Mr. Holmstrem begins: "I shall now demonstrate that in the Chinese question England has already outwitted the Americans." The alleged self-styled demonstration that follows is by no means clear; but a few quotations may serve to show the gist of the writer's arguments. Thus he denies all sincerity in England's cry for the "open door" and "equal opportunities." He tells us:

> "The banner with the 'open door' inscribed upon it, which England waves so furiously before the eyes of the desired anti-Russian concert of powers, is nothing else but the scarlet cape of the Spanish bull-fighter, which is meant to blind the bull and make him an easy prey to the aggressor. It only affords England the opportunity of plundering China elsewhere as much as her heart can wish."

Now, this is certainly a novel view of the "open door" policy, which could hardly enter the head of any one but a guileless Russian. As facts are truer guides than theories, let us look at the facts anent England's and Russia's action touching the open door in the past. Our first war with China, due to the arrogance of the Imperial Commissioner Lin in refusing to meet and discuss matters with the British Superintendents of Trade, Lord Napier and Sir George Elliott, resulted in the Treaty of Nanking, signed in 1842. This treaty stipulated for the opening up to foreign trade of the coast ports of Canton, Swatow, Amoy,

Ningpo and Shanghai, long known as the "Five Treaty Ports," as well as for an indemnity to the merchants whose property had been arbitrarily destroyed at Canton. Otherwise the loss to the Chinese, except in prestige, was small. Hongkong, a rocky, barren island off the coast, some twelve miles square in area and of no material value to the Chinese, was ceded to England and by her made a free port open to all, and was thus the first object lesson in the "open door" in China. Some years passed before its value as a depôt for the China trade became apparent; so much so that its abandonment was openly advocated by more than one of its early governors. The "Five Ports" were opened to all "foreigners," without distinction, for trade and residence, and would-be settlers in them had to make their own bargains for land and dwellings, needless to say at fancy prices, and settle down in the outskirts of the five cities as best they could. The Chinese were the real gainers by the treaty: the five cities rapidly increased in wealth and importance, under the golden touch of foreign capital and energy—oases of prosperity in the desert of general stagnation that seems to have invaded the once rich empire in the wake of the Manchu conquest of 1644. Outside of the British, other governments paid little or no attention to Chinese affairs at this period, although their nationals, mainly German and American, gladly took advantage of the opening made by Britain and were freely welcomed in the new treaty ports and in the colony of Hongkong: their ships soon took possession of the lion's share in the coasting trade that now sprang up, and their merchants ranked equally with the British in importance.

So matters went on for fifteen years, trade steadily progressing to the enrichment of "foreigner" and native alike, when the latent animosity of the Chinese officials again broke into flame. The treaty of 1842 had been forced upon the Chinese government against its will, and although the Chinese people concerned, traders by instinct and education, rejoiced in the prosperity brought to their doors, the Mandarins sulked. They tried in their feeble way to restrict intercourse as much as possible. They refused to allow any "barbarian" to defile the sacred city of Canton with his presence; they never discouraged, even if they did not encourage, isolated murders of Englishmen who went beyond the limits of the "factories" in Canton, some on boating,

some on shooting trips. Memorials went up to the throne, stating that the "foreign barbarians" were draining the country of its wealth. Constant sources of friction sprang up, which it was impossible to induce successive Viceroys to attempt to quell; requests for attention to, much more for compensation for, wrongs inflicted upon British subjects, met with only evasive answers; until, after years of patience, as is the way with our government, hostilities had to be resorted to. The Viceroy, Yeh Min-Chên, was taken prisoner and sent to Calcutta, where he died. Canton was captured and ransomed for a million dollars. The foreign "factories," or settlement outside the walls, were destroyed by the mob; the foreign residents fled to Hongkong and to the neighboring Portuguese settlement of Macao. The Chusan islands, off Ningpo, were seized. The war, so-called, dragged on, failing the appointment by the Chinese of a plenipotentiary to make peace; until, at last in 1859, the Central Government decided to send a plenipotentiary to treat; whereupon the British government on their side sent an envoy, with an escorting fleet, to Tientsin to meet him. The fleet fell into a trap. Heavy guns from the Taku forts were accurately trained upon the channel (it was asserted at the time by Russian help); Admiral Hope suffered a defeat, with the loss of four hundred men, and no settlement was come to. It was on this occasion that the American Commodore Tatnall helped to pick up the wounded British, and made use of the since famous saying, "Blood is thicker than water."

In the following year, the French joined with us in sending an expedition to Peking. The Taku forts were destroyed, the Peiho River was forced, Peking was captured, the Emperor Hienfeng fled to Mongolia, the beautiful Summer Palace was unfortunately burned and its treasures ransacked, as punishment for Chinese treachery in torturing and murdering the party sent out with Sir Harry Parkes under a flag of truce. In the end, a fresh treaty of perpetual peace and good will was signed by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, on behalf of the Anglo-French, and by Prince Kung, on behalf of the Chinese. This peace has now been happily kept for forty years by Great Britain, but was broken by the French in 1885.

The new treaty stipulated for the opening of three new Treaty Ports on the "Great River"—Chinkiang, Kinkiang and

Hankow—and for three new Coast Ports in the North—Chefoo, Tientsin and Niuchwang. The British government now for the first time stipulated for fixed concessions, or the setting apart of a plot of land, averaging less than a square mile, on the outskirts of the respective towns opened. The owners of the land upon which these concessions were situated, land mostly submerged at high water, were handsomely paid for their rights. The land was ceded to the Crown; and after being laid out in half acre building lots, was leased, by the medium of the British Consulate established in each port, to all comers, irrespective of nationality. Later on, municipal councils of the residents of all nationalities were formed for the purpose of policing the new settlements, laying out roads, drainage, planting, building bunds and quays for shipping; until now these aforetime swamps form oases of order, verdure and a wealth of architecture in the midst of wildernesses of Chinese dirt, poverty and decay. In the so-called British settlement of Hankow, situated six hundred miles up the Yangtse River, as a consequence of the decay of the Chinese tea trade with England and the growth of that with Russia, the bulk of the river frontage and the handsomest mercantile establishments are owned by Russians, who find no difficulty in co-operating with their British and German fellow-citizens on the concessions, and in working together for the common good. This is a part of what Mr. Holmstrem, endeavoring to throw dust in the eyes of the American people, styles "the annexation by the British of all the principal elements of the social life of China, of all the branches of her industry, trade and administration, thus instituting a practical, if not a theoretical, protectorate of Great Britain over the whole of China." It will be interesting to note, by contrast, what the Russian government has done in this same Hankow, since it recently set to work, avowedly to arrest the not unnatural growth of British influence in China.

Owing to the influx of foreign nationalities into the strictly limited British concession at Hankow, English merchants settled there found it to their advantage to gain more room for their factories, by purchasing direct from Chinese owners land outside the Concession. The title-deeds for these lands were duly sealed by the Chinese Governor of Hankow and subsequently, in due course, registered by the British Consul, as far back as the sixties. In 1897, the Russian government came upon the scene and com-

pelled the pliable Chinese government to cede them this land, for a separate Russian concession, saying: "Leave us to settle with the British." They obtained the grant of the land, and then landed Cossacks to turn the unfortunate British merchants out of their property. The British government, anxious to remain on friendly terms with Russia, refrained from answering force by force, as they would have been justified in doing, and is now limiting its efforts to the obtaining of pecuniary compensation for these arbitrary ejectments. Yet Mr. Holmstrem tells his American readers that "siding with England will mean the destruction of China by revolutionary methods." It is instructive to contemplate the analogy and the contrasts in the condition of the two vast empires of Russia and China. The population of both is mainly composed of a poor, hardworking, peaceably disposed peasantry, but governed by corrupt and unscrupulous officials, who are constantly leading the peace-loving peoples they rule over into troubles and adventures which only end in increasing their poverty. The civilian Chinaman, like the ordinary civilian Russian, is an exceptionally quiet, peaceful individual; he knows little of and cares still less for politics, which, he considers, his superiors are paid to attend to. Yet turn a Russian into a Tchinovnik, or a Chinese into a Kwan, and his natural amiability and honesty seem to be at once unaccountably transformed into the opposite qualities of oppression and deceit. Certain it is, in any case, that Anglo-Saxon methods do not square with those of Russia; and the inference is that we, who are convinced that the "open door" with equality of opportunity is the best policy for China and the best for all foreign nations who desire to have purely trading relations with her, would do well to unite in a pacific endeavor to maintain this policy.

Another of Mr. Holmstrem's grotesque statements, of the falsity of which we propose to give one more instance, is the following:

"The ideas of Prince Ookhtomsky and the measures proposed by the Rev. Gilbert Reid (American missionary in North China), as representing respectively Russia and the United States, are *conservative* in the best application of the word; they aim at the welfare of an independent nation, while on the other hand the English schemes are revolutionary in theory and meant to be carried out by violence in order to pander to the lust of the English for gain and conquest."

The instance is this. Niuchwang, as one of the Treaty Ports,

possesses a branch of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, at which the treaty tariff of five per cent. *ad valorem* is payable on all imported merchandise, including railway material. The limits of these Treaty Ports are everywhere strictly defined, and no cargo is allowed to be shipped or discharged outside of them. Last year, Russian vessels, laden with railway and other material, entered the port of Niuchwang and were requested to conform to the official Customs' regulations. The vessels thereupon proceeded to land their cargo outside the port, in defiance of the rules which the Commissioner of Customs, without arms at his back, was unable to enforce. Which, in this case, was the conservative and which the revolutionary method? Would any other power, having treaties with China, have thus set at defiance the constituted authorities of the country? Truly, in quoting Mr. Holmstrem's absurd conception of British policy in China, we are compelled to say: "*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.*" This same Niuchwang has special interest for Americans, as being the leading port of entry in China of American cotton goods. Opened originally, as we have seen, by the efforts of British statesmanship, two-thirds of its trade is in American goods, and it is a significant fact that, upon the British government's recently endeavoring to settle outstanding disputes with Russia in regard to railway concessions in Northern China, by a convention which should stipulate for equal rates for all by the proposed railroads, Russia then refused to be bound by a promise that on her railways in China she would not distinguish against non-Russian merchandise by preferential rates. (*Vide* British Blue Book, "Affairs in China.")

We have seen that, in the treaty made with China by the Anglo-French plenipotentaries as a consequence of the war of 1860, barring a small pecuniary indemnity, no exclusive advantages whatever were taken by the two powers who had borne the burden and heat of the day, and many of whose citizens had been treacherously murdered by the Chinese in cold blood. Not so, however, with Russia. Russia—of which Mr. Holmstrem writes, "The independence and integrity of China is a fundamental principle of Russian policy in Asia"—did not hesitate to take advantage of China's weakness at the time to advance her frontier one thousand miles to the Southeast, and to absorb the Amur Valley and Northern Manchuria down to the Korean

frontier. And again, quite recently, posing as the protector of China, Russia turned the Japanese out of the Liaotung peninsula and subsequently seized the peninsula herself, including the naval depôt of Port Arthur; thus converting the only naval fortress owned by the Chinese into a Russian possession and thereby advancing her frontier down to the gulf of Pechili and threatening the very existence of the Chinese empire by rendering Peking untenable. The practical proposition made by England, that the terminus of the Siberian railway should be a Treaty Port open to all, was scouted by Russia. Is this what Mr. Holmstrem has in mind when he writes:

"Such a humane interpretation of the idea of business, as bringing fresh power and salvation to people, commends itself to the Russian mind; hitherto we have been accustomed to see 'business' interpreted in the English sense of rapine and slavery—economic and political—*the famous murder for gain!*"

The truth is that, when Russia changed the plan of her Siberian railway, and, instead of making its terminus in an ice-free port on the Pacific, as was the original intention, decided to prolong it into the gulf of Pechili and make the terminus in Chinese territory, she found the region already in commercial occupation of other nations—England, Germany and America—and was unable to take up exclusive privileges there without interfering with treaty rights already acquired there by other powers. Hence this furious outburst of spleen and misstatement, as displayed in the egregious article we are reviewing. The Chinese Maritime Customs, a cosmopolitan institution, at present presided over by Sir Robert Hart, a service which has totally reformed the collection of duties and for the first time in its history provided the central government of China with a reliable revenue, was as a red rag to the Russian bull; hence one of Russia's first moves, when she came into the field, was to manœuvre for the supercession of the present Inspector-General of Customs by a Russian.

Again, China had already commenced tentatively to build railways with her own capital—a natural and not unpraiseworthy ambition—and had already in this way constructed a most successful line from Shanhaikwan to Tientsin and Peking, under the engineering superintendence of a capable railroad man, Mr. Kinder. Mr. Kinder had served the Chinese government well and faithfully, and for far less pay than such valuable services

would command in Europe or America. But he must forsooth be ousted to make room for a Russian, and the Chinese, loth as they were to part with their old and tried servant, would have had no alternative but to dismiss him at Russian dictation, had not the outcry at this contemplated injustice been so great that the British government, notoriously loth to interfere in what it is pleased to consider private affairs, was compelled at last to put its foot down and support Mr. Kinder, whereat the Chinese government felt emboldened to refuse the Russian demand. This is another instance of how, in Mr. Holmstrem's words, Russia would guard China: "We are an Asiatic power and as such must guard the East, because *its consolidation means our own consolidation.*" Whatever this enigmatical phrase may mean, it assuredly does not point to the "open door," nor can we see in it an argument to induce America to give up endeavoring to maintain the policy of the open door and, instead, to join hands with Russia in thwarting a policy profitable to all who have purely commercial, as opposed to territorial, designs upon the empire of China.

It is unfortunate that the British government should have acceded to the suggestion of the Chinese and consented to the occupation of Wei-hai-wei, as a counterpoise to the Russian occupation of Port Arthur and to the German occupation of Kiao-Chao Bay. This occupation, valueless as it is to England, is undoubtedly a contradiction to the policy of the open door, and in so far is wrong in principle. Notwithstanding that the lease of this *place forte* from China in no way affects freedom of trade, it is an instance of the opportunist policy now unfortunately popular, chiefly because it avoids the necessity of planning out and executing a definite line of conduct in any course of circumstances. It would, I have always contended, have been better to risk the wrath of Russia, and leave our ships moored in Port Arthur last summer, and so have reserved for the Chinese, to whom it then belonged and by whose permission our ships were there, their last remaining fortress. This was not done and Wei-hai-wei was taken. But Wei-hai-wei, unlike Port Arthur, is no fortress in the modern sense, and it is not likely that the British government will spend the millions necessary to make it one. It can only be useful in the event of a war with Russia, which no one contemplates. Should such a calamity occur, however, it

would be easy enough to gain a footing there or elsewhere in the North when the time came. The motive of the Chinese, in offering us Wei-hai-wei, must have been to keep France and Russia out, or, probably, to embroil us with Russia. In any case we should have done better to arrange with China to leave the place in the hands of the Japanese who originally held it.

The non-alienation of the Yangtse Valley, mutually agreed upon by the British and Chinese governments, arouses the unmitigated wrath of Mr. Holmstrem, and forms the main theme of his argument and appeal to the Americans to beware of being outwitted by the perfidy and rapacity of the English. Now, what does this non-alienation treaty really mean? It means simply the maintenance of the *status quo* as long as China is able to defend it; but that if some other power, taking advantage of China's weakness, should invade the Yangtse Valley, we should have the right of protesting. The *power* of preventing it we should be free to exercise in any case, and we need no treaty to attain it. Whether we should exercise it is doubtful, if we may take as a precedent, the similar stipulation made by the British government in regard to the "Shan" state of Kianghung on the Yunnan border. This the Chinese were compelled to hand over to France, with whose Tonquin conquests it is now incorporated. In this case, our treaty with China turned out to be not worth the paper it was written on; and so undoubtedly will it be, if the occasion ever arises, with our famous treaty regarding the Yangtse Valley.

Now, it is the prospect of the possible alienation of this region, the main seat of our trade in China, that exercises the mind of British writers upon the China question. We cannot get over the fact, which is so exasperating to Mr. Holmstrem that England by her trade has, and deserves to have, a preponderating influence in China. How long her trade will continue to preponderate is doubtful; but it is the plain duty of every one who, like myself, is engaged in that trade to endeavor to preserve it and, seeing that every step in advance that the Russian Colossus has made in Asia has resulted in the relentless shutting out of British and American manufactures, as well as British and American missionaries, from each fresh area annexed, we, who have watched this ominous progress during long residence in the East, are impelled to tell the truth and to warn

our countrymen and allied trading nations of the inevitable result of the invasion of China by Russia. Hence the unconcealed wrath of the writer of "*Ex Oriente Lux*" with those who innocently attempt to throw light on the Far Eastern problem. Lord Charles Beresford is denounced as having been sent on a *secret mission*, the result of which, had he been a secret envoy, he would certainly not have given to the world, and to Russia, especially, as he has done in his well known "Break-up of China." A Russian cannot get out of his head the fact, true in his own country, that all who speak and write authoritatively speak with authority, little knowing how difficult we find it to gain from our government the hearing we strive for. Thus again speaking of Lord Charles' mission, Mr. Holmstrem writes:

> "He was but an emissary, he has fulfilled a mission not wholly self-imposed, and behind him stand such men as Colquhoun and Archibald Little, who may be regarded as men expressing the *mind* of the British Government, as the Admiral is one of their men of action."

I should not have taken such pains to quote Mr. Holmstrem's arguments, nor have thus endeavored to controvert them in detail, but for the fact that prominence has been given to them in an international organ like the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, whose influence is such as to weigh upon the decisions of thinking men on both sides of the Atlantic. I am therefore anxious that its readers should have all sides of the question before them—and especially with regard to the Yangtse Valley, which England is represented as trying to annex. As a matter of fact, the British government has not taken a single step pointing to annexation, it has not defined its area nor has it seized an inch of its territory: its gunboats occasionally ascend the Great River, but so do those of all other nations. When I passed through Hankow last summer, a Russian man-of-war was conspicuous, moored off the so-called British, but really cosmopolitan, settlement. I have suggested, it is true, in despair of seeing the integrity of China, for which I have long and ardently pleaded, continuing to be upheld—since the seizure of Manchuria by Russia and of Shantung by Germany—that England should ear-mark the Yangtse Valley as her "sphere of interest" before other powers, notably France, who, with Russia, is making ceaseless efforts to acquire exclusive rights there, should have shut us out. I am Jingo enough to desire that, if there is to

be a fight over China, England shall not be out of it. I do *not* believe in abdicating where we have long held prescriptive rights; and hence my advice, ("veiled sentences," Mr. Holmstrem calls them), in a recent number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, that if all other European nations have determined to partition China and our pacific remonstrances (in favor of the "open door") are of no avail, then that it is the duty of the government to see that Britain takes her share, if only as a stake and means of bargain for the open door; but I added, and this Mr. Holmstrem does not quote:

"The open door all round is a true, clear policy; it is humane, just to the Chinese, and in the interest of every nation that seeks trade and intercourse with the Chinese, with no ulterior motives of preferential advantages for itself. The nations who now hold the lion's share of the China trade are deeply interested in upholding the *status quo*, and it ought not to be beyond the powers of diplomacy to bring about an agreement between them to resist farther aggression upon China, and to compel the Russians to keep the door open, even in Manchuria, on the terms of our treaties with China. A joint protectorate by these nations, not a political interference, but an assurance against outside aggression, should meet the case if it can be brought about."

Unhappily any such combination to save the venerable survival from antiquity which appeals so strongly to the cultured imagination, as does the tottering empire of China, both as an object of antiquarian interest and as a potentiality of unlimited trade, now appears an Utopian dream. It may not always be so, if we can persuade others to share our views; if we cannot do so, nothing is left for us but to protect our interests as best we may and thus, though I for one do not think it likely, the occupation of the Yangtse Valley may yet come within the sphere of practical politics, which it certainly has not done to-day. Even if it should do so, it will still mean the "open door" to all, as far as trade is concerned, as against the closed doors of all Russian and French annexations to date in Eastern Asia. Hence the interest of America, if she wishes to keep the door open to her trade in China, in giving, at least, her moral support to those who are struggling to the best of their ability to controvert the opposite alternative of preferential railway rates and preferential tariffs generally.

Fortunately, the Americans resident in China and those who are familiar with the subject are all on our side. The Ameri-

can Asiatic Association and the British China Association march hand-in-hand toward a common object—the upholding of our treaties in China and the maintenance of the *status quo*. Only last winter in Shanghai, the union of the American and the British, supported too by the German residents, has been successful in foiling the intrigues of the French, unwisely backed by Russia, against the extension of the area of the cosmopolitan settlement. This is what Mr. Holmstrem aparently alludes to as the "English advance from Shanghai," adding that "English schemes are *revolutionary* in theory and meant to be carried out by violence in order to pander to the lust of the English for gain and conquest." Now, it cannot be too generally known that, although the square mile of land that was assigned for British residence by the Chinese in 1842 was originally a settlement exclusively British, yet a few years later (I think in 1848) the British government abandoned the exclusive jurisdiction under Consul Balfour, and started it as the cosmopolitan settlement with municipal rule, but under Chinese sovereignty, which it seems happily destined to remain for all time to come. And it was fortunate for the world that our government of the day (Lord Palmerston) inaugurated this liberal policy; as, by so doing, they provided an object lesson in international combination for the common good, quite unique of its kind, which may some day provide a precedent for common international action on a larger scale—

"When the battle-flag is furled
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

For there is no necessary conflict of international interests in China: the field is so immense that there is room for the occupation of all the spare capital of both Europe and America, for a century to come, in exploiting the undeveloped resources of the huge Chinese empire. Let everybody, without regard to nationality, be authorized to work at any mining or railroad scheme for which he can produce the *bona fide* capital, and the next capitalist on the scene would still find work to do. So far, in all the concessions granted, Chinese interests have been thoroughly safe-guarded. In fact, China is the main beneficiary under them; for all the work done and the capital invested revert to the Chinese government after a term more or less short. Russia alone forms an exception, in having insisted on the right to build railways on Chinese territory which remain under

her exclusive control, and it is these railways that form a menace both to Europeans and Chinese, to the latter politically, and to the former commercially. It is, too, a significant fact that, to the opposition of Russia, allied with France, should have been due the delay in the much needed extension of the cosmopolitan settlement at Shanghai. This extension was a necessity, not easily appreciated by those unfamiliar with the conditions under which Shanghai exists. The settlement is administered by a Municipal Council, elected annually from among the cosmopolitan residents, and the result is the enjoyment, within this square mile, of all the amenities of Western civilization. But, Shanghai having become the commercial metropolis of China, populous suburbs have grown up around the privileged district outside of municipal rule: their insanitary condition is a menace to the health of the overcrowded "settlement" and hence their incorporation is a vital necessity which has at last, after many years of weary waiting, been officially acknowledged. This is the game of "grab" which Mr. Holmstrem so virtuously deprecates. The truth is that wherever men of Caucasian race congregate in the East, expansion is a necessity and by no means a "lust of conquest." "Foreign settlements" bring wealth and prosperity to previously decaying regions; by our enterprise we "foreigners" attract population which threatens to crowd us out; Asiatic conditions arise under which the European in hot climates cannot exist, and extension follows to the great benefit of native and European alike. This applies equally to the "Hongkong extension" formed by the recent cession of Kow-loong, which "formidable advance" our author is never tired of citing as the latest instance of "English rapine and slavery—the famous murder for gain."

The catchpenny statement that England is the inveterate enemy of America and ever scheming to injure her, is too absurd to merit contradiction. The argument that "both countries, (Russia and America) afford opportunities for liberty in the highest sense of the word, as founded on genuine equality of rights and certainly realize this idea more than any other country," will certainly be derided, as far as Russia is concerned. The more specious argument that "it was from Asia that the glorious principles of truth, of faith and of love were sent into the world for the salvation of mankind," and that hence "the

Americans must look far back and far into the Asiatic East in order to shape their progress," may be true if it means that they should take the teaching of the Saviour as their guide in politics, but not if, as Mr. Holmstrem's further remarks would appear to indicate, it means that they should re-baptise themselves in the civilization of China, and that "the American democracy itself, in order to be something whole and undivided, must keep in touch with the spiritual forces which are the symbol of unity—yea, which are unity itself—and which underlay that ancient civilization." The conclusion is "that if America would be true to herself and to her noble traditions she must come over to our side and accept the Eastern conception," for "we have common foes bent on mischief, as Americans will soon realize on their own continent; it would be well for us to reach one another a helping hand where needed."

Flattering as it may be to the Great Republic to have on hand two suitors for her favor like Russia and Great Britain, I do not fear that she can long hesitate in deciding whose policy in Asia best promotes her interests; whether China should be developed under Russian autocracy or under conditions of free competition for all, as it will be wherever British influence predominates. Idealists, like Mr. Stead, see only the good side of Russian aims and civilization, but practical men of business feel the pressure of her exclusive commercial policy and dread the arbitrary rule of her officials. There are two Russias, a liberal, peaceful Russia, and an aggressive, despotic Russia. The latter is now in the ascendant, and we have cause to fear its action in China. No one knows better than do Russian publicists and politicians that the British Premier, Lord Salisbury, spoke the truth when he said a year ago in the House of Lords: "If I am asked what is our policy in China, it is the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Empire and its guidance in the paths of reform." All nations have been invited to join us in upholding this integrity; had Russia been sincere in her protestations, she would have promptly joined us in protecting the Empire from outside aggressions. Germany could not then have seized Kiao-chao, and Manchuria would not have been lost to China. Possibly, we may yet, with the moral support of America, succeed in upholding what is still left of the integrity of the tottering Empire.

The fact of the matter is, as a Russian writer in the London

Daily Mail has recently pointed out, that Russia is passing through a crisis at the present moment.

"The dark spirits collected round the throne by the late Emperor are still there, but the leaden hand that gave to their actions some uniformity, is gone, and at present we have, instead of one irresponsible potentate, quite a number of them. The main feature of the foreign policy of Russia is to press in the direction of the line of least resistance. The pushing Russian foreign policy is mainly due to financial considerations. The mass of the population is ruined, consequently the internal market is going down. Therefore, all the tendencies and hopes of Russian financiers are fixed upon transferring the center of gravity of taxation from agriculture to manufacturing industry, and thus saving the State Budget. M. Witte is artificially feeding and rearing that industry, and in the meantime foreign markets are being hastily created by means of all kinds of annexations, and then safeguarded from foreign competition. The success of this financial policy depends on whether M. Witte succeeds in strengthening the capitalistic productiveness of the manufacturing industry, before the financial crisis arising out of the *ruin of the agricultural population* comes. M. Witte is showing signs of alarm that he will not succeed. He has already exhausted all the means at his disposal for keeping up the balance. All the tricks for favorably arranging the items of the State Budget on paper have been resorted to; direct and indirect taxation have reached their highest possible point, and yet the danger of having to wind up the next budget with a deficit is staring M. Witte in the face."

Russia is in the cruel position of having to ship away the food products of her impoverished peasantry at home, in order to meet her heavy commitments abroad, and pay the inexorable interest of her extravagant loans in foreign lands; yet the forward party, who have the ear of the Czar, are constantly pushing her into fresh ventures and fresh extravagances in pursuit of fresh annexations. She reminds one of a bankrupt, before his exposure, plunging into reckless speculation, hoping, while his credit lasts, that a fortunate *coup* may bring him round; if not, the inevitable deluge. In such circumstances, one would think that Russia would be glad to arrest her ambition and come to an amicable arrangement with the Western Powers in regard to the position of China, and cease to block the way in Peking when Germany or England attempts to put through fresh industrial enterprises. Russia herself can do nothing without borrowed money: foreign capital is her last resource, and "M. Witte does his best to lure it to Russia with the prospect of mulcting it in the near future."

As regards America, her interests in China, so far, have not suffered. Her trade still flourishes. The door for her imports into Manchuria and Shantung has not yet been shut, though

there is no guarantee that it will not be closed in the near future. France has already closed the door in the South, in Tonkin, and imposes a differential transit tax of ten per cent. on American goods crossing her border on their way from the free port and depôt of Hongkong to the still Chinese province of Yunnan. Americans have secured a concession for one of the best trunk lines of railway in China—that from Canton, in the South, to Hankow, in the heart of the Yangtse Valley—and it is thus doubly in the interest of America to join in keeping the Yangtse Valley open, together with such remainder of the eighteen great provinces of China proper, and her outlying dependencies, as still remains free. As for Mr. Holmstrem's tirades against England, they remind us of nothing so much as of the old Italian proverb, "*The offender never pardons.*"

ARCHIBALD LITTLE.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY FRANCIS B. LOOMIS, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO VENEZUELA.

WHOLESOME criticism of the Diplomatic and Consular Service of the United States, which for several years has been growing in vigor and volume, has recently shown an unfortunate tendency to degenerate into unintelligent and unjust attack upon a body of public officials which is not without very considerable merit.

In considering some of the harsh judgments passed upon the officials of the United States engaged in its foreign service, I shall refer more particularly to the Consuls. To attack them in a sweeping, undiscriminating way, has come to be almost a habit with many Americans who travel abroad and with business men who feel the need of foreign markets, but who are too inactive, too ill-informed or too stupid to take advantage of the opportunities for increasing export trade which the Government is persistently setting before the people of the United States. Business men who fail in the foreign markets become very severe critics of the United States Consul, and their chorus of detraction is often swelled by those who work loyally and untiringly to secure the extension of the merit system to our foreign service.

According to the public press, it has recently been asserted in an address or lecture by a former Assistant Cabinet Officer, that "our Diplomatic Service is a disgrace," and we are almost daily informed that our Consular Service is "the worst in the world." The latter assertion, indeed, may be said to be the burden of the complaining song of those who assail our Consular system without adequate knowledge of the efficiency of foreign consuls, and the systems under which they work.

One cannot defend what is known as our "Consular System"

as it exists to-day, but surely there is much to be said for the results that have been achieved, in spite of the faults of the system itself. No objection can be made to well considered criticism, and it takes no gift of uncommon or profound penetration to discover the weak places in our system. Happily for the country, however, they are mainly on the surface and, for that reason, are more readily discovered, and may be more easily corrected.

The salient fault of the preponderating mode of criticism of our Foreign Service is that it is not discriminating, is not founded upon comprehensive, accurate knowledge, and in most cases, is neither precise nor specific. The parrot cry, "We have the worst consular system in the world," has gained currency, credence and authority by the irresistible force of reiteration. It is a slashing, ill-considered phrase, and one that is misleading and confusing.

A considerable portion of the condemnation of the consular service is based on the social shortcomings of many of our consuls and their lack of familiarity with many of the conventional proprieties. In the south of France I was once invited with the officers of one of our men of war, to dine with the Prefect of the department. This important representative official was a man of ancient and illustrious family. He was cultured, rich and refined in manner and talk. He was also an accomplished linguist and spoke English correctly and fluently. In short, he was a many-sided man who deserved and commanded respect. Shortly after we had taken our seat at the table, and while the delicious, delicately seasoned *potage* was being eaten, there was a lull for a few seconds in the conversation, and the loud, drawling voice of the American Consul was heard exclaiming, with great earnestness: "By thunder, Mr. Prefect, this is bully soup." Of course, the Consul's fellow-countrymen present were sorry and chagrined, yet the expression of robust satisfaction was so genuine, so obviously just, so innocently uttered, so pregnant with good faith and profound conviction, that I think our host was not displeased. This consul was a child of nature; he was quite unfamiliar with some of the small refinements and conventions of cosmopolitan society, but he was intelligent, alert, honest, careful and kind-hearted. He was the possessor of a splendid physique, was endowed with much personal magnetism, and was bristling with Americanism. He had had practical experience in many walks of life. Nine per-

sons in ten who saw this consul at the Prefect's dinner-table would declare that he was unfit for the official position which he held; but it should be remembered that such incidents do not illustrate the fitness or unfitness of a Consular Officer for the serious business of the service. It would be a great deal better, and far more soothing to our pride, if all our Consuls were accomplished men of the world, as well as capable, industrious, honest commercial agents of the Government; but it is vain to expect too much at once, especially at this stage of our development. The Consul to whom I have referred was a very efficient officer. The Department of State thought extremely well of him. He was a shrewd observer; he saw and reported with graphic felicity many fresh, pertinent and important facts in the field of foreign commerce and manufactures; his reports pointed the way and opened the doors to new markets for the products of many American factories. At the end of two years, he had acquired the language of the country to which he was accredited, and at the end of four years he was turned out of office just when his usefulness to his own country was greatest. This is a real case, and it is a typical one. It proves many things. One is that the tenure of office should be longer; it does not prove, however, that it should be for life, as many advocates of Consular Reform suggest.

To those of us who have had practical, personal knowledge of our foreign service, who have been Consular officers, who have a keen sense of the imperfections of our Consular System and who know something at the same time of its splendid possibilities, the idea of permanent, uninterrupted service abroad has never seemed a satisfactory corrective for the present ills. There is a danger that long residence abroad would unfit many men for the work of accurately and ably representing the business interests of their own country. My own observation, and it is one that I share with a great many men who have been employed in the Foreign Service of the United States, is that most consuls who have lived abroad for a long period unconsciously drift away from the distinctive sentiment, thought and purposes of the United States. They lose touch with their countrymen, and they are certainly very much less American in their ideas and activities than when they entered the service; and I here use the word "American" in its best and highest sense. Consuls who live ten or a dozen years abroad without returning, except for an occasional, very

brief visit, to the United States, lose the individuality which appertains to their national character and insensibly merge into their foreign environment. They develop an excess of mental adaptability, they harmonize too serenely and completely with their surroundings. They gain polish and culture, but lose all ambition, save the ambition to live abroad. Too often they become severe, habitual critics of their own country. Our tariff legislation gives them pain, for the reason that it is unpopular abroad, annoys their foreign friends and, in some cases, causes them financial loss. The attitude toward his own country of the Consul who has been a long time abroad is frequently one of apology both for that country and its people. When a Consular or Diplomatic Officer reaches this condition of development or degeneracy, his usefulness as a public functionary ceases. He is no longer a true and efficient representative of his country. We have no reason to send abroad salaried apologists. We want the men in our foreign service to represent the good will and good breeding of their country, but we cannot afford to keep our Consulates filled with men who succumb too readily to the blandishments and influences of their foreign surroundings. When a man in our Foreign Service begins to think that he must habitually and servilely defer to the opinions and wishes of the people among whom he happens to be living, he is no doubt successfully flattering the people about him, but he is also winning and meriting their concealed contempt, and is wofully misrepresenting his countrymen. We must be represented abroad by Americans, by men who have a vital interest in their country, by men who have a firm, inherent, but modest pride in it, and who will uphold its good qualities rather than apologize for the traits that half-informed foreigners are pleased to discover and object to. Intelligent Americans are aware of the personal and national faults of the race; if they need assistance in having their shortcomings emphasized and pointed out, there is always a considerable number of foreign tourists, travellers and men of letters who are willing to lend themselves to this task with candor and enthusiasm.

It is difficult to determine what should be the tenure of office for a Consul. One great and, I think, universally acknowledged merit of the present system is that, by reason of the frequent changes, we get better work in the way of reports from our consuls than do those Governments which keep officers of this class per-

manently in their positions. It is essentially important that we should send abroad men with fresh eyes, and with the capacity of taking fresh points of view. This is a consideration which ought to receive due weight in extending the merit system to the Consular Service. It is one that cannot be ignored without the risk of rendering the service inflexible, cumbersome and inapt.

Our Consular System has been made the subject of a thorough, searching and scientific study by many of our commercial rivals, and the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers and certain officials of Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy have been observing with jealous, watchful eyes the methods and achievements of the Consular Officers of the United States. In this work-a-day world, results furnish the accepted measure of success of a system, and of a governmental or business organization; and, measured by results based upon the observation and verdicts of our commercial rivals, the Consular System of the United States seems not greatly to suffer by comparison with that of any other country.

The trade journals of England and Germany have been commenting, freely, frequently and copiously for several years, upon the excellent work of American consuls. The high character of the commercial reports furnished by our Consular Officers was recently made a conspicuous subject of discussion by a member of the House of Commons, somewhat to the disparagement of the British Consular Service; and in a recent number of "*La Revue Diplomatique*," the organ of the French Diplomatic and Consular Service, are the subjoined keen and just observations:

"The Americans are practical men, and their instinct for business is marvelous. Nothing is more characteristic in this respect than the organization of their consular corps. Its duty is that of a sort of bureau of information at the expense of the State. It is recruited principally from journalists, who carry into their official career the trained instinct of observation, the quick grasp of passing events which belong to their former profession. They remain in close and sympathetic touch with their former readers.

"In some countries, the official printing office leisurely prepares the proofs of consular reports. These are returned for correction to the consuls, and when they finally appear they are no longer of interest. They are of an historic rather than a business character. But the American consul knows that his notes will go without delay immediately to the public, and he gives in them, like a good reporter, information down to the latest hour.

"The American consul does not understand that he has a commercial situation to maintain, but always a commercial situation to conquer. His ingenuity is exercised to invent and find new markets,

and in his study of ways and means, he descends to the most minute details.

"For instance, the Americans have wheat to sell. The Consul at Amoy proposes to import it into China. But the Chinese do not eat wheat. They must then be taught to eat it. It is noticed that the Chinese *gargotiers* (cook-shops) form associations in which they readily copy or imitate each other. The consul suggests that some dozens of these be selected, wheat given them *gratis*, and they be taught to make a few cheap, simple dishes. The fashion would spread rapidly among the restaurants, and from there to the families. Here is an instance of imagination and, at the same time, of practical good sense. The Americans do not lack a certain sentimentality in business. Last year, at Caracas, they offered to the President a banquet where were served only dishes prepared from products of American origin. Enterprising and ingenious in the new countries, it is above all in Europe that the American consuls are active and aggressive. Despite their colonial conquests, the Americans have comprehended that the real struggle remains in the old markets; that there are great fields to be cultivated; that *there* especially is the hard school that will force them to manufacture and sell better than all others.

"They have commenced their industrial expansion by striking at the very heart of the old industry, in conquering the English firms in the Birmingham market. Their principles and rules are those of sport. The record must be beaten. Their consuls have won the admiration of the English.

" 'The English merchants,' says a journal of Birmingham in October last, 'commence to ask why our consuls do not work in the same spirit as the American consuls.' These consuls interest themselves immediately after they reach their post in all that surrounds them, just as they did before, as journalists. That which they do not know, they learn. One sees by this that the Americans have the art of putting life and initiative into a career where other people rest upon routine and immobility."

In a recent number, *The Consular Journal and Great Britain* prints a leading editorial in which elaborate comparison is made between the Consular systems of Great Britain and the United States. The writer says, in part, that the present method of appointing United States Consular officers has very patent drawbacks.

"There is just the possibility that the system of rewarding political service may prepare the way for the entrance of men who are not altogether fitted for the post. The possibility, however, though existent, is not largely operative, for its legitimate presumption is that a man who has distinguished himself in politics must be a man of the world, and possessed of tact and common sense. It is certainly an objection, though, to the scheme, that, just when a man is accustomed to his surroundings, and has so to speak, learnt his way about, he should be obliged to pull up his roots and abandon the Consulate, whose duties he has performed so well.

"We cannot say, with the experience of our own Consular Service to guide us, that the alteration suggested in the States would be altogether beneficial. A lad, fresh crammed from college, might be able, in an examination, to beat a man whose business tact, commercial experience and desirable personality renders him an ideal Consul. Besides, in our own service there is altogether too much of caste. There is, if anything, too much of the security of tenure principle about our own service. The Consul by no means keeps up his acquaintance with commercial England. In the majority of cases, he may have had no business training or experience, and yet, on the strength of his superficial 'cram' knowledge, he is chosen for the post. But not only does this weakness in the system of the selection of our Consular officers reflect discredit upon the Foreign Office, it shows that other nations obtain much better and more reliable work from their officers than we do.

"Thus, a Consular officer of the United States' Government is, to begin with, not so well paid as ours. But still, for all that, the work achieved by him is certainly superior to that done by our Consular officers abroad. He is, in fact, the servant of the officials and the people, and neither let him have many idle moments. He must prepare exhaustive lists of important shipping and commercial statistics. He must be constantly on the alert to discover new trade tendencies, and then he must exhaustively report thereon, and of such importance does Congress think these advices that they publish them daily as soon as received. Under all these circumstances, it is plain that the perfect Consular Service is neither with us nor with the Americans. Certainly, if the present system of 'spoils' is departed from, there is more than a probability of 'social successes,' 'tea and tennis men,' finding their way to the ranks of Consuls, to the certain prejudice of the Service."

The same journal also prints this note:

"What is Expected of German Consuls.—Under this heading, the '*Central Zeitung für Optik und Mechanik*' says that all the other countries of the world are left far behind in respect to Consular enterprise by the United States. In Italy, for example, the Consuls have begun a campaign in the press in order to get American goods into favorable competition with German and Swiss merchandise on the markets of Turin, Rome and Messina. 'Their knowledge is more general than that of our Consuls, and our Government would do well to choose its Consuls as the United States do theirs—widely informed men, ever awake to the commercial interests of their country.' "

It seems, after all, that our system has its good points and that the tenure of service may be too long.

I have always been in sympathy with the idea of the merit system and have welcomed every sensible and effective effort to advance the policy of Civil Service Reform, but I prefer to see these things from the practical point of view, and our attempts at reform have not always been either sensible or practical. Frequently, too much has been attempted and the onward march of

reform has thus been delayed. I think this is true in respect to our foreign service. Many excellent bills, looking to its radical reorganization, have been introduced in Congress, but they have been too sweeping in their provisions. The men who do the active work in politics and who reap large rewards, seem not to be quite ready for a complete reorganization of the foreign service of the United States. Systems do not change in a day. We cannot pass with facility from the present organization to the merit system without preparation, experiment and ample time for adjustment to the new order of things. I think it is neither selfishness nor lack of patriotism which moves Senators and Representatives in Congress to oppose the immediate application of the merit system to the whole of our Foreign Service. Every intelligent public man feels that this just and essential reform must come, but many of those in Congress and in other official stations would like the change to be gradual enough to enable Congress to devise the best possible system to meet our peculiar needs and conditions.

It is not at all certain, as I have suggested, that Consular officers should be appointed for life. There are many important phases touching the question of "tenure" to be considered, and details to be worked out, before a complete change can be made. It seems to me there is much to be said in favor of an experimental method of reform for two reasons: (1.) because it will teach us much we need to know, and will make our course in the future plainer and easier; (2.) because it is impossible from a practical point of view.

Consent by Congress to the appointment of a limited number of Consular officers even for life could probably be obtained.

As a step toward putting our Foreign Service upon a permanent basis, the appointment is suggested, for a term of ten or fifteen years or for life, of ten Consuls-General, fifteen Consuls of the first class, twenty-five of the second class and forty Vice-Consuls. These men should be appointed only after an examination which should be a genuine test of their fitness for foreign service, and among the requirements should be the power to speak one or more foreign languages with facility. The law should provide that not more than one-half of the Consuls and Vice-Consuls should be appointed from the same political party, and preference should be given to those who have served with distinction, and to those now in the service who have the highest records for effi-

ciency. Consuls-General should be paid seven thousand five hundred dollars a year; Consuls of the first class five thousand dollars a year, Consuls of the second class three thousand dollars a year, and Vice-Consuls from twelve to eighteen hundred dollars a year, according to the length of their term of service and the importance of their post. The Vice-Consuls should be what are known in the service as "independent Consular officers," and they should be placed in charge of what are now the smaller Consulates. The adoption of some such plan as I have very briefly outlined would furnish the nucleus for the reorganization of the Consular Corps on a permanent basis. It would enable us to work out, in a small and comparatively inexpensive way, the system of permanent organization most accurately adapted to our unique and manifold needs, and would reduce the patronage now furnished by the foreign service by about twenty-five per cent. It would be a distinct gain for reform, a practical forward movement from which there could be no retreat.

An essential feature of this proposed arrangement would be the empowering of the Secretary of State to shift the Consular officers about at will, in short, to use them in such places and in such mannners as he might deem best for the interests of the Government. Lack of this power is one of the main faults of the present system. Sending foreign-born citizens back to the country of their origin as Consular officers of the United States is another practice long in vogue, which in many cases has given very bad results. Consuls who are appointed for a long term of years should be brought to the United States for a period of four or five months every third year for a course of work and instruction, and they should be assigned to our technical and commercial schools and colleges for purposes of delivering lectures on foreign commerce. It seems to me they might render a very important service in this way, and at the same time be gaining in touch and sympathy and community of interests with their fellow-countrymen, and informing themselves concerning the latest needs and developments in the world of business and commerce.

The Consular Service will be reorganized in all probability long before the Diplomatic Service is submitted to that much-needed and important process. There exists now, as ever, need for at least a small band of trained diplomatists who could be called upon as specialists to act in emergencies, and who could be at the

disposition of the President for any service he might require. We have one high official in the Department of State who has given the best of his life to the public service, who has had wide experience both abroad and at Washington. No Foreign Office in the world has an abler or more efficient Under-Secretary, and it seems to me that there is a lesson to be drawn from the great usefulness which long service, wedded to natural ability, has enabled this official to attain. It would be a safe experiment to appoint for life six or seven Ministers Plenipotentiary. These men would form a permanent, trained Diplomatic Corps which could be used for ordinary service and for special commissions. Their appointment would be a strong "hint toward reform," and would in no wise tend to embarrass the foreign policy of any administration, because the President could be authorized to assign them to such service as he pleased. He would still have the absolute appointment of about thirty Ministers. There should also be appointed for a long term of years, or for life, about twenty well paid Secretaries of Legation.

The Government of the United States is expending a truly vast amount of energy, talent and money upon the task of expanding its foreign commerce. The Department of State, the Treasury Department, the Agricultural Department are daily, monthly and annually pouring forth for the information and instruction of American producers and shippers a copious stream of pertinent and often invaluable information. No foreign Government in the world is doing so much for its merchants, manufacturers, shippers and producers of all classes as the Government of the United States is doing to-day. The work of the Government is supplemented by that of many business organizations and associations, and our foreign commerce is advancing with mighty strides, yet I think it is a fact that only a very small percentage of the manufacturers of the United States have established direct relations with foreign markets. The majority of them think it is not worth while, and are entirely unwilling to divert, in the slightest degree, their attention and efforts from the splendid home market at their doors.

I am always greatly surprised and annoyed at the notion, set forth by divers business men in this country, that our export trade is seriously limited by reason of the inefficiency of the Consular Service. This is not quite true. Undoubtedly, the Consular Service,

if it were reorganized and more efficient, would be a still more potent factor in expanding our foreign commerce, but if that branch of commerce is not as large as it should be to-day the fault lies not with the Government nor with the Consuls, but with a certain class of inefficient business men who are not clever enough to take advantage of the splendid opportunities which the Government, through the medium of its Consular officers, is almost daily pointing out to them. I regret to say that many of our manufacturers who enjoy a reputation for sagacity and business ability in the United States, when they attempt for the first time to send goods abroad, make the effort in a manner so unintelligent, so feeble, so lacking in the spirit, insight and mastery of the trade conditions which mark their efforts at home, that the attempt is foredoomed to failure. The average American manufacturer will not patiently and intelligently study the needs and conditions of foreign markets. He will not adapt his ways and his wares to them, nor will he send competent salesmen abroad to introduce his goods. He will not conform to the buying, selling and credit system of foreign countries; and he obstinately refuses to admit that there is any other sane or successful system of doing business than the American way. I am not making an exaggerated statement. I know, from personal experience, that there are scores of so-called intelligent business men in the United States, who expect to introduce their goods abroad and to create a demand for them by sending to the Consul for distribution a box of circulars or catalogues printed in English. There are manufacturers who send large sample lots of their goods abroad, and neglect for more than a year to furnish their foreign agent with either the cost or selling prices. This impotent sort of effort cannot compete with the steady, persistent, patient work of the German, English, French and Italian exporter.

The European merchants come, for instance, to South America, and they come with capital. They look upon a venture there in the nature of a permanent investment. From their home offices and counting-houses and factories, they send young men to be trained in South American business methods, to learn the needs and opportunities of the market. These young men see what the South Americans want, and when they return to Europe they are able to supply every demand which exists in that field of trade. The foreign Consul plays his part too. He assists his country-

men, suggests business opportunities and protects their interests; but he does no more than any good American Consul would do, and generally does do; the difference is that the European producers are systematically and energetically seeking foreign trade, and they have the courage of their convictions and of their capital. If we want to get something out of a country, we must put something into it. Europeans learned this vital commercial truth long ago, and they have been applying it in South America for a quarter of a century.

From a practical point of view, the Consular Service of the United States has been impaired by a well-meaning, but premature, abolition or abridgement of certain fees which Consuls used to receive for services of a semi-official or notarial character. What is known as the "fee system" of payment is open to many objections, for it has afforded opportunities for irregular and excessive charges; but the objections or evils of the "fee system," as it relates to the Consular Service, have been overrated and magnified in a wholly unwarranted manner. This has sometimes been done through impatient desire for positive, definite action of a reform character.

Some of the fees formerly received by Consuls have been suppressed, and some have been made payable to the Government, instead of being added to the income of the Consul, as was formerly the case. To any unbiased mind it should be obvious that fees, which are not, after all, in themselves a reprehensible form of income, ought not to be reduced or abolished until compensation for income thus curtailed can be made in the way of increased salary. At least sixty per cent. of our Consular officers are insufficiently paid, and grave inequalities exist in respect to the Consular salaries as a whole. Many worthy, hard-working Consuls, who have duties of a responsible character to perform, are most inadequately remunerated, and are unable to support their families in moderate comfort upon the slender salaries which Congress allows them. Even the capable, broadly-experienced Chief of the Consular Bureau is wretchedly underpaid and it is largely through patriotism that he sticks to his important, ill-requited task. By reason of inadequate compensation, it is a matter of great difficulty to find good men for all the Consulates. It is true that there are few vacancies, but it would be better to leave a post unfilled than to have it filled unworthily.

There is many a Consular office, the incumbent of which receives a salary of fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars a year; formerly in addition to his salary he received fees, which added, probably, a thousand dollars a year to his income. These fees were, of course, largely paid by foreigners having business relations with the United States, and as these foreign producers are making large profits annually from their export trade with the United States, it seems to me they should be allowed to contribute something to the service which is, in a measure, maintained for their convenience, though, of course, that is not its chief or primary object.

I know a score of Consuls who are so sadly underpaid that they are forced to live shabbily, and are subject to divers humiliations by reason of their inadequate income. These posts, in common with many others, are becoming untenable for men of high character, by reason of the small pay and the ill-advised tinkering with fees, on the part of well-meaning persons who had no power whatsoever to make the slightest advance in salaries, as an offset to the loss through fees which have been prematurely abolished or reduced, and always, save in a few exceptional instances, in the name of reform. I should be glad to see all unofficial fees abolished, but simultaneously with that act I hope to see salaries decently increased and equalized. Until this can be done, let us cease cutting off fees and calling the act which seriously cripples the service a measure of reform.

FRANCIS BUTLER LOOMIS.

A VINDICATION OF THE BOERS.

A REJOINDER TO MR. SYDNEY BROOKS.

BY A DIPLOMAT.

One of the principal arguments used against the Boers is that they are not only a stationary, but a positively retrograde, people. Among the proofs adduced to substantiate this charge, no one has thought, *"et pour cause,"* of mentioning the fact that they are totally ignorant of the art of using the press as a means of influencing public opinion.

The English, with whom, through centuries of initiation, the press has become such a mighty instrument of combat or propaganda, have flooded the world with a mass of publications designed to ruin the Boer cause in both hemispheres. The success of this campaign has been facilitated by the fact that foreign interests in the Transvaal, other than English, could only hope to benefit by it simultaneously with the English interests. Thus, the United States and even France have endorsed the British view of the question. On the other hand, the Boers have done nothing to meet their adversaries on this most important field of international warfare. Trusting exclusively to diplomatic action and military resistance to foil the purpose of the English—with what success in the former line the ostentatious passage of the German Emperor from sympathy to indifference, and the open opposition of France to their claims, have already told us; and, in the latter line, England's determination makes it only too easy to predict—they have totally neglected to enlist public sympathy in foreign countries on their side; and yet their case offers aspects which, properly presented, could not fail to cause the impartial mind to pause and deny the righteousness of the English demands. Whether this feeling would take the form of any practical ad-

vantage to the Boers, is more than questionable; but it is always desirable for a nation, if only in the interest of morality and its own reputation, to establish its innocence and proclaim the guilt of the aggressor.

It has struck the writer of these pages that what the Boer government and citizens have refrained from doing, a foreigner, totally unconnected with them, might think of achieving, prompted thereto simply by his sympathy with the persecuted, and by the innate impulse of man to disprove error and combat injustice. By placing myself on the broad grounds of public and international law, natural equity and history, I hope to cover the whole subject of the debate now raging between the "Paramount Power" in South Africa and the Boers, and so help in popularizing the conclusion that the Transvaal is only fighting for dear life against a foe who is meditating a crime nearly as great as was the suppression of Poland.

Before going deeper into the matter, I should like to express the sentiment that, in constituting myself the champion of the Boers, or rather of international faith and honesty, in a United States Review, I address myself more particularly to that section of the American people whose inborn love of truth and justice will not allow their judgment to be obscured by sympathy of race, or by a certain analogy of situations and methods of solution between what was the Cuban Question for the Americans, and what is the Transvaal Question for the English.

The July number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW contains a very interesting article by Mr. Sydney Brooks, dealing with the subject we have in hand from the English point of view. It has occurred to me that an excellent way of carrying out my object is to follow Mr. Brooks in his very complete statement of the case, esteeming that, if I can prove the appreciations of this earnest and well equipped upholder of the Uitlander *Credo* to be false, I shall have achieved a sufficient triumph for the Boers.

After deploring the breakdown of the negotiations between President Krüger and Sir Alfred Milner, in which sentiment everybody must join, Mr. Brooks prefaces his account of the present condition of affairs in the Transvaal with a short review of what is known as the Suzerainty question. From this description we gather that, as a result of a struggle reaching far back into the beginning of the century, and marked by the pas-

sionate attachment of the Boers to their independence and by a lesser tenacity of feeling on the part of the English, two conventions were concluded—one at Pretoria, the other in London; the last of which, although giving away a great deal of the authority maintained by England over the Transvaal, notwithstanding the defeat at Majuba Hill, still kept the Republic in a state of subjection to English control in one or two things. Mr. Brooks goes on to say, and he proves it vigorously, that this right of partial control—call it "suzerainty" or anything else, the term has no importance—to which England clings with great fervor, especially since the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, constitutes a worthless instrument in her hands, whereas it is wormwood and gall to the Boers. Finally, Mr. Brooks suggests—and this suggestion should be particularly noticed, because it embodies his idea of a solution of the Transvaal question—that the total surrender of this right of control on the part of the English should and might be a means of achieving a settlement of the affairs in dispute, because "there are probably few concessions President Krüger would not be glad to make, in order to sweep away the limitations on the full sovereignty of the Transvaal and place the Republic on an equality with Great Britain."

Now, here I part from Mr. Brooks. If it is an illusory advantage for England to claim suzerainty over the Transvaal, as granted by the London convention, it would be no less illusory a concession to the Republic to free her from the effect of mere empty words. Undoubtedly, the Boers would derive a moral satisfaction from the proclamation of their complete independence; but, before making a bargain in that direction, President Krüger, of whose shrewdness Mr. Brooks is rightly assured, must see to it that he does not give very valuable wares in exchange for false coin. Why, if the proposition of Mr. Brooks means anything at all, it signifies that the privilege of freeing itself from an insignificant state of dependency is to be acquired by the Transvaal for the enfranchisement of the Uitlanders—that is to say, for a weapon with which the English will obtain a complete mastery over it. There is mockery in Mr. Brooks' advice; although he may deny this by saying, as in fact he does say in the course of his argument, that the enfranchisement of the English will not lead to any substitution of authority in the Transvaal. He may say so; but who can help smiling at such a declaration. However,

this aspect of the case should not concern us just yet. Let us first look into the matter of enfranchisement, considered as a grievance of the Uitlanders, and speak of it together with their other complaints.

The whole Transvaal issue hinges on one question: Have the Boers the right to govern themselves as they choose; or, rather, have the English the right to interfere with the form of government, administration and life that the Boers have chosen for themselves? The answer to this query involves considerations of public and international law which are of great importance.

It is the practice of those Powers who have embarked on colonization to occupy territories belonging to savage or semi-savage populations, without much reference to the lawfulness of the operation. In this way, England, France, Germany, ill-advised Italy, and, recently, the United States have spread their dominion over immense tracts of country. Challenged to prove the justifiableness of their conduct, they will begin by solemnly invoking the clauses of conventions concluded with local potentates; and, when the flimsiness and utter hypocrisy of this line of defence are denounced—for we all know the part that intimidation and gin play in these transactions—they fall back on the plea that they are acting in the name of the higher interests of humanity; nay, some say, and they have said it in verse (*vide* Kipling's poem on "The White Man's Burden"), that they are *sacrificing* themselves in behalf of a high notion of duty. Thus, quite a new doctrine has sprung up. Undoubtedly, the substitution of enlightened European or American rule for the primitive and too often ferocious modes of savage administration benefits mankind and the natives themselves, for whom it is not much of a gain, but still a gain, to die from gin instead of by murdering one another. Yet it would seem that there is something lame in the colonial doctrine, since, even in the most flagrant cases of incapacity on the part of barbarous races to govern themselves, the violent or stealthy occupation of their territories causes a secret unrest to the public conscience and mind. This uneasiness does not result so much from the long standing conviction, confirmed by the accusations imprudently hurled by the Powers against one another in their spiteful moods, that national, and sometimes only personal, greed is at the bottom of colonization, as from a deeper, though vaguer, source of misgiving. If we exert our minds to

give body and shape to this feeling, we recognize in it the instinctive revolt of our nature against anything that threatens the foundations of society; and this the colonial doctrine does, because it is the indirect negation of the principle of property, whether individual or national. That this is so, and that it contains the germ of shocking disturbances to the peace of the world, —a germ whose growth helps to render even more farcical the meeting of the conference which recently sat at the Hague—is strikingly proved by what is going on in China, and, what is of more special interest to us, by the events hurriedly preparing in the Transvaal.

From being applied only to the savage populations of Africa and Asia, the principle of the rights of superior races and civilizations has come, by a steep incline, to mean also that it has reference to countries like the Celestial Empire and the Boer Republic. Between the Zulus and the Boers, what is the difference? Only one of degree. Fine reasoning clears the way for the perpetration of any outrage on the liberty and sovereignty of minor or weak States.

I do not mean to contradict my former statement, which is sincere, notwithstanding the irony it seems to contain, regarding the general profit arising from the substitution of civilization for barbarism—especially when the barbarism is of a sanguinary kind —and the justification of transfer of territory in such cases; but what I want to point out is that, invented in an hour of need, a principle has been laid down which is false, because it is loose in its aim and wording, and thus leaves the door open to abuse. We are thus confronted with the angry claims of the English to govern in the Transvaal—enfranchisement means nothing else— followed by threats of war if they are not satisfied.

The demonstration of the inferiority of the Boers is eagerly undertaken by Mr. Brooks, who calls the situation in the Transvaal "almost too fantastic for serious presentation." On the one hand, we are presented with a bright sketch of the qualities and achievements of the Uitlanders; on the other, with a sombre picture of the Boers, which represents them as being in a semi-barbarous condition. Mr. Brooks says:

"A half nomad people, of sullen and unsocial temperament, severed from Europe and its influences for over two hundred years, living rudely and contentedly on the vast, arid holdings where their sheep and cattle are pastured—each man as far as may be from his neigh-

bor—disdaining trade, disdaining agriculture, ignorant to an almost inconceivable degree of ignorance, without music, literature or art, superstitious, grimly religious, they are in all things, except courage and stubbornness of character, the very antithesis of the strangers settled among them."

And yet, *horribile dictu*, these strangers are kept "in complete subjection to their bucolic task masters." Thus, out of the superiority of the Uitlanders arises a demand for a share in the legislation of the Transvaal; and, because this is opposed, it becomes an additional grievance, the principal one.

Now, what are the specific grievances originally formulated by the Uitlanders? Mr. Brooks speaks of bad administration, as illustrated by the absence of sufficient police and sanitary arrangements, by the prostitution of the law courts to the whims of the legislature, and by the adoption of prohibitive measures against commerce and industry and the spread of the English language. Even if this is a correct representation of the state of things in the Transvaal—and it may be, except in its reference to justice, which is susceptible of reservations—the English cannot make it a plea for the suppression of Boer government, because that government, although primitive and slowly progressive, as I can afford to admit it is, does not come within the class of institutions which are an outrage to the moral feelings of mankind and provide the only excuse a State can invoke for the suppression of another State. No Englishman, I hope, will deny that the essential notions of morality, if not of civilization, pervade the Transvaal State. What is missing in it, is a set of institutions and ideas productive of well being and luxury. The faculty of a people to dispense with these, calls forth the frequent commendation of the English themselves in their political and social literature, as well as in their current talk, with the help of expressions such as "healthy simplicity of life," "freedom from the enervating and corrupting influences of civilization," and so forth. Besides, the unfriendliness of the soil, as well as the geographical situation, of the Transvaal, together with other circumstances, conspired to maintain the Boer community in the state of primitiveness to which it adhered as a matter of temperament, as well as of social and religious principle. If, even after the discovery of the gold mines, it did not adopt the Anglo-Saxon ideal of a State, it was—supposing there be any necessity to justify a belated form of existence in a nation on other grounds than that of

its right to shape its destinies as it pleases, provided it does not tend to become a source of immorality—it was, I say, because, by opposing the spread of what is called civilization within its confines, it hoped to discourage the influx of foreigners, in whose presence, especially in that of the English, it immediately detected the germ of a great danger to its independence. In fact, the inertia of the Boers in the matter of reforms, and their activity in creating obstacles to the development of industry and commerce and to the use of the English language, are inspired as much by this thought as by their constitutional aversion to what the English are free to call "the blessings," and what *they* are free to call "the curses," of civilization. If there is one duty to which a State is more particularly pledged than to any other, it is the obligation to maintain its existence, and to prefer its own interests to those of other Powers. With this object in view, the Boers are distinctly justified in overlooking the complaints of the British; and there are States which have gone a much greater length in their indifference to the choice of means in devising plans for the national safety, without international law allowing of interference on the part of their neighbors.

The safety and interest of the State are the supreme law of nations.

The methods it suggests very often take the form of downright unscrupulousness and cruelty, which is far from being the case in the Transvaal; and, if any Great Power ever thinks of making representations to another on this head, which it can only do in a friendly and officious way, it is because it does not see the beam in its own eye. Need I quote Russia and Germany in this connection? Need I quote the United States? Nay, need I quote England herself? Who is ignorant of the painful aspects of the "language" and "religion" questions in the Empire of the Romanoffs, and in that of the Hohenzollerns? Are the United States free from the pangs of conscience in the matter of the Indians; and, in excluding a whole race, the Chinese, from establishing themselves in American territory, have they not used incomparably more rigor, in order to defend the economical situation of the country, than the Boers in putting difficulties in the way of English immigration, in order to defend the very existence of the State? Or is Great Britain less open to criticism in this relation—she, who is the essence of liberalism when her own

people are concerned, but who does not scruple to practice the most despotic principles, when it suits her purpose, in dealing with conquered and alien races; she, who, to quote a curious instance of inconsistency on her part, thunders against the intolerable abuse of the quarantine system in other countries, and yet applies the same system herself in Malta?

If the Transvaal State is against the development of commerce and industry on principle, it is within its rights to be so, as much as the United States in adopting the McKinley and Dingley tariffs. It is a matter of opinion, moral or social in the Transvaal, economic in the United States. If the English were more logical and more careful to avoid the reputation of being over-bearing with the weak, they would no more think of calling the Transvaal to account for its economic policy, than they would of challenging the United States for theirs. What Mr. Brooks calls the prostitution of the law courts to the whims of the legislature, does not apply to the ordinary dealings of justice in the Transvaal, but to the political situation, which, as we have explained, must be governed by the principle of the safety of the State. Finally, if the police and sanitary arrangements are not better, Mr. Brooks himself offers us the best possible explanation: it is because the Boers, in order to defend their threatened independence, are obliged to spend nearly all their money on fortifications and the secret service.

Because they cannot obtain redress, through the Boers, for their imaginary grievances, the English claim a share in the government of the Transvaal, insisting that they have a right to be represented in the Raad; and, being denied this privilege, they make it their principal grievance. On what is this claim founded? Certainly not on the doctrine or practice of other States. I defy anybody to prove that any State or, for that matter, any theory of international law, considers it an "obligation" for governments to enfranchise aliens, however great their services to the country in which they reside, however great their contributions to its exchequer, however marked their superiority over the natives. Representation, where it exists, is a consequence of citizenship. "Well, then, we have a right to Transvaal citizenship," say the English. Again, why? Some States show a tendency to favor the naturalization of foreigners, especially the American republics; others, like Russia, are opposed to it; and some, like

France, from being very liberal in this matter are now undergoing the effects of a reaction. In England, a clause of the law on naturalization provides the Home Secretary with the power to ultimately use his own discretion. But, even in those countries which are most distinctly favorable to naturalization, the practice of adopting aliens is in no way viewed as resulting from an obligation, moral or other, but from the consideration of their own convenience and interest, and it is subject to their own conditions. Nay, in the matter of naturalization, the opinion of the State is so absolutely considered to be all, and the opinion of the individual nothing, that the alien is often naturalized against his will, as is the case in the South American republics. In fact, the question is one that is connected to such an extent with the rights of sovereignty, that it can be only regulated by treaty. There is no treaty binding the Transvaal on this head; therefore, the Boers are perfectly free to oppose the English demands. But, says Mr. Brooks, the English are two to one in the Transvaal. If anything, that is an additional reason for refusing to naturalize them, and we know why. That a majority should be governed by a minority is an anomaly; but it is an admitted situation in public and international law. In India, a handful of Englishmen govern 300,000,000 of natives. In the Transvaal, the case of the governing minority is strengthened by the fact that their authority does not proceed from invasion and conquest, which is a vitiating element in the position of England in India, but from a prior establishment in the land, and is exercised against the majority in the defence of a settled order of things, which has received the sanction of international law.

I leave it to the appreciation of my readers to decide whether the foregoing pages do not contain sufficient proofs of the unrighteousness of the quarrel England has picked up with the Transvaal, and of the justifiableness, nay more, the positive meritoriousness of the attitude of the Boers, whom no generous nation can do otherwise than admire for the pluck and stubbornness with which they are defending their sovereignty. Might I explain here that I have purposely adopted the darkest colors of Mr. Brooks' palette to reproduce the picture of the Transvaal, in order to strengthen my argument, by showing that, even if things are quite as the English represent them to be, the Uitlanders cannot make out a case for themselves. As a matter of fact, the

Boers, whether they will it or not, are submitting much more than the English will admit to the intrinsic force of modern ideas. They are certainly not in a hurry to make a complete surrender to the tide of innovation and reform; but to depict them as radically refractory to the notions of progress is an injustice. The political situation is more to blame for their backwardness than their old-fashioned conservatism; and, as to the bitter complaints concerning the want of proper administration in the Transvaal, these might be proved on closer inspection to be considerably exaggerated, and to be more the result of the animosity of the English against the Boers, than of a real sense of annoyance and discomfort on the part of men who belong to a class accustomed to rough it, and who, moreover, knew exactly what they had to expect in crossing the borders of the Republic.

I think it is also necessary to recall to mind that, notwithstanding the depth of his convictions in his differences with the English, and however great his stubbornness at heart in thwarting their purposes, Mr. Krüger has not pressed his case with all the force it derives from absolute legitimacy and from the importance of the points at issue; and that he has not only avoided provocative forms, but has actually made concessions, the value of which may be a matter of discussion, but whose existence is nevertheless proof of his desire to spare the pride of a great nation.

I will now revert to the important question of the franchise—the one that dominates the whole situation in the Transvaal and has absorbed in itself all the other grievances of the Uitlanders.

Following Mr. Brooks, I have once or twice taken up a stand on his own ground, that of the harmfulness or innocuousness of enfranchisement granted to the English. Although I have been hitherto more concerned with the legal aspects of this question, a practical view of it forced itself upon my attention at an early stage of this discussion, and I contended against Mr. Brooks, apart from all considerations of legitimacy or non-legitimacy, that, as a matter of opportuneness, the franchise should not be granted by the Boers to the English, because it would lead to the loss of their independence. I will now prove it.

When representation is claimed, it is done with the idea that it will be efficacious; else why claim it? When the English demand representation in the Boer Parliament, they do so with the

intention, not of satisfying a whim, but of modifying the legislation of the Transvaal in a way to make it meet their views. They cannot hope to do so without having a majority. Therefore, they aim at outnumbering the Boers in the Raad; and, once this desideratum has been fulfilled, the government of the country will have passed into the hands of men who, following the ordinary impulses of flesh and blood, will transform the Boer State into an English dependency—notwithstanding any assurances to the contrary or even the taking of the oath of allegiance. Can anybody contest this view? Is it at all conceivable that a large body of Englishmen, invested with the power to rule in the Transvaal, will continue to submit to the direction of a President and government representing a helpless minority, and belonging to what they consider an inferior race? In many things the enfranchised Uitlanders may quarrel with one another, but they will act like one man to Anglicise the State. Is the contrary technically possible in a State founded on the play of liberal institutions? Besides, do not circumstances point to the existence of a deep-laid scheme, on the part of England, to annex the Transvaal? Has it not been made evident that, in pursuance of a gigantic conception, England is forging the links of a dominion that will extend from the North to the South of Africa, and that the Transvaal will be the next of these links? The Republic is an obstacle—geographical, ethnical and political—to English expansion. Even if it did not stand seriously in their way, history teaches us that it would yet be impossible for the English to resist the temptation of occupying, for convenience' sake, a country that, being weak, is at the same time deprived of the traits that might render it sacred, as Greece is for example, in the eyes of the world, and provide it with friends in the hour of need, even among the Philistines themselves. There is, what for want of a better and less flattering term I will call a sense of the artistic and æsthetic in the spirit of expansion, a sense which revels in conceptions of beautifully rounded and delicately finished frontiers, and uninterruptedly national tracts of territory; and the Transvaal, if for no better reason, is marked out for suppression, because, in the eyes of the English Imperialist, it takes the aspect of an absurdity and an eye-sore in the midst of uniformly British possessions, and spoils the whole map of South Africa with the glare of its color impertinently asserting itself within a huge mass of British pink.

I shall make myself better understood by recalling the instinct of the individual landed proprietor, who is not happy until his estate shows continuity and unindented lines.

Mr. Brooks affirms that the English have no designs on the Transvaal; yet, at the same time, with a contradiction which does not in the least disturb his equanimity, he endorses the apprehensions of the Boers. What he says is too precious not to be literally repeated:

"The President's strength lies in the aptitude of his appeals to the spirit and prejudices of the Old Boer Party. These stalwart conservatives concentrated all their hatred and contempt for foreign ways and customs upon the British, the only enemies they have known. It was to escape from British rule that their forefathers struck out from the Cape, across the wilderness and founded a Republic of their own. The incidents of the Great Trek in the thirties, of which the President is the last survivor, are still held in patriotic memory. The British annexed the new-born State under pledges, delayed so long, that the Boers took up arms to enforce them and won back their independence. The British stopped the expansion of the Transvaal on the north by occupying Matabeleland and Mashonaland and on the west by pouncing upon Bechuanaland. It was with British gold and under the command of British officers that the raid of 1895 was planned and carried out. Small wonder that the Boers saw, and still see, in the demand for the franchise, only another British plot to rob them of their independence. The Uitlanders had come into the country uninvited and undesired, seeking only gold and with full warning that it was a Boer Republic they were entering. By what right could these strangers of yesterday claim to be on a level with the old burghers who had fought and bled to keep the State free from alien control, and *what Boer looking to the past experiences of his people with the English could guarantee that their capture of the franchise would not lead to their capture of the entire State, that the Republic would not become an English Republic with an English President and its original founders a despised and oppressed minority?*"

Following up this amusing piece of treachery, of which he is unwittingly guilty toward himself and his thesis, Mr. Brooks goes on to say that it would have "been a high achievement of diplomacy if Sir Alfred Milner could have persuaded the President, and through him the Boers, that their fears, *if not baseless,* are very *unlikely* to be realized." I need not point to the delicious effect of the words, "if not baseless, are very unlikely to be realized." But the crowning point of Mr. Brooks' originality is to be found in the following passage:

"The people of England have no hostility toward the Boers and no ambition to annex their country. They have on the contrary an uncomfortable feeling that, in their clashes with the Transvaal, the British reputation for fair-dealing, which so long as it is deserved is

the backbone of the Empire, has not been altogether maintained. They admire the old President's pluck and shrewdness* and wish him well in his struggle, even when they have to condemn his methods of carrying it on. They cannot find much in his policy that is defensible, except its object; *and yet they feel that, were they in his place, they would have done much as he has done.* . . . "

If ever there was truth in the saying, "I can cope with my enemies, but, oh, God! save me from my friends," it would be in its application by the English to Mr. Brooks.

To quote this gentleman's words for the last time, he says that "so long as the reasonable grievances of the Uitlanders are met with an obstinate *non possumus*, the Transvaal runs the risk of perishing suddenly and in violence." In other words, it is threatened with war.

Therefore, it is a choice of two evils for the Transvaal, of suicide or death at the hands of another. One way or the other, whether they yield or appeal to arms, the Boers are doomed; for, in case it is war, England is determined to bring all her might to bear upon them this time, and then all their bravery and military capacity will not save them from defeat and destruction. They can hope to achieve new distinction by a heroic resistance, by gaining some battles, but this will be of no material avail to them, as they must be overpowered and beaten in the end. With the confidence and increased energy of purpose derived from her triumphs in Egypt, Great Britain means to settle the South African problem in her own way and at any cost. Whatever the choice of the Boers, the end seems to be fast approaching. Most of us will probably live to see the curtain fall on the last act of the tragedy now enacting in the Dark Continent, the suppression of the Transvaal. Europe will look on, but will not stir; and Great Britain, at the zenith of her power and glory and prosperity, will continue to shoot in the skies of international politics, a fiery and uncontrollable orb, until she meets the star that is rising from the East, borne on the wings of Autocracy and Orthodoxy, and which is slowly but steadily moving on the same path. Then the heavens will ring and shake with the tremendous clash, and we shall witness the truth or falsehood of the proud English creed that there is no end to the mission of Great Britain, that she can only grow and spread her Empire, and that, superior to Rome, she will achieve durability in the midst of supreme power.

*I wonder what else "shrewdness" means here but the faculty to see through English schemes.

THE LEGAL ASPECT OF "TRUSTS."

BY JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

DISCUSSION, criticism and hostile legislation have certainly kept pace with the formation of the great manufacturing corporations now popularly called Trusts.

Periodicals and newspapers give no small attention to the subject; no political platform is complete without the anti-trust plank; the anti-trust idea brings men to feasts and furnishes the intellectual relish for the guests; a council of war—diplomatically called a conference—has been arranged between the Governors of various States in order to agree upon a uniform method of corporation scalp-taking; the legislatures of more than a score of the States have framed laws for the suppression or regulation of these great corporations, and Congress itself has spoken upon the subject.

Thoughtful articles, written by men of authority on economic questions or of wide experience as manufacturers and merchants, while appropriately pointing out possible dangers to the public welfare lurking in these, as in all large aggregations of capital, have on the whole been conservative in tone and yet hopeful as to the future of these corporations as a new avenue for the investment of capital, a further means of improving the condition of labor and an additional opportunity afforded American enterprise to reach out directly to the domestic consumer and to enter the markets of the world as a successful competitor.

The real benefits seem to be recited with precise illustration.

To the charge that these corporations can control the output of the product and regulate its price injuriously to the public interests, there is opposed the illustration of the lower price of the product with increased confidence in its quality. To the charge

that with corporations thus constructed the employee is a mere slave of capital, there is recited the advance in his wages and his enlarged leisure. To the charge that a monopoly has been created, a list of competitors in the industry is supplied. If rivals are unsuccessful, it seems to be established beyond much conjecture that it is due to lack of intellect rather than to any plans of oppression set in motion by the larger corporations, and that the waste or bye-product of the indifferent manufacturer becomes the source of profit and of dividends to the corporations representing selected ability.

What is responsible for this flood of legislation is perhaps not altogether clear. By some it is assumed to be due to the claim that many large corporations are enjoying great benefits and not assuming their just share of the public burdens. Some assert it to be simply an old attack made in a new form, having its source in the alarm with which labor at the outset has always regarded any innovation in the use of capital employed in industry.

Perhaps one or two offending corporations have been responsible for this general and concerted attack; but it seems trite to say that all these corporations ought not to be judged by the shortcomings or the misconduct of a few.

"*Ex uno discite omnes*" was written, a long time ago, about a wooden horse, and was poetry.

Whatever, however, be the cause of the attack, the condition is apparent. To seek for the cause is interesting; it is more pertinent just now to know the legal effect of this legislation.

All men with property interests at stake—and all but tramps are of this great class—are deeply concerned in the new industrial development and its accompanying opposition; and while it is somewhat hysterically insisted by those who declaim and legislate that the public welfare is at stake, certain it is that a man's right to dispose of his property to his own advantage is on trial.

The Sovereign Power has the right to see to it that the operations of corporations are controlled within certain well-defined limitations for the general good. When acting within its police powers its power is well-nigh supreme. It has, under certain circumstances, the right to forfeit and confiscate property, and even courts of equity will not interpose; but it has no right from caprice to interfere with the operation of natural laws in trade

or commerce or to set up methods of oppression opposed to all our traditions and inherited rights of security.

In this land the accused is not presumed guilty but innocent, and execution does not precede, but follows judgment.

Little or no discrimination is attempted in these anti-trust statutes. Every corporation which represents by purchase what was previously enjoyed by several corporations or individuals is straightway condemned by statute as a criminal combination. There is little or no attempt to define the offences aimed at. The effect of a combination is not separated from its purpose; harsh methods of procedure are authorized, property is sought to be forfeited, ordinary trade contracts are forbidden, and the concern seems to be not how to legislate wisely, but how to legislate hurriedly and dramatically.

Even in a statute of the State of New York, passed in 1897, where quite other things should be looked for, an unjustifiable method of procedure against these corporations is prescribed. Frequently the examination of a witness before trial may be a proceeding quite as important as any other in a pending action, and is permitted by the courts ordinarily with great reluctance and only after it has been made clear that the testimony sought for is essential and necessary. In this statute, by preliminary proceedings, the Attorney-General may, without notice, apply for orders summoning witnesses from their homes to distant parts of the State, requiring them to produce on such examinations books, documents or papers in their possession or under their control relating to the subject of examination. All this proceeding may be initiated *ex parte* on the mere whim of the Attorney-General. The referee on such a preliminary examination is even *authorized to punish a witness for contempt.* The whole procedure partakes of the nature of a star chamber investigation rather than an orderly proceeding in a court of justice in the nineteenth century.

I am not saying that such a statute will be upheld. In fact, a proceeding under it has already been defeated, though the Court on appeal declined to pass upon the constitutionality of the statute itself. I am referring to it only as an illustration of the temper with which legislatures approach this whole question. And still further, to emphasize this, it may be added that the Legislature of 1899 in New York, in amending the statute of

1897, while seeking to introduce language which would evade or at least avoid the previous adverse decision, attempted to make this preliminary proceeding even more objectionable than that under the original Act.

Neither political party offers any protection. Each apparently would outdo the other in its bid for public support. New York, if shouting less, is about as active as Texas. Democrats legislate and Republican Governors sign, Republicans legislate and Democratic Governors sign, these indictments called statutes.

While it is safe to say that the greater part of the anti-trust legislation is intemperate and unjustified, it is of the first importance to know how much of it is legal and to what extent, so far as it is legal, it can operate to impede or suppress the legitimate operations of these corporations, until public opinion can dictate a wiser policy toward employed capital. Capital will desert existing corporations, or certainly will refuse to be involved in any new ventures, unless the investment be legally secure.

If trade is to follow the flag, the flag must offer protection and security.

The legislation has come from two sources, National and State.

I.—In 1890 an Act was passed by Congress of the United States entitled "An Act to Protect Trade and Commerce Against Unlawful Restraint and Monopolies." The Act is of much importance, because it is the expression of the great law-making power of the country, and has been the subject of repeated construction by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"AN ACT to Protect Trade and Commerce against Unlawful Restraints and Monopolies.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"SEC. 1. Every contract, combination in the form of a trust, or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 2. Every person who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to mon-

opolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 3. Every contract, combination in form of trust or otherwise or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce in any Territory of the United States or in the District of Columbia, or in restraint of trade or commerce between any such Territory and another, or between any such Territory or Territories and any State or States or the District of Columbia, or with foreign nations, or between the District of Columbia and any State or States or foreign nations is hereby declared illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court."

Then follow provisions as to procedure and for the violation of the Act.

At the outset it is essential to understand the power of Congress and the limitation of that power to deal with the subject covered by the Act.

Congress has such power only as has been specially conferred upon it by the Constitution, and the authority for the Act is found in the provisions of the Constitution, that Congress shall have power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States and the Indian tribes."

This provision of the Constitution, however, confers upon Congress the sole authority to legislate upon questions affecting such commerce, and all attempts on the part of the States to defeat this exclusive right vested in Congress, whether by imposing discriminating taxes, or taxes upon goods in original packages, or by a tax upon the agencies employed in carrying on that commerce, have been condemned by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Any attempt also on the part of the States to bring under their control or regulation any article the subject of trade or commerce—except where Congress has first conferred upon the State that right of control or regulation—has been likewise condemned. Even where such right of control or regulation has been authorized by Congress, it has been confined by the Supreme Court to those cases which come within the proper exercise of the police power of the State.

The Act of Congress quoted above has been repeatedly construed by the Supreme Court of the United States in cases which have excited general interest. It was sought to apply the Act to the case of a corporation seeking, as alleged by the Government, to acquire a monopoly of the manufacture of sugar, which might be, and which in all probability would be, the subject of trade or commerce; and the corporation conceded that it was attempting through the acts complained of to exercise a greater control of the business in which it was engaged. The Court declined to regard the Act as applicable to this state of facts.

The Court said, Chief Justice Fuller writing the opinion:

"The fact that an article is manufactured for export to another State does not of itself make it an article of inter-State commerce, and the intent of the manufacturer does not determine the time when the article or product passes from the control of the State and belongs to Congress."

And the Court used these still more important words:

"Contracts, combinations or conspiracies to control domestic enterprise in manufacture, agriculture, mining, production in all its forms, or to raise or lower prices or wages might unquestionably tend to restrain external as well as domestic trade, but the restraint would be an indirect result however inevitable and whatever its extent, and such result would not necessarily determine the object of the contract, combination or conspiracy."

* * * * * *

"Nevertheless, it does not follow that an attempt to monopolize or the actual monopoly of the manufacture, was an attempt, whether executory or consummated, to monopolize commerce, even though in order to dispose of the product the instrumentality of commerce was necessarily invoked."

So that the Supreme Court, as stated above, has limited the objects of the Act to matters clearly and unmistakably relating to inter-State commerce, and has declined to permit the States to interfere with any product or article the subject of inter-State commerce, except where, as pointed out above, Congress had authorized the State to exercise over such article or product its police power of regulation and control similar to that exercised as to like articles produced within its own territory.

The Supreme Court has, also, as we shall see in a moment, laid down the limitations of Anti-Trust State Statutes.

In two other cases, known as the Trans-Missouri and Joint Traffic cases, the Court has still further reviewed the Act and

held it applicable to agreements between competing railroads for the maintenance of transportation charges.

The effect of the two cases last referred to has been somewhat misjudged by the general public and perhaps by lawyers as well. Undoubtedly, in the case first decided, there are expressions of the Court as to industrial corporations such as we are now discussing. Separated from their context they have, in so far as they are personal expressions of the Court, a meaning inimical to these corporations. But the Supreme Court had already decided as quoted above, that the Act was not applicable to these corporations, and we are to remember that a court lays down rules of law only when germane to the facts before it. All other views are mere *dicta*, and have little or no weight as establishing rules of law. In the first case referred to the views of the Court were announced in large part *arguendo* in reply to the claims persistently made by the several counsel, that the Act of 1890 above quoted was intended to relate only to so-called trusts, and not to agreements between competing railroads, and the claims of counsel were of a character not unnaturally calling for a reply.

These views read, however, in the light of the real context, which is to be found not only in the opinion itself, but in the briefs before the Court, and in the expressions of the Court in cases later decided, have a significance quite different from that ordinarily given them.

It must be constantly borne in mind that the Court was dealing, not with a trading or manufacturing corporation, but with quasi-public corporations, great railroads, the instruments of trade and commerce, in the enjoyment of valuable franchises. As one of their burdens, Congress sought to provide that they should make no agreement in restraint of trade or commerce. The agreement in question to regulate transportation rates was held to be such a restraint, and the Court found itself in a position to give no effect to the statute unless it held that in such a case the restraint was brought about, whether it was reasonable or unreasonable.

There was no question of the absorption of the assets of one corporation by another, but a quasi-copartnership agreement among railroad corporations just as illegal in the State of New York under the decisions of its courts—based upon the

principles of common law and not upon statute, even in the case of trading or manufacturing corporations—as it was held to be in the Supreme Court, except in the one particular as to the character of the restraint. The Supreme Court recognized a distinction, even under this statute, as to the character of such a restraint when arising from the operations of purely private corporations.

The Court said:

"It is true that in the *Gibbs case* there was a special statute which prohibited the company from entering into any consolidation, combination or contract with any other gas company whatever, and it was provided that any attempt to do so or to make such combination or contract should be utterly null and void. The above extract from the opinion of the Court is made for the purpose of showing the difference which exists between a private and a public corporation—that kind of a public corporation which, while doing business for remuneration, is yet so connected in interest with the public as to give a public character to its business—and it is seen that while, in the absence of a statute prohibiting them, contracts of private individuals or corporations touching upon restraints in trade must be unreasonable in their nature to be held void, different considerations obtain in the case of public corporations like those of railroads where it well may be that any restraint upon a business of that character as affecting its rates of transportation must thereby be prejudicial to the public interests."

These views, even supposing them to be mere *dicta* of the Court, became a rule of law in subsequent cases.

The distinction recognized by the Court between private corporations and quasi-public corporations, is a natural one, and is in line with the respective responsibilities which these two classes of corporations are under.

Railroad companies have franchises entitling them, to the extent of the thing granted, to exclusive privileges, while private corporations on the other hand have as a rule only the franchise to be a corporation. The Legislature may fix the rates at which transportation corporations and corporations enjoying municipal franchises may conduct their business; gas, electric light companies, street railroad corporations, are all answerable thus to the Legislature, and the courts have gone so far in the State of New York as to hold that an act of the Legislature fixing the charges of elevator companies is valid and constitutional. The general rule is that the corporate existence of a corporation can be challenged only through proceedings on the part of the State. In the case of railroad corporations under New

York decisions it may be attacked collaterally by a defendant in any proceeding where they seek to exercise against him the right of eminent domain. Again, under such decisions, failure by trading and manufacturing corporations to comply with the provisions of the statute as to the conditions of incorporation may work a forfeiture of their existence, but such forfeiture must be decreed in a proceeding instituted by the public authorities. In the case of a railroad corporation failure to comply with the conditions of its incorporation may *ipso facto* work a forfeiture without judicial decree. The statute executes itself.

So that the difference established by the Supreme Court between private and quasi-public corporations is only one of similar distinctions running through many well-considered decisions, and is not likely to be departed from hereafter.

The Supreme Court of the United States has gone further than this. In the Joint Traffic Association case, involving generally the same principles as the Trans-Missouri case, the Court was at pains to correct some erroneous assumptions from its previous decision.

While reaffirming the principles laid down in the previous case it carefully pointed out that the Act applied only to those contracts whose *direct and immediate* effect was a restraint upon inter-State commerce. It said that any other construction would enlarge the applications of the Act beyond its fair meaning. The Court said that the effect upon inter-State commerce must not be—

"indirect or incidental only. An agreement entered into for the purpose of promoting the legitimate business of an individual or corporation with no purpose to thereby affect or restrain commerce, and which does not directly restrain such commerce, is not, as we think, covered by the Act, although the agreement may directly and remotely affect that commerce. . . . To suppose, as is assumed by counsel, that the effect of the decision in the Trans-Missouri case is to render most business contracts or combinations, however indispensable and necessary they may be, because, as they assert, they all restrain trade in some remote and indirect degree, is to make a most violent assumption and one not called for or justified by the decision mentioned or by any other decision of this Court."

The Court went on to say that the sole question before it was whether Congress, in the exercise of its right to regulate commerce between the several States or otherwise, had the power to prohibit as in restraint of such commerce a contract or com-

bination between competing railroad corporations such as that before the Court.

The Supreme Court, therefore, has decided, that while under the Act the question whether restraint of inter-State trade and commerce by public corporations be reasonable or unreasonable is of no moment, a wholly different rule prevails as to private corporations, and that as to either class of corporations such restraint must be *express, direct, immediate,* not remote and incidental, and that the *clear purpose or object* of the acts must be such restraint.

In two subsequent cases these limitations of the Act, as applied to business corporations and associations, were again emphasized. The facts in these cases showed that certain live stock associations undertook by their rules of government to limit the dealings of individuals to members of the association; to forbid buying live stock from commission merchants not members of the exchange; to fix commissions, to prohibit the employment of agents except upon stipulated salaries; to provide that no member of the association should transact business with persons violating the rules and regulations of the association, or with an expelled or suspended member after such violation, etc., etc.

There is no doubt that with such facts before them the Courts of several of the States would have held the defendants guilty of misconduct under statutes similar to the Act of Congress.

The Supreme Court held not only that the acts complained of did not come within the Act, but that if they did they were not in restraint of trade or commerce, because not unreasonable. These two cases are of far-reaching effect. They strike at the very foundation of most of the anti-trust statutes while they construe the Act of Congress itself; they write into all those statutes words of limitation and qualification which no State Court is at liberty to disregard; for as we shall see in a moment, to disregard the principles thus laid down, is to violate the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

II.—The statutes of the several States are of various kinds, from the simple prohibition of trusts and monopolies to such an elaborate piece of legislation as the latest effort of the State of Texas, impudent and offensive in its form, and in its substance violative of the rights of liberty and property guaranteed by the

Constitution of the United States. The framework of all these anti-trust statutes is about the same. There is a varying filling in by way of declamation, according to the popular demand, upon the respective legislatures, but the statutes do not differ materially in their substance. They are for the most part alike in that they attempt to reach all contracts or arrangements that may effect any restraint of trade or competition, whether express or incidental, reasonable or unreasonable.

The Courts of New York have largely interpreted their own statutes with reference to the principles of the common law.

Now, at common law, even contracts that were in unreasonable restraint of trade were not unlawful in the sense of being criminal, but were simply void and unenforceable.

Until the reign of George III. there existed in England a large number of statutes with reference to badgering, forestalling, regrating and engrossing, all of which were aimed at interference with the ordinary natural laws of trade. Not improperly, they might be termed anti-trust statutes. During the reign of George III. many of these statutes were repealed, and during the reign of the present Queen the remainder were repealed. The commercial prestige of England required that they should be swept away, and to-day in England every combination or arrangement for the legitimate purpose of developing trade is fostered and upheld. Every combination of capital using misrepresentation or framed to crush out a rival can be reached and prevented by injunction. But a combination engaged in the attempt to secure a large control of an industry in the ordinary course of trade, even though it operated under selfish plans for selfish ends, does not come within the control, much less the condemnation, of the law.

Not very different are the decisions of the Courts of the State of New York. Before the passage of the New York Anti-Trust Statutes, the Courts of this State held that it was not in restraint of trade for one corporation to purchase a rival business, accompanied by a contract that the seller should not again, within a designated territory, carry on a business similar to that disposed of and they restrained the threatened violation of such a contract.

Decisions to a similar effect were rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States before the passage of the Act of

Congress, and are referred to with approval in both the Trans-Missouri and Joint Traffic cases after the passage of the Act.

The Courts of New York have held that not all competition was beneficial to the individual or to the community, and that a competitor had the right to purchase another interest for the purpose of restraining competition, which was ruinous or even undue. These opinions were by the highest Court in New York.

Then came the New York State Acts of 1893, 1896 and 1897, regulating contracts in restraint of trade, and again the Courts have spoken in no uncertain way.

The Courts of New York, since the passage of these Acts, have held that the test of the restraint of trade and of competition is the reasonableness of the act complained of, and so far as one may conclude from these opinions, the result arrived at or aimed at must be, or must closely approach being, a conspiracy constituting an indictable offence at common law. They recognize the distinction of the Supreme Court of the United States that the restraint of trade evidenced by a contract between quasi-public corporations may be condemned, while such restraint aimed at or resulting from the legitimate though selfish acts of a private manufacturing or trading corporation is subject to quite different considerations. Yet the Courts of New York have been careful to place a limitation upon the rights of corporations to make such a combination as would be equivalent to a co-partnership, and for such an offence they have, without resting their decision on any statute, gone so far as to declare forfeited the charter of a mere private corporation. On the other hand, after the passage of the anti-trust statutes, they have upheld the purchase by one gas company possessing a municipal franchise, of the shares of stock, and thereby the control, of another gas company enjoying like privileges, when not only the effect but the intention was to stop undue competition.

There is little difference between the decisions before and after the passage of anti-trust acts. Judicial interpretation has interpolated necessary words of limitation or construction, just as if the words "unjustifiable," "unreasonable," "partaking of conspiracy," "prejudicial to the public interest," etc., had been written into the statutes themselves. In them, "what is valuable is not new, and what is new is not valuable."

It has been held, too, not only in New York State but else-

where, that one manufacturer may sell or refuse to sell, as caprice may prompt him, any goods manufactured by him; that he may make the basis of his refusal the fact that the seller is dealing in goods other than of the manufacturer refusing to sell, and that such action does not constitute an offence in restraint of trade or competition, and that it does not subject the manufacturer, if a corporation, to the forfeiture of its charter.

These decisions recognize, as one judge says, that "public policy and the interests of society favor the utmost freedom of contract within the law, and require that business transactions should not be trammelled by unnecessary restrictions." Justly so, for what the requirements of public policy demand are vague and uncertain enough without any guessing on the part of judges.

There are quite different decisions in other States, though in several of them the same result would, on the principles laid down above, have been reached in the Courts of the United States or of New York. In several instances, the decisions are thoroughly in accord with the legislatures which are spawning these statutes.

In not all of the States where these statutes have been passed has there been a uniformity of decisions. Even in Texas and Illinois there are some Judges who have not hesitated to express views distinctly against the tendency and current of popular sentiment. These Judges have read into these statutes as a necessary implication words of limitation and construction, so that property should not be confiscated or the freedom of contract unreasonably interfered with. They have held that the restraint of trade harped upon *ad nauseam* in these Statutes is not *any* restraint of trade, however slight or incidental, but an *express*, and at the same time an *unreasonable*, restraint.

In other cases the local courts have joined in the public outcry, and in Ohio in a late case the court rests its decision as to what constitutes restraint of trade upon the rather novel doctrine that "it is to the interest of the Republic that there should be, measurably, an equality in the fortunes of its citizens." Naturally enough, a Court announcing such views did not hesitate to repudiate the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

No statute is valid which sweepingly forbids all contracts, agreements, combinations, etc., among private corporations in

restraint of trade, commerce and competition, no matter what State courts may say. It is a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, because, as a Judge of the United States Court has said, it denies to persons the right to make valid contracts with respect to their business and property, and corporations in this respect are entitled to equal protection with the individual.

There are numerous decisions to this general effect, and in one case so holding which involved the validity of Anti-Trust Statute of Texas, the predecessor of the Act of 1899, the Court said:

"The vice of the act in question is that it attempts to prevent too much. It does not stop at reasonable limits. It is not content with making criminal general restraint of trade, but it makes criminal all restraints of trade. It is not content with affixing penalties to acts or contracts which unreasonably restrict competition; it condemns any agreement or arrangement which prevents competition between two or more persons entering into it. It not only prevents competitors from oppressing the public by unreasonable agreements as to production and prices; it also prevents persons associated in interest, joint owners and co-partners, from making any agreement about their production and prices. It not only prevents persons from using their capital, skill and acts for the purpose of increasing prices; it reaches the very acme of absurdity, in preventing persons from uniting their capital, skill and acts for the purpose of reducing prices. The Legislature, perhaps, had in mind that which might possibly be a means of public oppression, to wit, the forced reduction of prices of articles which the combination or partnership purchased, but the act does not discriminate between articles purchased and articles sold. And it is because it does not so discriminate, because of the want of ordinary care in studying the meaning of words that we have on the statute books of Texas at this close of the nineteenth century, during which combinations of capital and skill have cheapened the price of products to an extent unparalleled in the world's history, an act making it a highly penal offence for two or more persons to unite their capital and skill for the purpose of reducing the price of the products which they undertake to manufacture and sell."

Thus this particular statute and all similar statutes are condemned.

It is unnecessary to multiply quotations. The opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States, announced by some of its great Judges, are in accord with the views quoted. The

"liberty" of the Fourteenth Amendment as interpreted by that Court means, among other things, the liberty of the individual, free from legislative control or restraint, to pursue an ordinary calling or trade and to acquire, hold and sell property and to make all contracts in relation thereto, except in so far as the State may restrict them in the exercise substantially only of its police powers.

Moreover, in the exercise of its police powers the State is confined within a narrower limitation in matters affecting inter-State commerce than in those relating to its domestic affairs. This well-known principle has just been emphasized by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The State of Pennsylvania, by an act of its Legislature, prohibited the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine within the State. The Supreme Court of the United States upheld the Act as not violative of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The same Act, when sought to be applied to transactions relating to inter-State trade and commerce, was held invalid by the Supreme Court.

The Court said:

"The *Powell case*" (the first case decided) "did not and could not involve the rights of an importer under the commerce clause. The right of a State to enact laws in relation to the administration of its internal affairs is one thing, and the right of a State to prevent the introduction within its limits of an article of commerce is another and a totally different thing. Legislation which has its effect wholly within the State and upon products manufactured and sold therein, might be held valid as not in violation of any provision of the Federal Constitution when at the same time legislation directed toward prohibiting the importation within the State of the same article manufactured outside of its limits might be regarded as illegal, because in violation of the rights of citizens of other States arising under the commerce clause of that instrument."

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of this principle as affecting and limiting State legislation against these corporations, nearly all of which are engaged in inter-State trade or commerce.

These corporations are, as a rule, not created for the purposes set forth in the greater number of these State statutes, nor do their operations bring them within those statutes. They become the purchaser of the property of other corporations; the new corporation is a larger corporation than any of those whose property

has passed to its control; no pool, trust, combination or monopoly is intended or results. The statutes of the States having failed to fix a limit to the amount of property which may be possessed by such a corporation, they have no concern with the amount or character of its assets.

As a rule, these corporations have come into being for a variety of reasons; for economy, centralization of manufacture, the exercise of a more controlling interest in the product manufactured to reach the public without the intermediary burden and expense of middlemen, for the purposes of extended credit, for meeting foreign or domestic competition, against which the individual and disassociated manufacturers would be powerless. And the practising lawyer, familiar through these organizations with the plans and purposes of his clients, is in a much better position to give trustworthy testimony on this subject than is the average legislator without the opportunity of making independent and personal enquiry, and swayed as he frequently is by party policy or public outcry.

There is not either in or necessarily growing out of the formation of these corporations any express, nor is there any unreasonable, restraint of trade, and both these conditions must exist before any statute such as we are discussing is applicable.

In fact, in the formation of these corporations, the main feature which might be thought to constitute a restraint of trade or commerce or of competition is the contract usually exacted by the purchaser of the vendors that they will not within a specified territory for a given time engage in business similar to that disposed of. But such contracts, as pointed out, have been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States both prior and subsequent to the Anti-Trust Act of Congress.

Assuming such to be the purpose and effect of the formation of these corporations, no State law can restrict their operations when admitted to a domicile within their territory, nor can the State, by taxation or otherwise, interfere with them if engaged in inter-State commerce, even though not admitted to the privileges of domicile. Created there or domiciled there, they must not be interfered with; for, in the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, corporations are entitled to the protection of that part of the Fourteenth Amendment which declares that no State shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property

without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Moreover, no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of a contract, whether that contract be executory or executed, express or implied.

It is safe to say that wherever the Courts of a State have construed anti-trust statutes in disregard of these words of reasonable limitation upon the legislative powers, the decisions are in direct conflict with the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by its Courts.

III.—It has been held in a series of cases by the Supreme Court that each State shall be the judge of the conditions under which foreign corporations shall be admitted to do business within its territory, and that discriminating provisions of a State in favor of its own corporations as against foreign corporations are not in conflict with the clause of the Constitution of the United States which declares "that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

It has been held, however, that when the question involved is one of inter-State trade or commerce, a foreign corporation stands upon the same footing as an individual.

Every State, therefore, has a liberty, and almost a license, in determining what class of corporations shall be admitted to its territory, and the conditions under which they are to be admitted, save only that it shall do nothing which in effect regulates trade or commerce carried on by a foreign corporation. It can determine that a foreign corporation shall not have a legal status there, but it has no right to restrict, embarrass, interfere with or have any regulation over a foreign corporation selling its goods through solicitors or representatives, or otherwise carrying on inter-State trade or commerce within its territory.

Exclusion is not feasible; it is a mere academic right on the part of the States, for the exclusion cannot be absolute since the foreign corporation can cross the border of the State, and, as a trading corporation, exercise the rights of an individual to the extent of disposing of its product by solicitors, or canvassers, and where the product or article dealt in requires skill in its installation, may actually instal and set up the article disposed of. To exclude the corporation, therefore, when it is a manu-

facturing corporation, is simply to displace the resident employee by the employee foreign to the State. In other respects the corporation must be let alone. No political policy dare go as far as this. Such legislation though it might subject the corporation to great expense and inconvenience in the manufacture and sale of its product, would affect still more injuriously the well being of the local employee and the prosperity of the State. The result of statutes of exclusion, such as have been passed in the case of insurance companies employing only a few agents and local representatives, is quite different from the effect of such action when directed against a manufacturing corporation. For whether the excluded corporation employ new mechanics or withdraw from the State its labor interests, the effect upon the State's prosperity is the same. Somewhere in some of the States outside of the State of their creation, or if not there, then in the State of their domicile, these corporations will find the invitation and protection of wise laws, and from this centre will reach out in their rivalry for the trade to which their skill entitles them. So that exclusion, whether by direct statute or indirectly through the taxing power, need not be looked for.

The laborer will look with indifference, perhaps with favor, upon schemes of legislation proclaimed to be for his interest. So long as the politician seems to be working on these lines—though he be imperceptibly bringing about other results—the laborer will be silent, or he may help along the plans imperfectly explained to him and not understood by him. But let his hands thereby be idle and his home less comfortable, and the able workman will develop into one prepared to use his idle time in directions not pleasing to his false teachers.

Even Pennsylvania, which originally prohibited foreign corporations from holding real estate within its territory under the penalty of escheat to the State, has of late modified its statute in favor of certain foreign corporations, and under the decisions of its Courts a foreign corporation may also own practically all the shares of capital stock of its domestic corporations possessed of real estate.

But, irrespective of what must be the clear policy of the State, it cannot, as has been pointed out, exclude the corporations we are considering if they be engaged in inter-State or foreign commerce. It cannot even tax the agents or solicitors of

such corporations for the privilege of doing business within its territory, much less exclude them.

There have been times when it seemed that the Supreme Court was inclined to some modification of these views, but the result arrived at is final.

The description of inter-State commerce is all-embracing. "The negotiation of sales of goods which are in another State for the purpose of introducing them into the State in which the negotiation is made is inter-State commerce." Another opinion reads: "It comprehends intercourse for the purposes of trade in any and all its forms, including transportation, purchase, sale and exchange of commodities between the citizens of different States."

A great Judge of the Supreme Court has said that to decide otherwise and to leave the question of inter-State commerce to be even taxed by State legislation "would be but a repetition of the disorder which prevailed under the Articles of Confederation."

Corporations, therefore, domiciled in New Jersey and trading elsewhere have nothing to fear and no favors to ask of any hostile State. Such State may say that they shall not be domiciled there, that they shall not own real estate there except on its own terms. The State may exclude the corporations altogether from a domicile, but it may go no further. These corporations may come and go from one end of the land to the other to carry on inter-State commerce, and no State barriers or regulations shall affect them. There are no State lines for the individual or corporation carrying on that commerce.

What then, in brief, has been decided is as follows:

(1.) The restraint of trade and commerce referred to in all these statutes must in the case of these corporations be express and direct and at the same time unreasonable, and few of the corporations we are discussing are so formed or managed as to fall within a statute so construed.

(2.) Contrary decisions of the Courts of any of the States are opposed to those of the Courts of the United States which declare that freedom of contract (made impossible under any other construction of these statutes) is a property right under the Constitution of the United States and is inviolate.

(3.) Though the State Courts are bound thus to construe

these Statutes, the several States may even, from caprice, eject from their territory or refuse admission to any foreign corporations—and all corporations in States other than the State of their creation are deemed to be foreign corporations—to the extent that such corporations seek to secure there a legal status or domicile.

There the authority of the State must stop, and it must leave untrammelled in every way these corporations when engaged, as nearly all of them are, in inter-State trade and commerce.

(4.) Not only cannot inter-State commerce be in any way destroyed, interfered with, or obstructed; it cannot even be taxed, though the tax be only such as is laid by the State on its domestic commerce. It is not a question of discrimination. The right does not exist to impose any tax.

These are questions set at rest by decisions which are the law of the land.

The Courts of the United States may not always have been free from criticism as to expressions, used in the interpretation of the provisions of the Constitution affecting inter-State commerce. Perhaps they may at times have been unconsciously betrayed, as we are all at times betrayed, into sympathy for popular and fallacious views which cannot, however, be yielded to unless we are to invite our commercial downfall; but in their decisions these Courts have not misinterpreted the true significance of the cases before them affecting this question of inter-State commerce.

Properly so, for the provision as to inter-State commerce did not come into the Constitution by accident, but was the nucleus of it. The Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution protect not only the citizen, but all persons, whether natural or artificial, in the enjoyment of their property rights; and not the least of such property rights is the freedom of entering into contracts, of carrying on business for private profit, but without any scheme for injury to others.

The suggestion may savor of earthiness, but it is none the less the fact that the prosperity and even the power for good of a ration is in large part a question of its commercial supremacy. Noble conduct and high purpses may be the commanding evidence of the prosperity of a nation, but they are not its foundation stone. Just as the Revolution, which separated the Colonies from Eng-

land, had its origin, not in their preference for any new method of government, but in their business grievances, so the Constitution of the United States, which supplanted the Articles of Confederation, was assented to, not in the desire of the new States for the establishment of a great nation, but in the belief that thereby their common commercial interests would be promoted.

To the resolution of Edmund Randolph in the House of Delegates of Virginia, made in the interest of a crying commercial necessity, Daniel Webster justly attributes the first and controlling step in the series of reasons out of which ultimately was fashioned the Constitution, with its comprehensive—yes, sacred—provisions, insuring the permanency of the commercial interests of the nation. He said, in words worth recording and worth reflecting over now:

"Sir, whatever we may think of it now, the Constitution had its immediate origin in the conviction of the necessity for this uniformity, or identity, in commercial regulations. The whole history of the country, of every year and every month, from the close of the War of the Revolution to 1789, proves this. Over whatever other interests it was made to extend, and whatever other blessings it now confers, or hereafter may confer, on the millions of free citizens who do or shall live under its protection; even though, in time to come, it should raise a pyramid of power and grandeur, whose apex should look down on the loftiest political structures of other nations and other ages, it will yet be true, that it was itself the child of pressing commercial necessity. Unity and identity of commerce among all the States was its seminal principal. It had been found absolutely impossible to excite or foster enterprise in trade, under the influence of discordant and jarring State regulations. The country was losing all the advantages of its position. The Revolution itself was beginning to be regarded as a doubtful blessing. The ocean before us was a barren waste. No American canvas whitened its bosom, no keel of ours ploughed its waters. The journals of the Congress of the Confederation show the most constant, unceasing, unwearied, but always unsuccessful, appeals to the States and the people, to renovate the system, to infuse into that Confederation at once a spirit of union and a spirit of activity, by conferring on Congress the power over trade. By nothing but the perception of its indispensable necessity, by nothing but their consciousness of suffering from its want, were the States and the people brought, and brought by slow degrees, to invest this power in a permanent and competent government."

* * * * * *

"Every attempt to bring the State legislatures into any harmony of action or any pursuit of a common object had signally and disastrously failed. The exigency of the case called for a new movement, for a more direct and powerful attempt to bring the good sense and patriotism of the country into action upon the crisis. A solemn assembly was therefore proposed, a general convention of delegates from

all the States. And now, sir, what was the exigency? What was this crisis? Look at the resolution itself; there is not an idea in it but trade. Commerce! commerce! is the beginning and end of it. The subject to be considered and examined was 'the relative situation of the trade of the States'; and the object to be obtained was 'the establishment of a uniform system in their commercial regulations, as necessary to the common interest and their permanent harmony.' That is all."

The man, be he judge or legislator, must be bold indeed who would undertake to refashion under any *a priori* reasoning a scheme of his own for government and the public welfare substantially opposed to that which gave birth to the Constitution; and as time goes on and the true interests of this country are understood to be dependent upon its commercial pre-eminence, it cannot but be that all the agencies of commerce, whether it be what Mallock, in his "Labor and the Popular Welfare," terms selected ability or the investment of capital or any other appropriate means to accomplish that end, will be fostered and welcomed, always, however, within those limitations which guard the public welfare. But the public welfare is not to be determined by the announced views of temporary party leaders. Our Constitution is not a newspaper or a periodical, but the depository of the experience of true statesmen and the inheritance of a great nation. Those who interpret the Constitution of the United States must interpret it with reference to its origin and its true and wide-reaching significance; and although the Supreme Court of the United States cannot be expected to depart and ought not to depart from those decisions which declare that a foreign corporation is admitted into the territory of a State only on conditions which the State prescribes, yet upon the question of inter-State commerce it must be looked to to see that no excited and fallacious local interests as to what does and what does not constitute a restraint of inter-State commerce shall overshadow and prejudice the public interest.

The Supreme Court of the United States, for the time being and because it alone can speak finally on this subject, must, until popular sentiment has been awakened to better appreciation of the needs of the freedom of commercial relations, be the refuge for persecuted capital and persecuted ability.

Not all corporations need this protection; not all corporations are entitled to it. Some corporations may be organized not in the interest of trade and commerce, but in the interest of the

restraint of trade and commerce. Such corporations may become public enemies; but the great class of corporations of which we are speaking, though brought into being for motives of profit among those interested and having for their object larger returns through labor-saving devices and selected ability, are not to be frowned upon or their evil influence guessed about or assumed by any courts.

If one corporation offends, let it receive the punishment. Let others be unmolested. We should have no defence for any other action. Even with madness and the "disclaiming from a purposed evil" for his apology, Hamlet appealed only to the "most generous thoughts," as he exclaimed:

> "That I have shot my arrow o'er the house
> And hurt my brother."

There need be no solicitude as to the ultimate result of the workings of these corporations as a whole unless courts are carried away by crude theories to adopt a method of reasoning opposed to our inherited, and what should be our cherished, experience; and when the time comes that a concerted attack upon such a logical, natural tendency of industrial evolutions as we are now witnessing is upheld by the courts, a blow will have been struck at American prestige from which it will not again recover until capital is reinvited to investment and security by prudent laws and wise decisions.

That time, we may be thankful, has not yet come, and the courts of the United States, if wavering at times in expression, have in their decisions been steadfast and immovable in the vindication of property rights and personal freedom.

While the Courts have thus protected individuals and corporations in the enjoyment of these rights, they have not failed to give appropriate definitions of what are omissions by the individual or the corporation of their obligations to the community, or to make it quite clear what corporations are and what are not entitled to the benefit of these decisions.

Men or corporations may not conspire to fix the value or limit the output of a necessary of life, corporations may not enter into copartnership with one another; they must not create or seek to create monopolies; they must not be formed for that purpose; they must not injure the trade of another by unjust

methods; competition must stop at all illegal methods of rivalry, and competition must not mean conspiracy.

With these essential limitations the State Courts, or if not the State Courts then the Courts of the United States competent to speak finally and authoritatively upon the subject, have been on the side of the principles of law which permit a man to do what he likes with his own, so long as he shall not thereby aim at or necessarily compass the injury of others or act against the interests of the public welfare.

The decisions of the Courts in thus interpreting the Constitution have but expressed the common knowledge and the accepted philosophy of human conduct the world over. The commercial interests and traditions of the English race, ours by inheritance and adoption, have been upheld and reinforced. It has not been decided that the laborer may not add to his dignity and reward in alliance with a great industry; that it is to his prejudice or to that of the community that he may do one thing well rather than many things insufficiently; that the owners of property may not reap the fruits of industry through the recognition of merit from a rival, or that association implies unworthy and ignoble service.

The Courts have left good manners and generous impulses to be inculcated by ethical teachings and have not upheld any scheme to create them by statute; they have declined to permit the practices or the professions of a few corporations to make the rule for the many; they have not decided that the commercial progress of mankind has been along mistaken lines, nor have they sought to establish in the world of industry a tyranny of new ideas and aims.

JOSEPH S. AUERBACH.

RECENT PROGRESS OF AUTOMOBILISM IN FRANCE.

BY THE MARQUIS DE CHASSELOUP-LAUBAT.

It is more than a century since, in 1769, automobilism was born in France, with the steam carriage of Cugnot. This vehicle was of a crude, rudimentary and incomplete construction. The ideas of Cugnot were an entire century in advance of the mechanical means by which they could be realized.

The attempt led to no satisfactory results. Everything was defective—motive-power, steering, control. Nevertheless, the carriage ran, and ran so well, they say, that it broke down the enclosure of the ground on which it was tried. It is an incontestable fact that Cugnot is the inventor of automobile locomotion, and that the honor of first having imagined and realized a new method of transportation, destined to play an important part in the welfare of many lands, belongs to him.

At the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, the great wars of American Independence, of the First Republic, and of the First Empire turned the spirit of France aside from new effort in the way of any kind of locomotion.

It is in England, toward the third decade of the present century, that we see the idea of Cugnot reappear. The same impulse which moved English engineers to build railroads in order to free the great industrial centres from the economic tyranny of those who constructed canals, urged them to study methods of automobile locomotion on highways. That is to say, in its inception, automobile locomotion was considered as an auxiliary to the railroad, which it really is.

Unfortunately, the promoters of new railway lines did not at all understand the respective spheres of action of the machine on the

rail and the machine on the road. They took umbrage at automobile locomotion, and, since they had much capital and influence at their disposal, they secured a law from the English Parliament, which killed automobile locomotion effectively. This law is one of the numerous *chef d'oeuvres* of hypocrisy achieved by the English Parliament. On the pretext of furthering public interest, it virtually suppressed a potent means of progress and prosperity. It ordained that a man carrying a red flag by day, or a red lantern by night, must be kept a hundred yards in advance of every automobile vehicle.

The consequences of this legislation were not long delayed. Automobile locomotion disappeared. Yet, English builders of that period had already realized some excellent mechanical features. Certain among them had striking and remarkable schemes in regard to boilers, and had conceived extremely interesting "water-tube-boilers." The boilers, which my friends, Normand and Thornycroft, to-day place on their torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers possess all the theoretical characteristics of certain apparatus conceived half a century ago.

It is necessary to return to France, about 1885, to find the automobile vehicle again in evidence. At that time, MM. Bollée, at Mans, and the Comte de Dion, at Paris, constructed steam vehicles which ran in a satisfactory way. Then Serpollet devised his instantaneous vaporization boilers, which reduce to a minimum the chances of danger, so far as steam engines are concerned.

After that time, automobile locomotion became a subject of talk—but the appearance in 1889 of a petroleum motor, with quaternary explosion features, gave matters an impulse which promises continuance.

In 1894, the *Petit Journal* asked M. Pierre Giffard to organize the first meeting of automobile vehicles. It took place between Paris and Rouen, with a stop at Mantes. Although the design of the promoters was not that the vehicles should be run with a view to testing speed, yet the event from the very outset took on the character of a race. The Dion and Bouton steam-carriage won the race, making the run at a mean velocity of about twenty kilometres an hour.

This was a sturdy little four-wheeler, on the back of which rested the pole-bolt of an ordinary carriage, the fore-part of which had been removed. This constituted a six-wheeled affair, re-

markably supple and manageable, in spite of its length. The vehicle, empty, weighed 1.4 tons; loaded, 2.25 tons, and could develop 15 horse-power. The two front wheels, steering-wheels, were rubber-tired; the rear wheels, driving-wheels, iron-tired. This motor had the interesting arrangements of the Dion carriage, that is, the use of a Cardan joint as a substitute for the Galle chain, and the movement of the wheel by means of a drilled nave.

Almost all the other vehicles were driven by Daimler petroleum motors. The vehicles of the firm Panhard and Levassor, which controls the Daimler patents in France, had at that time the same principal characteristics as they present to-day, and which have been generally adopted. The motor maintained a fairly constant velocity of 750 revolutions; it acted on the drive-wheels situated at the back by means of a friction cone, a series of variable gears, a differential and a Galle chain; the steering-wheels were in front. The four-seated carriage weighed about a ton.

These carriages, as also the Peugeot petroleum vehicles, the motors of which were built by Panhard and Levassor, worked with remarkable regularity, which, on the whole, demonstrated to those familiar with mechanics, what a future there is in store for the petroleum carriage.

Though this first effort was attended with considerable success, the promoters of new methods of locomotion knew that much more remained to be accomplished. On November 18th, 1894, a most important meeting was held at the residence of M. de Dion, one which marked the beginning of an era of great development of automobiles in France. Those present at the meeting were Messrs. Baron de Zuylen, the Count de Dion, the Marquis de Chasseloup-Laubat, the Count de Chasseloup-Laubat, P. Gauthier, Ravenez, Peugeot, Levassor, Serpollet, Dufayel, Lavallette, Recoppé, Roger, Menier, de Place, Giffard, Emile Gauthier, Meillan, Nansouty and Moreau. It was decided at this meeting that, in the month of June of the following year, there should be a great race from Paris to Bordeaux and back (1,200 kilometres); that the carriages were to make the whole distance in one trip; and that repairs were to be made only by such means as could be carried. The contestants, according to the formula adopted, were to procure *en route* nothing but "entertainment for man and machine." It was, therefore, a race and nothing but a race.

It was, indeed, true that in a test of this kind it was extremely difficult to establish a method of competing, which should be at all logical and satisfactory. The elements entering into an appreciation of the merits and faults of automobile carriages are so complex, that up to the present time the most competent specialists consider it almost impossible to establish a general formula for the classification of contestants. It was also resolved to adhere to the course; since a test of speed, so long and so hard, would of itself eliminate any vehicle presenting the slightest flaw or insufficiency of construction.

These provisions have been completely realized and to-day a very long and a very hard course is the most assured means of testing a vehicle.

During several months the committee did considerable work; for it was not only necessary to collect funds, but also to elaborate a set of regulations, and to obtain from the proper authorities the permission to make such trials of speed on the various sections of the route. In this arduous task the committee was most efficiently assisted by MM. Marcel Desprez, Member of the Institute; Georges Berger, Deputy of the Seine, and especially by M. Michel Lévy, Engineer in Chief of Bridges and Roads. Thanks to the efforts of the committee, the whole matter was organized in spite of a multiplicity of difficulties. Numerous participants arrived; among them, it gives me pleasure to note two Americans—Mr. Gordon Bennett and Mr. Vanderbilt.

During the early part of June, when all was ready, the vehicles were for several days placed on view in a permanent public exhibition, which attracted much notice. On the 11th of June, at nine o'clock, all the contestants were gathered in Paris, about the Arc de Triomphe. They started in procession, with no attempt at speed, toward Versailles, where the test was to begin. Toward eleven o'clock, all the carriages lined up on the Place d'Armes at Versailles in front of the great Chateau, according to their order of starting, as determined by lot. I verified rapidly all the marks which I had made during the exhibition by means of the stamp with which the committee had entrusted me. I stamped also all the spare movables carried by the vehicles. Finally, at 12.05 noon, I gave the signals for departure, two minutes apart. This race, favored by splendid weather, was a success and created a sensation.

Thanks to the co-operation of local authorities, of the Touring Club of France, of the Bicycle Associations and the instructions prepared by M. Varennes, there was not the least accident to any of the riders; all went well. The registration, both at fixed points and moving with the race, worked perfectly, and, on the other hand, the minute verifications of the marks of my stamp showed accurately, that the contestants had really accomplished the task "by their own means."

M. Levassor returned to Paris, Porte Maillot, June 13, 1895, at 12.57.30, thus accomplishing the formidable course of 1,180 kilometres (Versailles-Bordeaux-Versailles-Paris) in 48 hours and 48 minutes. He supervised the machine himself constantly, except when ascending an occasional incline, when the rate of speed was comparativly slow, and when he had entrusted the lever to his mechanic. If it be noted that he was on his carriage from 7 o'clock in the morning, June 11, it will be seen that M. Levassor remained on his machine about 53 hours, and nearly 49 of these on the run. Yet he did not appear to be over-fatigued; he gave the final signal to the registering clerk with a firm hand and took, with great relish, a cup of bouillon, two poached eggs and two glasses of champagne.

The general mean of his velocity was 24.012 kilometres an hour: the maximum was 30 kilometres an hour, between Orleans and Tours.

The vehicle which had accomplished this marvellous record without a single break-down or any stops (except those required to take on water and petroleum and one stop for cleaning, of about a quarter of an hour, near Bordeaux), weighed 604 kilos, without supplies or the weight of the two men riding. It had three velocities; 9, 20 and 30 kilometres an hour, the normal number of revolutions being 750. The motor, a new type of "Phœnix," built by M. Levassor, was a Daimler, modified and much perfected. The Levassor carriage, like all the swift carriages engaged in this race, was mounted on solid rubber tires.

A steam carriage, by Dion and Bouton, of about 15 horse-power, which had been making between 50 and 60 kilometres an hour on test, kept in the lead to near Vouvray, on the banks of the Loire, where a break-down in the shafting threw it out of the race. At that moment, in spite of losses of time, occasioned by the cleaning of gratings and the defective organization of re-

lays, where water and coke had to be taken on, this vehicle was a score of minutes ahead of M. Levassor's carriage. This first steam road-carriage of M. de Dion was probably the most rapid in existence until quite recently. After having undergone some modifications and improvements, it was purchased by M. Michelin, a large manufacturer of pneumatics, and it has continued one of the swiftest and most stable in the maintenance of velocity that I have ever seen. It weighs a little less than two tons, and with its 12 to 15 horse-power easily and without strain makes 50 to 60 kilometres an hour on a level.

Other carriages from Panhard and Levassor and from Peugeot likewise made good records.

The characteristic feature of the race is the triumph of petroleum over steam. The fact is, I gave the signal for departure at Versailles to 15 petroleum vehicles and to six steam vehicles: we noted the return to Paris of 8 petroleum vehicles and of one solitary steam vehicle. This latter was the heavy omnibus by Bollée, constructed and run by able engineers of Mans, who covered the course in spite of numerous break-downs, thanks to extraordinary physical endurance, and to a mechanical skill worthy of their excellent reputation.

The only electric vehicle entered in this race was constructed by M. Jantaud, the eminent builder, who has since then made a specialty of electric carriages. It was a remarkable piece of machinery, especially for that epoch. But owing to the warping of the axle of one of the front wheels, due to a shock, he could not cover the route swiftly enough to utilize the relays of storage-batteries, which he had held in readiness along the line.

After having distributed the prizes, and made its report as a whole, the committee of the Paris-Bordeaux race, on my proposition, declared itself a permanent organization, designed to give to the automobile industry a rallying centre and encouragement based upon conditions of competency and impartiality.

Some months later, MM. de Dion and de Zuylen took the initiative in changing the permanent commission into a sub-committee, adjunct of a society for encouragement of automobile locomotion. Thus the Automobile Club was born, which, in three years and a half, has grown, as to the number of its members, from about 50 to nearly 2,000; and which, because of its large pecuniary resources, and by reason of the liberal and scientific spirit which

animates the encouragement it gives to the new industry in every way, is certainly to-day one of the most useful and commendable institutions in France.

The Automobile Club of France, for which we have selected the abbreviation "A. C. F.," resolved to organize a race from Paris to Marseilles and back, for September 24, 1896. This course, 1,711 kilometres in length, could certainly have been covered in a single trip by machines with relays of men; but the incontestable danger, which a night-run at full speed involves, led the committee to adopt the principle, which has since been followed, of a test by stages, so regulated that vehicles shall not be obliged to run by night, save in case of long delays, due to breakdowns on the road.

It was decided that the start should be made at Versailles, and that the course should be divided into ten stages; Auxerre, Dijon, Lyons, Avignon, Marseilles, Avigon, Lyons, Dijon,, Sens, Paris. In each of these towns the vehicles were to be put up in a park under surveillance; the replacing of broken parts was prohibited, but ordinary repairs could be made by whatever means came to hand. Of the 32 vehicles, ranged about the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile on the 24th of September at nine o'clock in the morning, and which began their run to Versailles on the same day toward noon, 29 returned to Paris. The three which broke down were the only steam vehicles. Again a triumph for the petroleum carriage.

This race was again won by a Panhard and Levassor carriage, which covered the entire course in 67 hours, 42 minutes and 58 seconds, equivalent to a mean velocity of 25.20 kilometres an hour. This carriage was followed closely by other carriages of the same house. The greatest speed, during a single stage, was about 30 kilometres an hour.

The Peugeot carriages also did good work. The firm Delahaye of Tours made its reputation on this occasion, by one of its vehicles, which came in a good fourth.

But the most prominent event of this test was the extraordinary power of resistance displayed by the new petroleum tricycles constructed by the firm Dion and Bouton. Contrary to all prognostications, these diminutive vehicles, the weight of which is hardly more than that of the man who mounts them, covered the immense track almost as fast as the carriages, in spite

of horrible weather and a veritable equinoctial cyclone during the second and third days—from Thursday, the 24th, at midnight, to Friday, the 25th, at noon, the barometer fell from about 770 to 739 millimetres.

As to the three steam vehicles, they could not accomplish the course. The Dion carriage, which had run the Paris-Bordeaux course, and which was driven by M. Bouton, stopped at Suresnes, even before the start was made, in consequence of a rupture in its large new pneumatic tires, which M. Michelin had fitted to it, without having studied and perfected them sufficiently.

The two other steam vehicles were almost identical brakes, especially constructed for this race, weighing about three tons when made ready for the trip, developing about 18 horse-power when run in compound, and probably a little more than 30 when run by direct action from the large cylinder. Of these two powerful machines, one, in charge of M. de Dion himself, could not go further than Montereau, about 80 kilometers from Paris. The other, of which my brother and I had taken charge, with a fireman and two machinists, took 85 hours to reach Lyons. During this long trip (we took only 12 hours' rest, from Friday midnight till Saturday noon), we spent 47 hours on repairs, on the open road—part of the time, and that the greater part of it (the night of Thursday to Friday, and of Saturday to Sunday), in a drenching rain. It goes without saying that, at the end of a dozen hours so lost, we made not the least pretence of catching up with our more fortunate competitors, but we wished to make a fight for the honor of the steam-principle by finishing the run at least; a purpose which we did not relinquish until the machine was entirely crippled at Lyons.

Almost every part of the mechanism was out of working order, and we had every break-down conceivable, except an absolute explosion of the boiler. We had even carried away a piece of the frame, which we replaced by means of an iron bar, forged by ourselves in a village.

I shall attempt to give here no complete details of this eventful journey, of which, however, I made most careful notes at the time. Complete enumeration of all that happened to us would prove quite lengthy. Suffice it to say, that we ran down a dog, overturned two carts (whose drivers, frightened at the sight of our enormous machine, turned to the left at the very last mo-

ment), upset a cow, and, finally, broke down a fence in trying to make a turn on soft and heavy soil. As for ourselves, in spite of our rubber hats, vests and trousers, and the provisions of all kinds which we carried with us, we were in a condition, which I prefer not to describe. My brother and I have been over some pretty rough ground in travelling, notably in the Indies, in Japan, in Central Asia, and in the Sahara; but never were we so utterly tired out and so devoid of every similitude of humanity, as when we reached Lyons.

In spite of all that, this carriage is a good vehicle. The accidents that happened to us were due to the fact that the machine had started without sufficient preparation and test. The proof of this is that, a few months later, in January, 1897, the same carriage, in charge of my brother, after some modification and improvement, won in a brilliant manner the Marseilles-Nice-Turbie race, covering the 233 kilometres in 7 hours, 45 minutes, 9 seconds, a mean velocity of about 30 kilometres an hour. This result is still more satisfactory if the unusually uneven and sinuous nature of the road is considered, as also the stops necessary to take on water and coke, and the fact, that without facing certain death, one did not dare to let the heavy vehicle coast on any of the heaviest down-grades.

It was on one of these down-grades that Charron, who was running a Panhard petroleum carriage, and who wanted to catch up with us at any cost, was upset at a turn. Charron and his machinist were thrown out, though they were not hurt at all, and the vehicle turned a complete somersault, and landed on its wheels,—as was demonstrated in an undoubted way by the traces of gravel on the upper part of the carriage. It sustained no serious injury, except the destruction of the steering bar, which Charron repaired with a bit of wood. It returned to Fréjus without a stoppage of the motor.

The tests of Paris-Bordeaux and Paris-Marseilles have shown that automobile carriages can cover long distances on ordinary roads; Marseilles-Nice-Turbie goes to show their practical value, by proving that they can get over the heaviest down-grades.

It was also on this last occasion that really considerable velocities were attained for the first time. Between Ollioules and Toulon, we made 5 kilometres in less than 5 minutes; between Cannes and Nice, the speed officially registered for Michelin was

about 50 kilometres an hour; ours was a little greater than that, since Michelin had left Cannes on his steam brake five minutes after us, and we were stopped for eight minutes on the outskirts of Nice by an overheated axle, during which time he ran by us like an express train. The second prize was won by a Peugeot petroluem carriage; for, in the first part of the run, Michelin had lost considerable time by the rupturing of his pneumatic tires, which he had not yet been able to bring to the highest degree of perfection.

This race was the only one ever won by a steam carriage, and it will probably be the last in view of the incessant progress made to-day in the construction of petroleum motors, making it possible for them, other things being equal, to develop power superior to that of steam apparatus, as far as now known.

Of course, the petroleum motor has not the elasticity of a steam motor, but it has a peculiar steadiness and a wonderful power of endurance. It has but one weak point, its cylinder, and but one delicate structure, its carburetor; while the steam engine has numberless sources of injury in its boiler, its tubings, its pumps, its cylinder-heads, etc., which are simultaneously subjected to extreme pressures, due both to the steam and to violent jolts on rough roads. Besides, to make a one horse-power hour with a petroleum motor requires about 0.750 kilos of oil and, since the invention of the radiator or surface-condenser, the same water can be used indefinitely for cooling the cylinder. On the other hand, the steam motor requires, for the horse-power hour, about one kilo of fuel and ten kilos of water. The stops necessary to replenish are, therefore, much more frequent with the second of these systems, than with the first.

Since these events, speed in races has constantly increased. In the Paris-Dieppe race in July, 1897, a small Bollée carriage, a sort of tricycle with rear driving-wheels, made the run at a mean speed of about 42 kilometres an hour. Almost the same record was made by the first contestants taking part in the Paris-Trouville race, 170 kilometres, in August, 1897. In the great race, Paris-Amsterdam-Paris, in July, 1898, made in several stages, Charron, running a Panhard two-seated carriage, attained a mean velocity of 44.7 kilometres. Finally, in the recent Versailles-Bordeaux race, one stage without stop, the mean velocity attained by the winner, Charron, on the total run of 565 kilometres, was

48.776 kilometres. On certain quite lengthy stretches of the course, the mean speed passed 60, and at some points reached even 70 to 80 kilometres an hour. This carriage, from the establishment of Panhard and Levassor, weighs about a ton and carries an equipoise motor of from 12 to 15 horse-power.

However astounding these velocities, they are surpassed by the record tests in kilometres made in the park d'Achères, near Paris, not, as frequently stated, on a specially prepared track, but on an ordinary road, with the sole advantages of three or four kilometres of virtually straight road and of being absolutely shut in from interfering vehicles on test days, since the track crosses property belonging to the City of Paris.

On January 27, 1899, Genatzy, mounting a carriage not specially constructed for great speed, left the starting-point and covered two kilometres in one minute and 41 4-5 seconds—the first kilometre, with a standing start, in 57 seconds, that is, at the rate of 63.166 kilometres an hour; and the second kilometre, with a running start, in 44 4-5 seconds, that is, at a rate of 80.357 kilometres an hour.

On March 4, 1899, Count de Chasseloup-Laubat, on a Jantard carriage, not specially built for this style of test, but with certain most important modifications—such as running the front and rear of the carriage out into sharp points, so as to offer least resistance to air—covered the same course of two kilometres in 1 minute, 27 2-5 seconds—the first kiolmetre, with a standing start, in 48 3-5 seconds, or at the rate of 75 kilometres an hour; and the second kilometre, with running start, in 38 4-5 seconds, or at the rate of 92.783 kilometres an hour.

Finally, on April 29, 1899, Genatzy, riding a carriage specially built to break all records, and which has the shape of a large cigar mounted on four small wheels, made the two kilometres in one minute 21 4-5 seconds—the first kilometre, with a standing start, in 47 4-5 seconds, and the second kilometre, with a running start, in 34 seconds, or 105.852 kilometres an hour.

The two contestants have stopped there, since Count de Chasseloup-Laubat had no desire to build a special carriage for the purpose of breaking the Genatzy record; but, all things considered, it is almost certain, that the two contestants, should they wish to make the effort, can reduce the kilometre to about 30 seconds, that is, to a rate of 120 kilometres an hour. This re-

sult, astonishing as it may appear, is, to my mind, less extraordinary than velocities already attained; that is to say, at the rate of 75 kilometres an hour, with a standing start. For, even if locomotives have frequently surpassed the speed of 120 kilometres an hour, I believe no engine has as yet covered a kilometre from a standing start at the rate of 75 kilometres an hour. The start of one of these electric carriages absolutely leaves the impression on the observer of the start of a rocket.

It is well to note that all racing or record carriages are mounted on pneumatic tires, without which these great speeds would seem impossible. Among the manufacturers who have been enabled, by perseverance and experience, to construct air-cushions that will stand these tests, it is proper to mention M. Michelin de Clermont-Ferrand.

But the object of automobilism is not solely to obtain ever-increasing velocities. Many good judges are of the opinion that a maximum speed, and one that cannot well be sensibly surpassed with due regard to essential conditions of safety, has already been attained. The great velocities actually reached are only possible with persons specially skilled in such matters, and on tracks where it is possible to see far enough ahead to be assured of the absence of obstacles.

In the same way, the Automobile Club, true to its purposes and its programme, is not confined to the encouragement of races. It has organized exhibits of carriages, where the public can examine the different vehicles and the different systems which their originators extol. It has also organized gatherings of cabs and of "heavy-weights," that is to say, vehicles designed to transport a large number of passengers or a considerable weight of merchandise at slow rates of speed. During these tests, which last several consecutive days, the competing vehicles are stabled every night in a building under the surveillance of the Automobile Club. A technical commission carefully notes the weights of requisites of every kind (water, fuel, grease, etc.), as well as the quantity of electrical energy required for each vehicle. On each of these, a special commissioner keeps a road-journal, noting carefully the stops, the repairs, mean velocities made on different sections of the road, and in a general way all information of interest. On the track, mounted inspectors and commissioners on light and rapid petroleum vehicles circulate constantly. All re-

pairs, the duration of the concourse in the park, etc., are noted on return in the evening. In a word the most minute particulars are taken, to study in a most serious and impartial fashion the qualities and faults of each of the vehicles concerned. The technical commission then meets, and makes a general report according to the information and documents which it has received, as well as a specific report for each vehicle. It then decides upon some measure of recompense, if there be reason for it, for the vehicles which seem most deserving.

From all these races and meetings, it is evident that steam, electricity and petroleum have, each of them, drawbacks and advantages. Without wishing to enter upon a technical dissertation, which would not be *á propos*, and would exceed the limits of this article, it may be said that, in the existing status of the science, each system, presenting different advantages and disadvantages, seems intended for a different line of application.

The steam carriage requires about 11 kilogrammes of its total weight for supplies for the horse-power hour: it needs a mechanic as fireman, independently of the conductor: its maintenance is quite complicated and difficult; but it is relatively inexpensive, furnishes a steady power, can start up readily with a heavy draft and takes hills easily. It seems designed, therefore, for heavy traffic, and for running across broken country and on roads carefully studied and of determined lengths.

The electric carriage is of simple construction, and runs with relative ease. Better than steam, it is adapted to rapid movement at starting and on up-grades. It works without noise or vibration. But the 20 or 30 kilogrammes of storage-battery weight actually necessary to make the horse-power hour, and the length of time required to re-charge the storage-batteries, necessarily limits its sphere of action. It is, *par excellence*, the urban vehicle, especially for passenger traffic, rather than for freight.

The petroleum carriage, which requires only 0.750 kilogrammes of supplies for the horse-power hour, is hardy, relatively simple and readily run. But its vibrations, though much diminished in the new equipoise motors, are still quite perceptible. The combustion of the oil produces a disagreeable odor, if carburization is not thoroughly regulated. The danger of fire from the presence of the fuel, which must needs be carried, is always to be feared from the slightest imprudence. The motors hitherto built are

not elastic, and, save in racing carriages, are a little feeble in starting and on an up-grade. It is a good carriage for service in both city and country combined. For long runs, it is actually the only one available.

Such is to-day the technical situation of the question.

This summary, necessarily incomplete, shows how great recent progress in automobilism in France has been. It shows, also, the prominent part which the Automobile Club and its founders have played in this recent progress, by creating a centre of encouragement for all the interests of the new industry in general. This progress has necessarily aroused some detraction, some jealousy, some envy. It must necessarily do battle with the ill-will of many, of certain officials, of certain local authorities, although on the whole, the masses and the authorities have been very favorably disposed toward the new method of locomotion.

Mechanical vehicles can certainly be utilized in restricted localities, not sufficiently important to permit remunerative exploitations by railways, even by a narrow gauge road. In fact, the automobile is as free on the roads as a ship at sea. According to the changing needs of local traffic a variable number of vehicles can be put on without the heavy expense necessarily involved in the construction and maintenance of a railroad, a permanent and fixed expense not influenced by trade, whether the latter be good or bad. There is no doubt whatever that, if automobilism had appeared a score of years earlier, none of the ruinous electoral railroads, constructed on the Freycinet plan, would have been begun. There is furthermore no doubt but that the recent progress of the new industry has already tended to moderate that financial plague, the small local railroads, built as a detriment to the nation at large, for the benefit of a few.

One of the principal causes of the actual attainment of automobilism is certainly the good condition of the roads in France. The mass of the French nation understand that, on the one hand, automobilism, by making a large use of the superb network of roads which the railroad has depopulated somewhat, will give new life to many localities now almost abandoned. They also understand that the best way of compelling the Government to maintain this network of roads is to justify the expense of maintenance by new modes of locomotion, capable of rendering service according to the needs of our times. In a modern nation,

it may be taken for granted, that automobilism and the network of roads are intimately interdependent.

As to the economic and social changes brought about by this new method of locomotion, they are certainly not as profound as those which the building of railroads and the application of the electric telegraph called into being; yet they are far from being insignificant, and there is no temerity in the thought that they will have a real import in the very near future. The study of practical mechanics will receive an extraordinary impulse among all classes of the population, and out of it will grow a *rapprochement* between idle wealth and the laboring man. Distance will be of less importance than in the past in countries that boast a network of good roads. With mechanical vehicles in general use it will be an easy matter to live 20 or 30 kilometres from the place of one's daily avocations, especially in summer, and it will be considered a promenade to go for breakfast 50, 100 or 150 kilometres away from home. Profound modifications will undoubtedly result from this, not only in country life, but, what is more important, in the life of a numerous class inhabiting our large cities. Automobilism, even more than our suburban railway lines, will cause the great city of the future to extend even further than it has in the past, and will permit a greater number of men to enjoy the ineffable blessing of pure air, of green grass and of sunlight. Automobilism is a means of progress, of well-being, and of civilization.

MARQUIS DE CHASSELOUP-LAUBAT.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

BY EDOUARD ROD.

THE universities of the United States appeared to me to be young and strong, full of life and promise—nursery gardens in which trees are growing that are already vigorous and cannot fail to bear fine fruit. Although they gather inspiration from European experience, they preserve their individuality. They bear the imprint of the originality belonging to the new race which has produced them and which cultivates them with predilection. One of the characteristics of this race which struck me most forcibly is its taste and its respect for traditions. Not having as yet any traditions of its own, by reason of its youth, it seeks to create them, and history is its help from day to day, or else it seeks to re-establish connection with those of the old world from which more immediate needs had almost completely separated it for a time.

The universities are in effect the natural connecting link between the distant past of European culture and the future of the new civilization, which is working itself out on the other side of the ocean. This is one of the reasons, I believe, why they are respected and loved: they represent the only thing which the active and audacious genius that is mastering the forces of nature cannot improvise—the slow growth of generations, the intellectual capital whose orderly and continuous accumulation cannot be forced by speculation. It must be acquired with patience.

The fathers have not had the leisure to do this, but the sons will have it; and thus will be repaired the broken chain which will connect by links of knowledge the peoples of yesterday with those of to-morrow.

It seems to me, however, that the American universities have not only an American physiognomy, but that each has its own peculiar character; each seeks its ends by means of its own choice. Strolling through the beautiful avenues of Cambridge, for example, I thought of the peaceful retreat which certain small towns of Germany offer to science, where the student is far from the turmoil of the world, where the university buildings never fail to recall to the memory the "*templa serena*" of the poet. In New York and Chicago, on the contrary, the universities, although isolated as far as possible, are hardly more than episodes, if I may say so, of the maelstrom of life that carries them along with it. Am I mistaken? Yet I imagine that the young men who are preparing themselves there for the work of life will become, almost of necessity, men of action, fighters; while others, who are brought up in quiet centres already possessing some consecration of age, will retain in their inmost nature the taste for more deliberate reflection, in which they will love to take refuge sometimes as in a sanctuary.

Cornell impressed me much by its practical and professional features. This teaching of students to use their ten fingers, to handle tools and to make for themselves what cultivated men are always inclined to ask others to make for them, is judicious and up to date. It gives the death blow to the prejudice which despises manual labor and exalts beyond all reason the work of the brain.

I am very far from being one of those who believe in the dogma of equality; but, if there is any point on which it can be admitted, it is this: Human effort, whatever it may be, is equally noble. Ridiculous pride alone measures out differences between occupations and classes by chimerical rounds of an absurd ladder. The workshop by the side of the laboratory, the school of agriculture by the side of the Latin classes, the model dairy by the side of the library—here is a conception that will in the end overthrow that deplorable ladder, which in our country is climbed by too large a number of young men of fortune destined to idleness, or ambitious youths condemned to misery. Moreover, it seems to me that higher education everywhere had an essentially practical side: the "seminaries," for example, have in general the plan and the equipment to which they are entitled; hence they yield excellent results, as I am told.

An innovation that I appreciate without, however, being able to measure its full scope, is that of uninterrupted sessions in the University of Chicago, whose vitality shines forth with so much brilliancy and enthusiasm. We have vacation courses in a few of our European universities, but they do not go to the extent of doing away with vacations entirely. I am reminded of the song we used to sing when July drew near:

"Vivent les vacances
Denique tandem . . . . "

In truth, the vacations have hitherto been one of the essential elements of university life, and these times of complete and forced cessations during the summer season have always seemed salutary to teachers as well as pupils. Hence I cannot help reserving my opinion on the Chicago innovation. There, however, everything moves so fast that nobody thinks of resting.

A European cannot visit the American universities without admiring the perfection of all that makes up their material equipment.

We have no idea whatever of such conveniences. We content ourselves with old buildings which have sometimes stood for several centuries, and which are restored and retouched, as well as may be, from time to time to adapt them, as far as possible, to the needs of the moment. When hygiene discovers that the air must be renewed, windows are put in the walls. They are built higher and flanked with wings and additions, when an increase in the number of students requires. We wait until they burn down before building new ones; but they do not burn down, for they are solid. They leave much to be desired. We love them, however; for, if they no longer answer present requirements, they have made us what we are. Their walls crumble, their floors are worn and in their halls we breathe the odor of ancient things; but this odor is dear to us; we love to breathe the past which it represents, the bygone days which it has preserved. And we think, not without pride, of all the glory which has been gathered there, of the illustrious teachers who have taught in those chairs, of the great men who have sat on those age-worn benches. That is no reason, however, for not marvelling at the modern equipments, so admirable in their completeness, which may be seen at New York, at Chicago, at Philadelphia,

and even in universities of less importance. There is not a single detail that is not perfect. After a visit to them, one seeks—even with some spirit of opposition—for something to criticise and one finds nothing. It is too good; we have to look elsewhere if we must find fault.

I have looked, and this is what I have found. The American universities require too much of their professors. They are not alone, to be sure, in this fault; it is found in other democratic and new countries, where public instruction is organized by persons who have much good will, but who are unable to judge of the conditions of higher culture. One must belong, to some extent, to the profession to appreciate the amount of labor represented by a well prepared lecture and the importance of offering to students no lectures that are not well prepared. Now, to many people, the actual time required to give the lesson is all that counts; they are persuaded that when a professor is delivering his lecture he is doing the major part of his task, and if they have any authority, they consider only how his work—such as they understand it—may be increased, for the greater good of the students and the university. This is to me the worst of all errors; to overload the courses of a university is to work for poor results. The professors do not then give their full measure, for it is physically impossible to prepare lectures for eight or ten hours a week; and the students suffer from what is imperfect in the work of their teachers. Here, more than in any other domain, quality is of far greater importance than quantity; for university instruction aims less at imparting positive knowledge than at furnishing a good method. Hence I cannot help considering our French habits preferable in this important point. Let there be few lectures, but let each be a masterpiece, whose excellence shall have no other limits than those of the professor's ability.

I liked greatly the little I saw of student life. The students with whom I had the opportunity to talk familiarly delighted me with their frankness, their good will, their mixture of precocious maturity and juvenile qualities, of brightness and seriousness.

It is very delightful to see these vigorous, healthy, robust young men devoting sufficient time to hygiene and thus avoiding the evils of overwork. Indeed, overwork must be an empty word

here, judging by the leisure they have and the very intelligent way in which they employ it. Representations of plays—ancient and modern, French, English, German or Greek—games of cricket, baseball, football, athletic exercises, clubs of all sorts furnish activity enough to fill all the hours of the day, all the days of the term, and all the terms of their course.

"But when do you find time to work?" I asked one of them.

He answered: "Sometimes."

As a matter of fact, their work is done, and, I have a thousand reasons to believe, well done. Their very pleasures are of service to them.

At Harvard University I attended a representation of one of Kotzebue's plays given by the German club. Almost all the actors spoke correctly, with little accent and much fluency. In the same university I often met the young members of the French club, to whom I am indebted for the honor and the pleasure of my voyage. They use the language of every day very well, and the representations which they are preparing with great care will no doubt greatly contribute to its mastery. Knowledge need not be repulsive, work wearisome nor science forbidding. At Ithaca I followed the varying fortunes of a game of baseball. The display of strength, agility and skill was admirable. We admire it yet more when we consider that these athletes will become, and indeed are already, men of thought. Ah! how they banish from our minds the time-honored image of an emaciated, sickly and top-heavy scholar!

One detail struck me which I will frankly point out, without being unaware that I may wound certain very respectable convictions. I was greatly surprised by difficulties created in various places by laws or regulations due to the efforts of total abstainers. When I found the students who have no tavern and who, in their clubs, cannot drink beer or wine without procuring a private supply in each case, I immediately felt very sorry for them, as I did for myself also on the rare occasions when I had to share their fate. I certainly am in accord with all respectable people in endeavoring to fight the ravages of alcohol, and I can understand why they should try to suppress spirituous liquors because they are dangerous. But fermented beverages! Wine is as natural as Apollinaris water, beer is as wholesome as ginger-ale; to forbid their use in order to prevent their abuse

looks to me only like a deplorable paradox. I think of the gayety of my student years, and I wonder what they would have been without the light white wine of the canton of Vaud, without the good rich German beer.

Yet I may be mistaken. Every country has its own customs. The American students, even those who drink nothing but water, are lively, gay and manly young men. They have other pleasures which are just as good as ours.

I carry with me the best of recollections of the students of the United States, as well as of their teachers, and I wish to dedicate these too brief notes to the one who was my guide and companion during my stay at Harvard. If many of his comrades are like him, America may expect a fine fruitage from her young universities.

EDOUARD ROD.

THE "AMERICA" CUP RACE.

BY THE HON. CHARLES RUSSELL.

If association with Sir Thomas Lipton through all this business and pleasure of the "Shamrock" is a credential for such an article as this, it may be claimed by the present writer. He was with Sir Thomas Lipton when the building of the yacht was first discussed, in the spring of 1898. He saw the "Shamrock" grow upon the stocks and take her plunge into the water; and, as a guest on the "Erin," he watched the trial trips of the "Shamrock" in the Solent during this summer, and was on board her with her owner when she won her maiden victory over the "Britannia."

Repeated conversations with Sir Thomas Lipton at these various stages, and at all the intervening ones, go to the making of this article, which may be taken to represent his sentiments, if it has not succeeded in repeating his words.

To win back the Cup and to win it for Ireland has been, indeed, a dream of Sir Thomas Lipton's for many years. Belonging to one of the multitude of Ulster families who have emigrated, not to America like President McKinley's, but to Scotland, he found himself, in early manhood, a dweller on the banks of the Clyde, the great river that gives Glasgow not only its means of livelihood, but also its sport, its pleasures, and its close touch with the sea.

Yachting was, as a matter of course, in the air; and the fact that "The Cup" had gone to America from Cowes in 1851, and had stayed there, somehow impressed itself upon his imagination, even as a boy, and suggested vaguely the idea that he himself might, perhaps, one day try to bring it back. Ten years ago, during one of the more than fifty crossings of the Atlantic Sir

Thomas has made on pleasure and business, he happened to meet Mr. Fife, of Fairlie, the designer of the "Shamrock," and a talk with him brought the old idea into some sort of perspective, so that Sir Thomas wrote to Mr. Lane, then sitting in Parliament for Queenstown Division of County Cork, and now the General Manager in Ireland of a New York insurance company, offering to supply the sinews of war if a likely boat could be built in Ireland. The difficulties, however, were too many, and hours of leisure were too few.

Time passed; many things had happened since that proposal was made, including Lord Dunraven's challenge, with its unhappy sequel, when, on a long railway journey with a friend, the idea was revived and the die was really cast.

Perhaps it was the stimulating effect that movement has on some minds; but the topic of the challenge, once started, went forward with leaps and bounds. Begun in France, it trundled with the travellers through the Mont Cenis Tunnel, and was their companion over Piedmont, and till Rome was reached. There the travellers' ways parted; but Sir Thomas, first by the Bay of Naples, then a little later in Ceylon, and his companion on his return to London from Rome, kept the yacht that was to be named the "Shamrock" still before them. Cosmopolitan as these origins sound, and as the race itself must be, the thoughts of the two Irishmen did not travel so very far afield; they recurred to Ireland at every point and turning.

The boat was to be an Irish boat, not in ownership and name only, but, as far as might be, in the building and in the manning of her as well.

When Sir Thomas Lipton returned home after his visit to the East, he found his friend had not been idle, but had justified the trust placed in him to push on with the venture. Many preliminary difficulties had been removed, and matters were awaiting to be dealt with finally by the master hand of Sir Thomas Lipton, without further loss of time. The great Irish firm, Messrs. Harland and Wolff, foremost among owners of those shipbuilding yards at Belfast which owe their prosperity in great part to Transatlantic communication, were called to the councils. Their decision that a racing-yacht, with its almost jeweller's metal-work, was out of the scope of their ordinary business, led to the commission's going, to its giver's deep regret, away from

Ireland, and finally to the Thames, where the Messrs. Thornycroft have made a specialty of work of the kind. All the same, the "Shamrock" is an Irish boat, and its challenge went forth from the Royal Ulster Yacht Club, the leading club of the province, with Lord Dufferin for its Commodore—first famous by his "Yachting in High Latitudes."

Americans are Englishmen's cousins in name; they are often Irishmen's in fact, with the flotilla of emigrant ships to connect the two shores; and Lord Dufferin can claim, besides his common cousinship with Americans, a special one with General Sheridan.

One does not envy the man who has to write Lord Dufferin's epitaph in brief space; for—if it is to please all—it will commemorate him, not merely as a Viceroy of India and a Governor-General of Canada, but also as the son of the lady who wrote "The Lament of the Irish Emigrant," and as one who spent the end of his own eventful life in the home of his boyhood by the shore of Belfast Lough.

On the flag of the Royal Ulster Yacht Club, which the "Shamrock" flies (in addition to her own green shamrock), is an ominous device—the red hand of Ulster. The legend is that there was a race at sea for supremacy; and that he who first touched shore was to be king. O'Neill was behind, when he chopped off his hand, flung it ashore, and so won the crown.

The obvious moral is that the competitor must be thorough in his striving for victory, and that he must shirk no sacrifice if he would win.

All the same, despite this gory emblem, the owner of "Shamrock" will come from the contest unmaimed, whether winning or losing. He does not feel he is on the brink of a battle with foemen, by whom it is a disgrace to be beaten; or that, if he wins, his victory will come at the cost of the loss of friends or friendships. On both sides, the race will be entered upon with the best of tempers and as between comrades. If there has been any chatter about past or possible future friction with American sportsmen, his ears have given it no toleration, and one is really ashamed to accord it in print even a disclaiming allusion. The conditions of the New York Yacht Club were accepted *en bloc*, without a single emendation, by the representatives of himself and of the Royal Ulster Club who went at his request last August to New York. His request to them was to do so, for he knew that nothing would

be left out by the New York Yacht Club which would ensure a good race or which would safeguard the competitors from any misunderstanding; and his representatives found his anticipation was absolutely correct. On every point anxiety was shown to meet difficulties.

The matters of measurement and mark-boats or overcrowding had unfortunately been made delicate ones, no doubt; but they did not bring about even a discussion between us. As for overcrowding, Congress itself, independently of this particular race, has placed the very serious responsibility of keeping the course clear for the combatants upon the Secretary of the Treasury and has given him ample means of discharging it. An amendment of the Navigation Laws, approved in the May of 1896, empowers the Secretary of the Treasury to employ cutters at "regattas, amateur or professional," to keep out of harm's way, as it is delicately put, "excursion steamers, yachts, oarsmen, and all craft" —yes, all craft whatsoever—that is certain. No doubt Mr. Secretary counts this responsibility not the least of his many duties.

Interchanges of sportsmanlike rivalry, conducted in a proper "give and take" spirit, are the best of bonds between nations as between men. England thinks better, not worse, of Australia since Australia beat her at cricket. Nor will anything but good-will be the outcome of this challenge—good-will between Americans, Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotsmen—people so vitally intermixed that where one wins the other cannot wholly lose. Frankly, as an Irishman, bred in Scotland, and bustled by business into England, Sir Thomas Lipton desires to better America's present best, and to hold the Cup till the time comes when our best, in turn of fortune, is again bettered by America. If the "Shamrock" loses, the countries on this side of the Atlantic will have at least the consoling pride of fathers who see themselves outstripped by their own sons. The race, undecided, is delightful to anticipate, even though anxiously; and, however decided, it will never be less than delightful to the owner of the "Shamrock" in the retrospect. Keen as has been the interest taken in past contests, it is admitted by all that the enthusiasm which follows the "Shamrock," whether in Ireland, England or Scotland, is absolutely unprecedented in the history of the contest. Wherever the "Shamrock" appeared she was surrounded from morning till night by endless crowds of steamers and all kinds

of craft loaded down with her well-wishers. "Her departure for America"—to end in veritable words of Sir Thomas Lipton—"was a sight I shall never forget; and the voices of the great crowds singing the melody of 'The Dear Little Shamrock' I cannot recall without emotion. We had, too, a pleasant foretaste of America's welcome in the hearty cheers always given us by the many American liners which passed the 'Shamrock' in the Solent or on Southampton waters. All this I can read but one way, that there is a growing desire on both sides of the Atlantic for closer bonds and a more intimate friendship. If I should help toward such a consummation I should indeed feel satisfied."

CHARLES RUSSELL.

AGUINALDO'S CASE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.*

BY A FILIPINO.

A SHORT time ago, the American people were painfully shocked into a sense of the truth as to the condition of affairs in the Philippine Islands, by the protests of the newspaper correspondents that Gen. Otis was deliberately falsifying the reports of the Philippine campaign to suit public vanity. This by means of a rigid censorship, instituted by his "sovereign" commands, he has done in the most efficacious manner, and the American people awoke the other day, not, like the English poet Byron, to find themselves famous, but to realize the fact that they have been miserably duped. The resignation or demission of Secretary Alger was a necessary consequence of this revelation.

We Filipinos have all along believed that if the American nation at large knew exactly, as we do, what is daily happening in the Philippine Islands, they would rise *en masse,* and demand that this barbaric war should stop. There are other methods of securing sovereignty—the true and lasting sovereignty that has its foundation in the hearts of the people. Has not the greatest of English poets said:

> **"Kind hearts are more than coronets,**
> **And simple faith than Norman blood?"**

And, did America recognize this fact, she would cease to be the laughing stock of other civilized nations, as she became when she abandoned her traditions and set up a double standard of government—government by consent in America, government by force in the Philippine Islands.

*This article was written by an authorized personal representative of Aguinaldo. For diplomatic reasons he considers it unwise to attach his signature.—EDITOR N. A. R.

"Coming events cast their shadows before." Let us look at the situation exactly as it is, as we know it to be, and let the American people no longer deceive themselves or be deceived by others.

Politically speaking, we know that we are simply regarded as the means to an end. For the time being, we are crushed under the wheels of the modern political Juggernaut, but its wheels are not broad enough to crush us all. Perfidious Albion is the prime mover in this dastardly business—she at one side of the lever, America at the other, and the fulcrum in the Philippines. England has set her heart on the Anglo-American alliance. She is using America as a cat's-paw. What she cannot obtain by force, she intends to secure by stratagem. Unknown to the great majority of the American people, she has taken the American government into her confidence, and shown it "the glorious possibilities of the East." The temptation has proved too strong. Now, in this, England is playing a double game, on the principle of "heads I win, tails you lose." If America should win, all is well; England has her ally safely installed in the East, ready at her beck and call to oppose, hand in hand with her, the other powers in the dismemberment of the Orient. If America loses, she will be all the more solicitous to join in the Anglo-American alliance. The other powers stand by and see this political combination effected, while their plenipotentiaries gravely discuss, at the Hague, the theoretical aspects of universal peace, and are deaf to the wail of the widows and the orphans, and to the cry of an oppressed race struggling to be free. Such is "man's inhumanity to man."

You have been deceived all along the line. You have been greatly deceived in the personality of my countrymen. You went to the Philippines under the impression that their inhabitants were ignorant savages, whom Spain had kept in subjection at the bayonet's point. The Filipinos have been described in serious American journals as akin to the hordes of the Khalifa; and the idea has prevailed that it required only some unknown American Kitchener to march triumphantly from north to south to make the military occupation complete. We have been represented by your popular press as if we were Africans or Mohawk Indians. We smile, and deplore the want of ethnological knowledge on the part of our literary friends. We are none of these. We are

simply Filipinos. You know us now in part: you will know us better, I hope, by and by.

Some clear-headed men in the United States Senate knew the facts; but, alas, genius and correct thinking are ever in the minority.

I will not deny that there are savages in the Philippine Islands, if you designate by that name those who lead a nomad life, who do not pay tribute or acknowledge sovereignty to any one save their chief. For, let it be remembered, Spain held these islands for three hundred years, but never conquered more than one-quarter of them, and that only superficially and chiefly by means of priest-craft. The Spaniards never professed to derive their just powers from the consent of those whom they attempted to govern. What they took by force, they lost by force at our hands; and you deceived yourselves when you bought a revolution for twenty million dollars, and entangled yourselves in international politics. "*Non decipimur specie recti.*" You imagined you had bought the Philippines and the Filipinos for this mess of pottage. Your imperialism led you, blind-fold, to purchase "sovereignty" from a third party who had no title to give you—a confidence trick, certainly, very transparent; a bad bargain, and one we have had sufficient perspicuity and education to see through.

In the struggle for liberty which we have ever waged, the education of the masses has been slow; but we are not, on that account, an uneducated people, as our records show. Your Senators, even, admit that our political documents are worthy of a place in the archives of any civilized nation. It is the fittest and the best of our race who have survived the vile oppression of the Spanish Government, on the one hand, and of their priests on the other; and, had it not been for their tyrannous "sovereignty" and their execrable colonial methods, we would have been, ere this time, a power in the East, as our neighbors, the Japanese, have become by their industry and their modern educational methods.

You repeat constantly the dictum that we cannot govern ourselves. Macaulay long ago exposed the fallacy of this statement as regards colonies in general. With equal reason, you might have said the same thing some fifty or sixty years ago of Japan; and, little over a hundred years ago, it was extremely questionable, when you, also, were rebels against the English Government,

if you could govern yourselves. You obtained the opportunity, thanks to political combinations and generous assistance at the critical moment. You passed with credit through the trying period when you had to make a beginning of governing yourselves, and you eventually succeeded in establishing a government on a republican basis, which, theoretically, is as good a system of government as needs be, as it fulfils the just ideals and aspirations of the human race.

Now, the moral of all this obviously is: Give us the chance; treat us exactly as you demanded to be treated at the hands of England, when you rebelled against her autocratic methods. Deal only with facts in a rational and consistent way. Leave empiricism alone, and address yourselves seriously to the work of seeking the solution that shall be honorable to both parties. We know all the wire-pullers who are at work. We can tell you far more than you know; for we know our country and our countrymen, their past history, and what is necessary for their future good.

Now, here is an unique spectacle—the Filipinos fighting for liberty, the American people fighting them to give them liberty. The two peoples are fighting on parallel lines for the same object. We know that parallel lines never meet. Let us look back to discover the point at which the lines separated and the causes of the separation, so that we may estimate the possibility of one or the other or both being turned inwards so that they shall meet again.

You declared war with Spain for the sake of Humanity. You announced to the world that your programme was to set Cuba free, in conformity with your constitutional principles. One of your ablest officials gave it as his opinion that the Filipinos were far more competent to govern themselves than the Cuban people were.

You entered into an alliance with our chiefs at Hong Kong and at Singapore, and you promised us your aid and protection in our attempt to form a government on the principles and after the model of the government of the United States. Thereupon you sent a powerful fleet to Manila and demolished the old Spanish hulks, striking terror into the hearts of the Spanish garrison in Manila. In combination with our forces, you compelled Spain to surrender, and you proclaimed that you held the city, port and bay of Manila until such time as you should deter-

mine what you meant by the word "control," as applied to the rest of the islands. By some mysterious process, heretofore unknown to civilized nations, you resolved "control" into "sovereignty," on the pretense that what is paid for is "possession," no matter what the quality of the title may be.

Let us go into details. You went to Manila under a distinct understanding with us, fully recognized by Admiral Dewey, that your object and ours was a common one. We were your accepted allies; we assisted you at all points. We besieged Manila, and we prevented the Spaniards from leaving the fortified town. We captured all the provinces of Luzon. We received arms from you. Our chiefs were in constant touch with your naval authorities. Your consuls vied with each other in their efforts to arrange matters according to the promise made to us by your officials. We hailed you as the long-prayed-for Messiah.

Joy abounded in every heart, and all went well, with Admiral George Dewey as our guide and friend, until the arrival of General Merritt. Either on his own responsibility, or by orders from the Government at Washington, this general substituted his policy for that of Admiral Dewey, commencing by ignoring all promises that had been made and ending by ignoring the Philippine people, their personality and rights, and treating them as a common enemy.

Never has a greater mistake been made in the entire history of the nations. Here you had a people who placed themselves at your feet, who welcomed you as their savior, who wished you to govern them and protect them. In combination with the genius of our countrymen and their local knowledge, you would have transformed the Philippine Islands from a land of despotism, of vicious governmental methods and priestcraft, into an enlightened republic, with America as its guide—a happy and contented people—and that in the short space of a few months, without the sacrifice of a single American life. The means were there, and it only required the magic of a master-hand to guide them, as your ships were guided into Manila Bay.

Who is responsible for the contrast between the picture I have just drawn and that which meets the eye at the present moment with all its ghastly horrors? Wider and wider the separation became with very many aggravating circumstances, until liberty now travels in two parallel lines, very distant from each other.

It is our distinct opinion, and we would fain think it correct, that the President of the United States was misled by the military ideas of Gen. Merritt, as he has been later deceived by those of Gen. Otis. He saw the fatal mistake too late. Gen. Merritt, whose name must ever go down to posterity linked with the memory of the bloodshed and the horrors of this inhuman and unjust war, was recalled. Let us hope the error was one of judgment only.

The rest is a matter of history, of which the American public, otherwise lamentably ignorant of details, possess at least Gen. Otis' version, which, needless to say, is far from being the correct one. The administration defend themselves by saying that they know the truth. The more shame to them that they continue this barbarous and unjust warfare!

You have been deceived from the beginning, and deception is the order of the day. You continue to deceive yourselves by the thought that once the military power is established in the Philippines, the rest is a matter for politicians. Verily you are falling into the pit you have dug for yourselves. Your officials and generals have broken their promises with our countrymen over and over again. Your atrocious cruelties are equalled only by those of Spain.

You take into your confidence the odious reptiles of Spanish priestcraft. You have established a reputation for the historical *Punica Fides*. In the face of the world you emblazon Humanity and Liberty upon your standard, while you cast your political constitution to the winds and attempt to trample down and exterminate a brave people whose only crime is that they are fighting for their liberty. You ask my countrymen to believe in you, to trust you, and you assure them that, if they do so, all will be well. But your action is on a plane with the trick which the vulgar charlatan at a country fair plays upon the unwary with three cards and an empty box.

You will never conquer the Philippine Islands by force alone. How many soldiers in excess of the regular army do you mean to leave in every town, in every province? How many will the climate claim as its victims, apart from those who may fall in actual warfare? What do the American people, who have thousands of acres yet untilled, want with the Philippines? Have you figured up the cost?

The conclusion of the whole matter is this: You were duped at the beginning. You took a wrong step, and you had not sufficient moral courage to retrace it. You must begin by conquering the hearts of the Philippine people. Be absolutely just, and you can lead them with a silken cord where chains of steel will not drag them. We excuse your want of knowledge in the past, for you have had no experience in treating with our people; but retrieve your mistake now, while there is time.

The man, next to Gen. Merritt, who has misled you, and who is responsible for the continuance of this barbarous warfare, is General Otis. Had he allowed the Peace Commission to act independently, a *modus vivendi* would probably have been arrived at. But this question of sovereignty—why, such a transparent farce has never before been flouted before an intelligent people and the world in general. Can you wonder our people mistrust you and your empirical methods? They do not even regard you as being serious—a nation which professes to derive its just power of government from the consent of the governed.

"Lay down your arms," you say. Did you lay down your arms when you, too, were rebels, and the English under good King George demanded your submission? How in the name of all that is serious do you demand that we shall do what you, being rebels, refused to do?

Therefore, we Filipinos say: "Recall Gen. Otis, give the Peace Commission a free hand, try rather methods of fair dealing, make our countrymen believe that you are sincere, and be sincere and just in your dealings with them. Suspend the order for these rabble volunteers, the scum of your country, whom you propose to send across the sea to die of the effect of the climate, and you will find you can do more in a month than you will do by force in twenty years. Your scheme of military occupation has been a miserable failure. You have gained practically nothing. With General Otis, or without him, you will have to commence at the beginning again. Our forces are manufacturing thousands of cartridges and other improved means to continue the struggle, and it will continue until you are convinced of your error."

Our friend, Admiral Dewey, will undoubtedly have something to say to your President when he reaches home. He caught the genius of the Philippine people, and if he had been left alone many valuable lives would have been spared and many millions of

treasure saved. Be convinced, the Philippines are for the Filipinos. We are a virile race. We have never assimilated with our former oppressors, and we are not likely to assimilate with you.

Negros and Cebu are wavering in the balance uncertain whether or not to continue under your jurisdiction. We know how all that came to pass and the intrigues in Manila. Your newspaper correspondents know it also. But I am violating the commands of Gen. Otis by letting you into the secret. Meanwhile, I subscribe myself

SEMPER VIGILANS.

Paris, August, 1899.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXV.

OCTOBER, 1899.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE MORAL ASPECT OF WAR.

BY CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, U. S. N.

To determine the consequences of an historical episode, such as the recent Peace Conference at the Hague, is not a matter for prophecy, but for experience, which alone can decide what positive issues, for good or for ill, shall hereafter trace their source to this beginning. The most that the present can do is to take note of the point so far reached, and of apparent tendencies manifested; to seek for the latter a right direction; to guide, where it can, currents of general thought, the outcome of which will be beneficial or injurious, according as their course is governed by a just appreciation of fundamental truths.

The calling of the Conference of the Hague originated in an avowed desire to obtain relief from immediate economical burdens, by the adoption of some agreement to restrict the preparations for war, and the consequent expense, involved in national armaments; but before its meeting the hope of disarmament had fallen into the background, the vacant place being taken by the project of abating the remoter evils of recurrent warfare, by giving a further impulse, and a more clearly defined application, to the principle of arbitration, which thenceforth assumed pre-eminence

Copyright, 1899, by The North American Review Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

in the councils of the Conference. This may be considered the point at which we have arrived. The assembled representatives of many nations, including all the greatest upon the earth, have decided that it is to arbitration men must look for relief, rather than to partial disarmament, or even to an arrest in the progress of preparations for war. Of the beneficence of the practice of arbitration, of the wisdom of substituting it, when possible, for the appeal to arms, with all the misery therefrom resulting, there can be no doubt; but it will be expected that in its application, and in its attempted development, the tendencies of the day, both good and bad, will make themselves felt. If, on the one hand, there is solid ground for rejoicing in the growing inclination to resort first to an impartial arbiter, if such can be found, when occasion for collision arises, there is, on the other hand, cause for serious reflection when this most humane impulse is seen to favor methods, which by compulsion shall vitally impair the moral freedom, and the consequent moral responsibility, which are the distinguishing glory of the rational man, and of the sovereign state.

One of the most unfortunate characteristics of our present age is the disposition to impose by legislative enactment—by external compulsion, that is,—restrictions of a moral character, which are either fundamentally unjust, or at least do not carry with them the moral sense of the community, as a whole. It is not religious faith alone that in the past has sought to propagate itself by force of law, which ultimately is force of physical coercion. If the religious liberty of the individual has been at last won, as we hope forever, it is sufficiently notorious that the propensity of majorities to control the freedom of minorities, in matters of disputed right and wrong, still exists, as certain and as tyrannical as ever was the will of Philip II. that there should be no heretic within his dominion. Many cannot so much as comprehend the thought of the English Bishop, that it was better to see England free than England sober.

In matters internal to a State, the bare existence of a law imposes an obligation upon the individual citizen, whatever his personal conviction of its rightfulness or its wisdom. Yet is such obligation not absolute? The primary duty, attested alike by the law and the gospel, is submission. The presumption is in favor of the law; and if there lie against it just cause for accusation, on the score either of justice or of expediency, the interests of the

Commonwealth and the precepts of religion alike demand that opposition shall be conducted according to the methods, and within the limits, which the law of the land itself prescribes. But it may be—it has been, and yet again may be—that the law, however regular in its enactment, and therefore unquestionable on the score of formal authority, either outrages fundamental political right, or violates the moral dictates of the individual conscience. Of the former may be cited as an instance the Stamp Act, perfectly regular as regarded statutory validity, which kindled the flame of revolution in America. Of the second, the Fugitive Slave Law, within the memory of many yet living, is a conspicuous illustration. Under such conditions, the moral right of resistance is conceded—nay, is affirmed and emphasized—by the moral consciousness of the races from which the most part of the American people have their origin, and to which, almost wholly, we owe our political and religious traditions. Such resistance may be passive, accepting meekly the penalty for disobedience, as the martyr who for conscience' sake refused the political requirement of sacrificing to the image of the Cæsar; or it may be active and violent, as when our forefathers repelled taxation without representation, or when men and women, of a generation not yet wholly passed away, refused to violate their consciences by acquiescing in the return of a slave to his bondage, resorting to evasion or to violence, according to their conditions or temperaments, but in every case deriving the sanction for their unlawful action from the mandate of their personal conscience.

And let it be carefully kept in mind that it is not the absolute right or wrong of the particular act, as seen in the clearer light of a later day, that justified men, whether in the particular instances cited, or in other noteworthy incidents in the long series of steps by which the English-speaking races have ascended to their present political development. It is not the demonstrable rightfulness of a particular action, as seen in the dispassionate light of the arbiter, posterity, that has chiefly constituted the merit of the individual rebel against the law in which he beheld iniquity; the saving salt, which has preserved the healthfulness of the body politic, has been the fidelity to Conscience, to the faithful, if passionate, arbiter of the moment, whose glorious predominance in the individual or in the nation gives a better assurance of the highest life than does the clearest intellectual perception

of the rightfulness, or of the expediency, of a particular course. One may now see, or think that he sees, as does the writer, with Lincoln, that if slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. It was not so clear half a century ago; and while no honor is too great for those early heroes, who for this sublime conviction withstood obloquy and persecution, legal and illegal, it should be never forgotten that the then slave States, in their resolute determination to maintain, by arms if need be, and against superior force, that which they believed to be their constitutional political right, made no small contribution to the record of fidelity to conscience and to duty, which is the highest title of a nation to honor. Be it by action or be it by submission, by action positive or by action negative, whatsoever is not of faith—of conviction—is sin.

The just and necessary exaltation of the law as the guarantee of true liberty, with the consequent accepted submission of the individual to it, and the recognized presumption in favor of such submission, have tended to blind us to the fact that the individual, in our highest consciousness, has never surrendered his moral freedom,—his independence of conscience. No human law overbears that supreme appeal, which carries the matter from the tribunal of man into the presence of God; nor can human law be pleaded at this bar as the excuse for a violation of conscience. It is a dangerous doctrine, doubtless, to preach that there may be a "higher law" than obedience to law; but truth is not to be rejected because dangerous, and the time is not long past when the phrase voiced a conviction, the forcible assertion of which brought slavery to an end forever.

The resort to arms by a nation, when right cannot otherwise be enforced, corresponds, or should correspond, precisely to the acts of the individual man which have been cited; for the old conception of an appeal to the Almighty, resembling in principle the mediæval ordeal, is at best but a partial view of the truth, seen from one side only. However the result may afterwards be interpreted as indicative of the justice of a cause,—an interpretation always questionable,—a State, when it goes to war, should do so not to test the rightfulness of its claims, but because, being convinced in its conscience of that rightfulness, no other means of overcoming evil remains.

Nations, like men, have a conscience. Like men, too, the light of conscience is in nations often clouded, or misguided, by

passion or by interest. But what of that? Does a man discard his allegiance to conscience, because he knows that, itself in harmony with right, its message to him is perplexed and obscured by his own infirmities? Not so. Fidelity to conscience implies not only obedience to its dictates, but earnest heartsearching, the use of every means, to ascertain its true command; yet withal, whatever the mistrust of the message, the supremacy of the conscience is not impeached. When it is recognized that its final word is spoken, nothing remains but obedience. Even if mistaken, the moral wrong of acting against conviction works a deeper injury to the man, and to his kind, than can the merely material disasters that may follow upon obedience. Even the material evils of war are less than the moral evil of compliance with wrong.

"Yes, my friend," replied to me a foreign diplomatist to whom I was saying some such things, "but remember that only a few years ago the conscience of your people was pressing you into war with Great Britain in the Venezuelan question." "Admitting," I replied, "that the first national impulse, the first movement of the conscience, if you like, was mistaken,—which is at least open to argument,—it remains that there was no war; time for deliberation was taken, and more than that can be asked of no conscience, national or personal. But, further, had the final decision of conscience been that just cause for war existed, no evil that war brings could equal the moral declension which a nation inflicts upon itself, and upon mankind, by deliberate acquiescence in wrong, which it recognizes and which it might right." Nor is this conclusion vitiated by the fact that war is made at times upon mistaken conviction. It is not the accuracy of the decision, but the faithfulness to conviction, that constitutes the moral worth of an action, national or individual.

The general consciousness of this truth is witnessed by a common phrase, which excludes from suggested schemes of arbitration all questions which involve "national honor or vital interests." No one thing struck me more forcibly during the Conference at the Hague than the exception taken and expressed, although in a very few quarters, to the word "honor," in this connection. There is for this good reason; for the word, admirable in itself and if rightly understood, has lost materially in the clearness of its image and superscription, by much handling and by some misapplication. Honor does not forbid a nation to acknowledge that

it is wrong, or to recede from a step which it has taken through wrong motives or mistaken reasons; yet it has at times been so thought, to the grievous injury of the conception of honor. It is not honor, necessarily, but sound policy, which prescribes that peace with a semi-civilized foe should not be made after a defeat; but, however justifiable the policy, the word honor is defaced by thus misapplying it.

The varying fortunes, the ups and downs of the idea of Arbitration at the Conference of the Hague, as far as my intelligence could follow them, produced in me two principal conclusions, which so far confirmed my previous points of view that I think I may now fairly claim for them that they have ripened into *opinions*, between which word, and the cruder, looser, views received passively as *impressions*, I have been ever careful to mark a distinction. In the first place, compulsory arbitration stands at present no chance of general acceptance. There is but one way as yet in which arbitration can be compulsory; for the dream of some advanced thinkers, of an International Army, charged with imposing the decrees of an International Tribunal upon a recalcitrant state, may be dismissed as being outside of practical international politics, until at least the nations are ready for the intermediate step of moral compulsion, imposed by a self-assumed obligation—by a promise. Compulsory arbitration as yet means only the moral compulsion of a pledge, taken beforehand, and more or less comprehensive, to submit to arbitration questions which rest still in the unknown future; the very terms of which therefore cannot be foreseen. Although there is a certain active current of agitation in favor of such stipulations, there is no general disposition of governments to accede, except under very narrow and precise limitations, and in questions of less than secondary importance.

Secondly, there appears to be, on the other hand, a much greater disposition than formerly to entertain favorably the idea of arbitration, as a means to be in all cases considered, and where possible to be adopted, in order to solve peaceably difficulties which threaten peace. In short, the consciences of the nations are awake to the wickedness of unnecessary war, and are disposed, as a general rule, to seek first, and where admissible, the counterpoise of an impartial judge, where such can be found, to correct the bias of national self-will; but there is an absolute indisposition,

an instinctive revolt, against signing away, beforehand, the national conscience, by a promise that any other arbiter than itself shall be accepted in questions of the future, the import of which cannot yet be discerned. Of this feeling the vague and somewhat clumsy phrase, "national honor and vital interests," has in the past been the expression; for its very indeterminateness reserved to conscience in every case the decision,—"May another judge for me here, or must I be bound by my own sense of right?"

Under these circumstances, and having reached so momentous a stage in progress as is indicated by the very calling together of a world conference for the better assuring of peace, may it not be well for us to pause a moment and take full account of the idea, Arbitration, on the right hand and on the left? Noble and beneficent in its true outlines, it too may share, may even now be sharing, the liability of the loftiest conceptions to degenerate into catchwords, or into cant. "Liberty, what crimes have been wrought in thy name!" and does not religion share the same reproach, and conscience also? Yet, will we not away with any of the three?

The conviction of a nation is the conviction of the mass of the individuals thereof, and each individual has therefore a personal responsibility for the opinion he holds on a question of great national, or international, moment. Let us look, each of us,—and especially each of us who fears God,—into his own inner heart, and ask himself how far, in his personal life, he is prepared to accept arbitration. Is it not so that the reply must be, "In doubtful questions of moment, wherever I possibly can, knowing my necessary, inevitable proneness to one-sided views, I will seek an impartial adviser, that my bias may be corrected; but when that has been done, when I have sought what aid I can, if conscience still commands, it I must obey. From that duty, burdensome though it may be, no man can relieve me. Conscience, diligently consulted, is to the man the voice of God; between God and the man no other arbiter comes." And if this be so, a pledge beforehand is impossible. I cannot bind myself, for a future of which I as yet know nothing, to abide by the decision of any other judge than my own conscience. Much humor—less wit—has been expended upon the Emperor of Germany's supposed carefulness to reject arbitration because an infringement of his divine rights; a phrase which may well be no more than a blunt expression of the sense

that no third party can relieve a man from the obligations of the position to which he is called by God, and that for the duties of that position the man can confidently expect divine guidance and help. Be that as it may, the divine right of conscience will, among Americans, receive rare challenge.

It has been urged, however, that a higher organization of the nations, the provision of a supreme tribunal issuing and enforcing judgments, settling thereby quarrels and disputed rights, would produce for the nations of the earth a condition analogous to that of the individual citizen of the State, who no longer defends his own cause, nor is bound in conscience to maintain his own sense of right, when the law decides against him. The conception is not novel, not even modern; something much like it was put forth centuries ago by the Papacy concerning its own functions. It contains two fallacies: First, the submission of the individual citizen is to force, to the constitution of which he personally contributes little, save his individual and general assent. To an unjust law he submits under protest, doubtless often silent; but he submits, not because he consents to the wrong, whether to himself personally or to others, but because he cannot help it. This will perhaps be denied, with the assertion that willing, intelligent submission to law, even when unjust, is yielded by most, for the general good. One has, however, only to consider the disposition of the average man to evade payment of taxes, to recognize how far force daily enters into the maintenance and execution of law. Nations, on the contrary, since no force exists, or without their volition can exist, to compel them to accept the institution of an authority superior to their own conscience, yield a willing acquiescence to wrong, when they so yield in obedience to an external authority imposed by themselves. The matter is not helped by the fact of a previous promise to accept such decisions. The wrong-doing of an individual, in consequence of an antecedent promise, does not relieve the conscience thus rashly fettered. The ancient rebuke still stands, "Why should thy mouth make thy flesh to sin?" For the individual or the nation, arbitration is not possible where the decision may violate conscience; it therefore can be accepted only when it is known that interest merely, not duty, will be affected by the judgment, and such knowledge cannot exist antecedent to the difficulty arising.

There is a further—a second—fallacy in the supposed analogy

between the submission of individuals to law, and the advocated submission of States to a central tribunal. The law of the State, overwhelming as is its power relatively to that of the individual citizen, can neither bind nor loose in matters pertaining to the conscience. Still less can any tribunal, however solemnly constituted, liberate a State from its obligation to do right; still less, I say, because the State retains, what the individual has in great part lost, the power to maintain what it believes to be right. Many considerations may make it more right—I do not say *more expedient*—for a man or for a nation, to submit to, or to acquiesce in, wrong than to resist; but in such cases it is conscience still that decides where the balance of right turns distinctly to the side of wrong. It is, I presume, universally admitted, that occasions may arise where conscience not only justifies, but compels, resistance to law; whether it be the Christian citizen refusing to sacrifice, or the free citizen to subject himself to unconstitutional taxation, or to become the instrument of returning the slave to his master. So also for the Christian State. Existing wrong may have to be allowed, lest a greater wrong be done. Conscience only can decide; and for that very reason conscience must be kept free, that it may decide according to its sense of right, when the case is presented.

There is, therefore, the very serious consideration attendant upon what is loosely styled "compulsory" arbitration,—arbitration stipulated, that is, in advance of a question originating, or of its conditions being appreciated,—that a State may thereby do that which a citizen as toward the State does not do, namely, may voluntarily assume a moral obligation to do, or to allow, wrong. And it must be remembered, also, that many of the difficulties which arise among States involve considerations distinctly beyond and higher than law, as international law now exists; whereas the advocated Permanent Tribunal, to which the ultra-organizers look, to take cognizance of all cases, must perforce be governed by law as it exists. It is not, in fact, to be supposed that nations will submit themselves to a tribunal, the general principles of which have not been crystallized into a code of some sort.

A concrete instance, however, is always more comprehensible and instructive than a general discussion. Let us therefore take the incidents and conditions which preceded our recent war with Spain. The facts, as seen by us, may, I apprehend, be fairly

stated as follows. In the island of Cuba, a powerful military force, --government it scarcely can be called,—foreign to the island, was holding a small portion of it in enforced subjection, and was endeavoring, unsuccessfully, to reduce the remainder. In pursuance of this attempt, measures were adopted that inflicted immense misery and death upon great numbers of the population. Such suffering is indeed attendant upon war; but it may be stated as a fundamental principle of civilized warfare that useless suffering is condemned, and it had become apparent to military eyes that Spain could not subdue the island, or restore orderly conditions. The suffering was terrible, and was unavailing.

Under such circumstances, does any moral obligation lie upon a powerful neighboring State? Or, more exactly, if there is borne in upon the moral consciousness of a mighty people, that such an afflicted community as that of Cuba at their doors is like Lazarus at the gate of the rich man, and that the duty of stopping the evil rests upon them, what is to be done with such a case of conscience? Could the decision of another, whether nation or court, excuse our nation from the ultimate responsibility of its own decision? But, granting that it might have proved expedient to call in other judges, when we had full knowledge of the circumstances, what would have been our dilemma if, conscience commanding one course, we had found ourselves antecedently bound to abide by the conclusions of another arbiter? For let us not deceive ourselves. Absolutely justifiable, nay imperative, as most of us believe our action to have been, when tried at the bar of conscience, no arbitral court, acceptable to the two nations, would have decided as our own conscience did. A European diplomatist of distinguished reputation, of a small nation likeliest to be unbiased, so said to me personally, and it is known that more than one of our own ablest international lawyers held that we were acting in defiance of international law, as it now exists; just as the men who resisted the Fugitive Slave Law acted in defiance of the statute law of the land. Decision must have gone against us, so these men think, on the legal merits of the case. Of the moral question the arbiter could take no account; it is not there, indeed, that moral questions must find their solution, but in the court of conscience. Referred to arbitration, doubtless the Spanish flag would still fly over Cuba.

There is unquestionably a higher Law than law, concerning obedience to which no other than the man himself, or the State,

can give account to Him that shall judge. The freedom of the conscience may be fettered or signed away by him who owes to it allegiance, yet its supremacy, though thus disavowed, cannot be overthrown. The Conference at the Hague has facilitated future recourse to arbitration, by providing means through which, a case arising, a court is more easily constituted, and rules governing its procedure are ready to hand; but it has refrained from any engagements binding States to have recourse to the tribunal thus created. The responsibility of the State to its own conscience remains unimpeached, and independent. The progress thus made and thus limited is to a halting place, at which, whether well chosen or not, the nations must perforce stop for a time; and it will be wise to employ that time in considering the bearings, alike of that which has been done, and of that which has been left undone.

Our own country has a special need thus carefully to consider the possible consequences of arbitration, understood in the sense of an antecedent pledge to resort to it; unless under limitations very carefully hedged. There is an undoubted popular tendency in direction of such arbitration, which would be "compulsory" in the highest moral sense—the compulsion of a promise. The world at large, and we especially, stand at the opening of a new era, concerning whose problems little can be foreseen. Among the peoples, there is manifested intense interest in the maturing of our national convictions, as being, through Asia, new-comers into active international life, concerning whose course it is impossible to predict; and in many quarters, probably in all except Great Britain, the attitude towards us is watchful rather than sympathetic. The experience of Crete and of Armenia does not suggest beneficent results from the arbitration of many counsellors; especially if contrasted with the more favorable issue when Russia, in 1877, acting on her own single initiative, forced by the conscience of her people, herself alone struck the fetters from Bulgaria; or when we ourselves last year, rejecting intermediation, loosed the bonds from Cuba, and lifted the yoke from the neck of the oppressed.

I was meditating such things, as I found often occasion to do during the Conference, while approaching the old town of Kampen, on the eastern shore of the Zuyder Zee; and thus it was with the added force of a coincidence that I read there, in the mediæval

Staduis, the sentence, "*Justitia gladio martis violentia cessit.*" I know not what incident, or what long train of events, may have prompted the words; but they certainly well befitted a city of the brave Dutchmen, who by the sword first wrenched civil and religious peace from the violences done to both by Spain, and who began that process of disintegration of her empire, and of deliverance of peoples from her oppression, which was completed last year by the sword of the United States. Yet, even now, how true the motto rings to any who, familiar with the broad features of our own racial history, will run over in his mind its leading events since the days of the Stuarts. What has not "justice, with valor armed," when confronted by evil in high places, found itself compelled to effect by resort to the sword? To it was due the birth of our own nation, not least among the benefits of which was the stern experience that has made Great Britain no longer the mistress, but the mother, of her dependencies. The control, to good from evil, of the devastating fire of the French Revolution and of Napoleon was due to the sword. The long line of illustrious names and deeds, of those who bore it not in vain, has in our times culminated—if indeed the end is even yet nearly reached—in the new birth of the United States by the extirpation of human slavery, and in the downfall, but yesterday, of a colonial empire identified with tyranny. What the sword, and it supremely, tempered only by the stern demands of justice and of conscience, and the loving voice of charity, has done for India and for Egypt, is a tale at once too long and too well known for repetition here. Peace, indeed, is not adequate to all progress; there are resistances that can be overcome only by explosion. What means less violent than war would in a half-year have solved the Caribbean problem, shattered national ideas deep rooted in the prepossessions of a century, and planted the United States in Asia, face to face with the great world problem of the immediate future? What but war rent the veil which prevented the English-speaking communities from seeing eye to eye, and revealed to each the face of a brother? Little wonder that a war which, with comparatively little bloodshed, brought such consequences, was followed by the call for a Peace Conference!

Power, force, is a faculty of national life; one of the talents committed to nations by God. Like every other endowment of a complex organization, it must be held under control of the en-

lightened intellect and of the upright heart; but no more than any other can it be carelessly or lightly abjured, without incurring the responsibility of one who buries in the earth that which was instrusted to him for use. And this obligation to maintain right, by force if need be, while common to all States, rests peculiarly upon the greater, in proportion to their means. Much is required of those to whom much is given. So viewed, the ability speedily to put forth the nation's power, by adequate organization and other necessary preparation, according to the reasonable demands of the nation's intrinsic strength and of its position in the world, is one of the clear duties involved in the Christian word "watchfulness"—readiness for the call that may come, whether expectedly or not. Until it is demonstrable that no evil exists, or threatens the world, which cannot be obviated without recourse to force, the obligation to readiness must remain; and, where evil is mighty and defiant, the obligation to use force—that is, war—arises. Nor is it possible, antecedently, to bring these conditions and obligations under the letter of precise and codified law, to be administered by a tribunal; while legalism, in its spirit, is marked by blemishes as real as those commonly attributed to "militarism," and not more elevated. The considerations which determine good and evil, right and wrong, in crises of national life, or of the world's history, are questions of equity often too complicated for decision upon mere rules, or even principles, of law, international or other. The instances of Bulgaria, of Armenia, and of Cuba, are entirely in point, and it is most probable that the contentions about the future of China will afford further illustration. Even in matters where the interest of nations is concerned, the moral element enters; because each generation in its day is the guardian of those which shall follow it. Like all guardians, therefore, while it has the power to act according to its best judgment, it has no right, for the mere sake of peace, to permit known injustice to be done to its wards.

The present strong feeling, throughout the nations of the world, in favor of Arbitration, is in itself a subject for congratulation almost unalloyed. It carries indeed a promise, to the certainty of which no paper covenants can pretend; for it influences the conscience by inward conviction, not by external fetter. But it must be remembered that such sentiments, from their very universality and evident laudableness, need correctives, for they bear

in themselves a great danger of excess or of precipitancy. Excess is seen in the disposition, far too prevalent, to look upon war not only as an evil, but as an evil unmixed, unnecessary, and therefore always unjustifiable; while precipitancy, to reach results considered desirable, is evidenced by the wish to *impose* arbitration, to prevent recourse to war, by a general pledge previously made. Both frames of mind receive expression in the words of speakers, among whom a leading characteristic is lack of measuredness and of proportion. Thus an eminent citizen is reported to have said, "There is no more occasion for two nations to go to war, than for two men to settle their difficulties with clubs." Singularly enough, this point of view assumes to represent peculiarly Christian teaching; willingly ignorant of the truth that Christianity, while it will not force the conscience, by other than spiritual weapons, as "compulsory" arbitration might, distinctly recognizes the sword as the resister and remedier of evil in the sphere "of this world."

Arbitration's great opportunity has come in the advancing moral standards of States, whereby the disposition to deliberate wrong-doing has diminished, and consequently the occasions for redressing wrong by force are less frequent to arise. In view of recent events, however, and very especially of notorious, high-handed, oppression, initiated since the calling of the Peace Conference, and resolutely continued during its sessions in defiance of the public opinion—the conviction—of the world at large, it is premature to assume that such occasions belong wholly to the past. Much less can it be assumed that there will be no further instances of a community believing, conscientiously and entirely, that honor and duty require of it a certain course, which another community with equal integrity may hold to be inconsistent with the rights and obligations of its own members. It is quite possible, especially to one who has recently visited Holland, to conceive that Great Britain and the Boers are alike satisfied of the substantial justice of their respective claims. It is permissible most earnestly to hope that, in disputes between independent States, arbitration may find a way to reconcile peace with fidelity to conscience, in the case of both; but if, when friendly suggestion has done its best, the conviction of conscience remains unshaken, war is better than disobedience—better than acquiescence in recognized wrong. The great danger of undiscriminating advocacy of Arbitration, which threatens even the cause it seeks to maintain,

is that it may lead men to tamper with equity, to compromise with unrighteousness, soothing their conscience with the belief that war is so entirely wrong that beside it no other tolerated evil is wrong. Witness Armenia and witness Crete. War has been avoided; but what of the national consciences that beheld such iniquity, and withheld the hand?

A. T. MAHAN.

IN THE CLUTCH OF THE HARPY POWERS.

BY R. M. JOHNSTON.

It is a striking fact that, whereas endless months have been fruitlessly consumed in attempts to negotiate an Arbitration Treaty with our loudly proclaimed friend Great Britain, a few short weeks have sufficed us to take unto our bosom all the Harpy Powers of Europe, by a Convention that necessitates the sacrifice, on the altar of international brotherhood, of the long cherished traditions of our foreign policy. That Convention must be unhesitatingly denounced as a piece of egregious folly; and it cannot be supposed for one moment that the Senate of the United States, whose ratification is fortunately necessary to make good the signatures of our Commissioners, will endorse their action.

The Peace Conference found, very soon after its assemblage at the Hague, that there were no subjects of very great public interest it could attempt with the one exception of Arbitration. The Disarmament proposal was obviously childish; and the Rules of War, the Geneva Convention and other allied matters could not be treated in any more striking way than by improvement of detail. So, on Arbitration the attention of the delegates became fixed. Evidently, all the very eminent and liberal men thus thrust on the attention of an ever expectant and, in parts, sadly oppressed world, were bound to accomplish something on those lines, or the hysteria of the Millennium-seekers would have forever attached to their hitherto respectable names the obloquy of unforgivable barbarism.

The proposals for arbitration, then, began to pour in. Russia, Italy, the United States, all handed in schemes more or less elaborate and complicated; ours, perhaps, the least so of the

three, owing to the brilliant legal aptitude of Mr. Holls. Within a week, from believing universal international arbitration undebatable, the Conference found itself with a plethora of solutions. By this time, the delegates had fairly lost their heads and were beautifully stampeded. Mr. W. T. Stead was distractedly banging the big drum of Universal Peace, and all the liberal ladies of the world, assembled in their thousands at the Hague, were calling the delegates dears.

But the three schemes put in disclosed very considerable divergences of opinion, a fact which need really not astonish us; and confusion might have led to failure, had not Sir Julian Pauncefote opportunely joined in the fray and turned disruption into accord. His formula (they must have taught him that at Downing Street when he was a boy), was to boil down the three schemes and add an equal part of his own (and some terribly poisonous ingredients he put in, too, as I shall attempt to show). Finally, by means of frank, engaging, genial diplomacy, and zeal, and pertinacity, he persuaded all the delegates to swallow the Russo-Pauncefote panacea and universal cure. And this in not more than six weeks!

Now, our Government went into this business:

Firstly, out of courtesy to the Russian Government;

Secondly, being desirous of improving certain features of belligerency, and, perhaps, hoping to advance a step in the matter of neutral goods at sea;

Thirdly, attaching no importance to the disarmament proposal and but little to the arbitration question.

But the Hague stampede gave so little time for reflection, and Sir Julian Pauncefote stirred in his insidious ingredients with such rapidity, that it was only about a week before the close of the Conference that it seems to have occurred to someone at Washington, that a Treaty purporting to be concerned with arbitration only may contain clauses, subsidiary in appearance, which are, from certain points of view, of far more importance than the ostensibly principal clauses. The Treaty might purport to be concerned with nothing but arbitration, but it might, through its subsidiary clauses, be the loophole Europe has so long sought, for dealing a death blow to the Monroe Doctrine. So, Mr. White, acting on cabled instructions, got up and made a pleasant little explanatory speech, stating that, whatever might be signed, we

did not intend to depart from our traditional policy, both as to American and as to European affairs.

Now, if that speech of Mr. White's is merely prefatory to the summary rejection of the Treaty by the Senate on the recommendation of the Administration, we may be thankful and spare criticism. But if it means that we think the Convention endangers the Monroe Doctrine, then that speech appears to me to be totally inadequate, not to use a stronger expression. If our historical policy is questioned,—and Europe never has recognized the Monroe Doctrine,—we must act like a business man entering into a contract. Either what we stipulate must be recognized as a clause of our contract and form an integral part of it, or we decline to sign. This rule should be applied to all cases; it can, however, be least omitted when the antecedents of the majority of the parties we are contracting with are such as they are in this case.

But an examination of the provisions of this Convention will show that it is utterly incompatible, in spirit as well as in letter, with the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. Let us see what is the effect of these provisions, so far as they concern our argument:

(1.) Recourse to arbitration is optional. Every provision referring to a stage anterior to the arbitration stage is not optional, but fixed.

(2.) A permanent Bureau is constituted at the Hague, dealing with archives, correspondence, etc.

(3.) A permanent Council is formed. The United States will (not *can* or *may*) be represented on this Council by the American Minister to Holland, who will act *ex officio*.

(4.) Should any signatory Powers be involved in dispute, they agree to call in the mediation of other Powers.

(5.) Neutral signatories bind themselves to intervene for the purpose of conciliation.

(6.) By the important Clause 9, it is agreed to be desirable that, in cases of dispute where diplomatic means have failed, an International Commission of Inquiry shall be constituted to clear up the facts.

There can be but one measure of excellence in estimating the value of a Treaty, and that is the amount of tangible benefit it confers.

What can its negotiators claim as the utmost value of the Arbitration Convention to the United States?

That it gives us the option, at any time when we may happen to be involved in an international dispute, and when our antagonist agrees to that course, to refer the dispute for decision to an already constituted Tribunal.

The next question is, What is the price we are asked to pay for this advantage?

Nothing less than the abandonment of our traditional foreign policy! For, by the Convention, we enter the brotherhood of the European Powers, and join in solidarity (to use a much abused word) with such enlightened political entities as Turkey, Spain, Austria, Greece, Persia!

We thus provide the long desired means for European intervention in American affairs.

That this may not appear empty argumentation, let us apply the provisions of the Arbitration Convention to our two most recent cases of European complications,—the Venezuelan and the Spanish troubles,—and see how things work out.

Venezuela, a small State, may be expected to join the Convention, which, as M. de Martens pointed out, tends to rectify the inequality between small States and great ones. Therefore, on a dispute arising between England and Venezuela, we, having signed the Arbitration Convention, are bound to offer our mediation; but—Russia, France, Turkey and the others are all equally bound with ourselves, and we have by Treaty agreed (I omit Mr. White's doubtless eloquent speech) that that right of intervention shall be an equal, an international one. And how about the Monroe Doctrine?

But this is not all. There is the International Commission of Inquiry. According to a clause of the Convention, about which there is no option as far as we as neutrals are concerned, an International Commission may be appointed, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the composition of this Commission would be principally European!

Take the Spanish case. The Kaiser of Germany, the Kaiser of Austria, the French Government, were trying their utmost to find some means of intervening to support the Spanish cause. Finding no means, brute force would have sufficed had there been no opposition; but, thanks to Great Britain, we were spared that

affront. Here, by the Treaty of the Hague, the means of intervention, the thin end of the wedge, are provided. With that Treaty in force at the time, it would have been the philanthropic duty of the Harpy Powers to intervene, to propose Commissions, etc., etc., and we would have been pledged, by that much lauded Treaty, to approve those steps. The matter might still be pending; we might have run the risk of a dangerous European war; trade might be still unsettled, and Cuba still groaning under Spanish misrule!

I am no great admirer of Lord Salisbury's political opportunism; but I do very much sympathize with his dislike for what he has well defined as an optimistic policy. Now, if we are to believe the ladies and Mr. W. T. Stead, we must accept this Convention from the point of view of an optimistic policy. We are told, in very loud tones, I must not say shrieks, that we must not be such savages, such slaughterers of the innocents, as to believe that the Kaisers, that humane, liberal, educated Russia, that the milk-and-water-imbibing Sultan, would ever turn such a Millennium-heralding Treaty to an ignoble use! What buncombe is this? Why should we be treated as though we were bereft of our senses? Does not the record of despotism, of wrong and of blood stare us in the face? It will be time to say such things to us, when the Czar gives his subjects some of the rights of freedom, when the tide of the Hellespont carries a few less dead bodies, when the Italian prisons disgorge the multitude of liberal editors and professional men with whom they are now choked.

Let us, barbarians though we may be called, appeal to humanity ourselves. In the name of humanity, let us keep that power for good which we have. Let us hold ourselves free, that, when another case for chastisement like that of Spain arises, a case clear out of the bounds of arbitration and to be resolved only by might applied for the purposes of Providence, we may not be hampered and assailed by the Harpies of the Continent.

Is it for the good of humanity that we should sign this Convention? No.

When James Monroe propounded his famous Doctrine, we cannot doubt that he was actuated, not only by considerations of safety for the American State, but by the thought that eventually, under the protection of our institutions and our enlightenment, a new and better civilization would find its home on the

American Continent. If we would be optimistic, we must put our faith in the liberalism of Europe; but the sad fact is, that liberalism has made practically no progress in Europe since 1848, and but little since the days of Monroe.

Were our Treaty with England alone, or were it merely for arbitration and free from all clauses making us the brothers and equals of the Sultan, or of Nicaragua, or San Domingo, all well and good. But there is such a thing as a useful concentration of authority, and a healthy use of the same for the help of mankind; and that has been an underlying principle of our policy since the earliest days of the growth of our power. There is, also, such a thing as levelling down; and we need not be accused of anything approaching spread-eagleism, if we think that the United States have not very much to gain by becoming equals and brothers of the larger proportion of the States that will be signatories to this Convention.

No. England excepted, we do not care for the association, and we can, certainly, do more good by keeping out of it; nor need the humanitarians fear that it is with hatred and murder in our hearts that we hold aloof. The Harpy Powers are far more likely to let the first blood than we are, probably among themselves.

We do not think unkindly of Mr. White and his colleagues in this unfortunate business, but we are thankful we were not placed in their position. The burst of enthusiasm provoked by the Arbitration Convention was natural among the ground down peoples of Continental Europe. Young Turks, old Armenians, emancipated and enthusiastic women, ancient revolutionists of the forties, buzzed about the Hague like bees. All the aspirations of freedom were focussed there, and what is more contagious, what is more admirable, especially to a free people, than the sentiment engendered by pure and unselfish political aspirations? That our delegates were carried away by the wave of feeling was not unnatural. Let but the Senate decline to ratify the Convention, and we shall forget all else but the humane and elevated sentiments that inspired their action.

R. M. JOHNSTON.

THE PICTURE GALLERY OF THE HERMITAGE.—I.

BY CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

It is to Catherine II. that Russia owes the foundation of the picture-gallery, and, indeed, of the whole museum of the Hermitage; and, as regards the picture-gallery, not the foundation only, but the greater number of the magnificent possessions which are its boast. It is thus a collection much less recent than the National Gallery of England or the Berlin Gallery, which, since their foundation in the early years of the present century, have, side by side, sprung by leaps and bounds into the very first rank.

It must be borne in mind that the vast pictorial treasures of the Imperial House of Russia housed in the sumptuous neo-classic edifice which, adjacent to and connected with the Winter Palace, still bears the name of the Hermitage, are in the strictest sense the property of the Russian Crown, although they are exhibited to the public under the ordinary conditions of a national museum. They are thus on the footing of the collections at Windsor Castle and Hampton Court, which are, both of them, what may be styled heirlooms of the British Crown, though access to the latter is had almost as freely as to any of the national galleries. The great collections of the Imperial House of Austria, once housed in the Belvedere, but now in the all too gorgeous new museum near the new Hofburg of Vienna, are on the same footing as the galleries of the Hermitage; and the Crown of Saxony in like manner owns absolutely the more valuable section, if not actually the whole, of the famous Dresden Gallery. The right of possession is, however, in the last two cases, a merely nominal one, which the august owners would never dream of exercising. The famous gallery of the Prado at Madrid comes partly within the one cate-

gory, partly within the other, being made up of the *Real Museo de Pintura del Prado* (Royal Museum of the Prado) and the *Museo Nacional de la Trinidad* (National Museum of the Trinity). The Hermitage is, however, in a much closer sense an Imperial possession. Its magnificent halls have been used on rare occasions by the Czar for court functions, and its pictures are in the narrowest and most literal sense his own. It may happen that this or the other among the more portable canvases and panels of the collection disappears for the time being from the public section of the museum and finds its way either into the corridors of the Old Hermitage or, it may be, into the private apartments of the Czarina. The place of the missing work will then be temporarily taken by another picture not usually exhibited to the public. The Czar still reserves to himself, and not infrequently exercises, the power of lending his treasures to foreign exhibitions of importance, though his commands are, it must be owned, obeyed with considerable reluctance by the officials having charge of the Imperial treasures. Thus the Nassau exhibition, which took place last autumn at Amsterdam, was enriched with the exquisite "William II. of Nassau," by Van Dyck, from the St. Petersburg gallery, the "Venus and Cupid," of 1509, which is one of the first signed works of Lucas Cranach, the Elder, has gone to the Cranach exhibition at Dresden; and the Imperial owner has graciously consented to lend, from his peculiarly rich store, one or more examples of Van Dyck's art to the great display which constitutes, this autumn at Antwerp, one of the chief features of the celebration in honor of the tercentenary of the Flemish master's birth.

The private apartments of the Hermitage, and other various Imperial palaces in and about St. Petersburg—to say nothing in this connection of the palaces, not always well cared for, of the nobility—are still a veritable store-house of pictorial treasure, and one which as yet has been but imperfectly explored. The learned and enthusiastic director of that section of the Hermitage which comprises the pictures, drawings and engravings, Monsieur A. de Somof, has since he brought out, in a period extending from 1891 to 1897, in three sections, his admirable catalogue of the Italian and Spanish, the Netherlandish and German, the French and English pictures, made many a new discovery and reidentification. Thus, there have been brought into the galleries, since 1891, among many other things, an important work

of unusual dimensions by Garofalo, a "St. Sebastian" admirably illustrating the very latest period of Titian, and one of those curious kitchen-pieces which mark the beginnings of Velazquez. M. de Somof,* during a quite recent visit of the writer to St. Petersburg, disinterred at one of the Imperial palaces in the neighborhood of the capital a lost Rembrandt of the late time, "Christ and the Woman of Samaria," and found, in the depot of the Hermitage itself, a painting, "St. Paul on the Island of Malta," which, as regards its dimensions and its state of preservation, must count as the most important extant work of Adam Elsheimer. The writer himself, in the course of this same visit, during which he received invaluable assistance and every possible facility from M. de Somof, was enabled to make several new identifications, and to recognize, in one of the private corridors, masquerading under the name of Pater, an early Watteau of exquisite quality, "*Le Camp Volant*," to which reference will be made hereafter. The Hermitage owes most, next to Catherine II., to Nicholas I., who not only enriched the collections by many magnificent additions in various directions, but determined to provide an adequate building, planned specially to contain and display them. L. von Klenze, an architect then of great repute at Munich, was called in, and in 1849 completed, in a somewhat frigid, neo-classic style, harmonizing not too happily with the florid, exotic rococo, with the profuseness in moulding and adornment, of the Winter Palace itself, an important structure, the chief exterior feature of which is the central portico supported by a double row of gigantic nude Atlantes, their robust forms realized in polished grey granite. To this new palace of art were transferred, from the Old Hermitage and the Imperial palaces, the collections of pictures and works of art formed by Catherine II. and her successors. A committee, specially appointed for the occasion, made choice, in all the vast mass of paintings thus brought together, of those works which they esteemed worthy to be included in the revised and concentrated collection. Those which remained over were, some of them, divided among the Imperial palaces, while others were placed in the depot of the Hermitage, a certain number being actually sold by public auction in 1853.†

* See *Gazette des Beaux-Arts. Correspondance de Russie*, Mars, 1899.

† The surmise seems a legitimate one that the connoisseurship of the personages composing this commission cannot have been of the surest. Many inferior things and a certain number of avowed copies were retained with the marvels which give

The solemn inauguration of the Imperial museum took place on the 5th of February, 1853. From that date onwards, both the collections of pictures and the group of antiquities and works of art of the Hermitage have been uninterruptedly enriched by the important acquisitions made during the last years of the reign of Nicholas I., during that of his successor, Alexander II. and during that of Alexander III. More than eighteen hundred pictures are now exhibited in the public galleries and cabinets of the Hermitage. But there are many other rooms, to which the public is not at present admitted, containing pictures, very many of them of the French schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, among which are to be singled out a certain number by no means inferior to the publicly exhibited works. M. de Somof has appropriated, and will very shortly throw open to the public, an additional saloon, cut away from the private apartments, in which will be brought forward many French pictures once of great repute, but of late years rather forgotten, on the principle "out of sight, out of mind."

With the ground floor of the Hermitage we have on the present occasion no concern, though it contains, with a very mediocre collection of Greek, Græco-Roman, and Roman marbles, by far the most extensive and the finest collection of pure Greek and Græco-Scythian gold ornaments and vessels to be found in the world; the most astonishing and the best known piece coming within the latter category being the famous Nikopol vase, with *repoussé* figures, in high relief, of Scythians breaking in horses. On this ground floor are also to be found, besides a collection of Greek vases containing many examples, in the strictest sense, of the much-abused word, unique, the superb Basilewski collection of mediæval and Renaissance antiquities, a library, and a collection of prints and drawings.

In mounting the great marble staircase which leads to the first floor, and passing on in a natural eagerness to get as quickly as possible to the collection of pictures, let the visitor beware of making the mistake by which the writer narrowly missed seeing some of the masterpieces of French sculpture of the eighteenth century,

fame to the collection, while now and again one hears of fine works in the hands of private owners, which were originally among the Imperial possessions. Dr. A. Bredius, the learned and genial director of the Hague Gallery, told the writer that in a private collection near Kiev, in South Russia, he had seen a magnificent Titian of the mythological order, in perfect preservation, which had just such a *provenance* as this.

or, at any rate, original repetitions of them. These works are arranged in a great loggia or vestibule, which, extending through the whole length of the building, precedes and runs parallel with the picture galleries. The natural impression made on those who, hasty and preoccupied, traverse this vestibule too rapidly is that here is one among many vast and sumptuous halls, such as are to be found throughout the Continent, with their obligatory adornments of decorative sculpture. But no. New proof is here afforded of Catherine the Second's large and catholic taste, of her close connection with the contemporary *littérateurs* and artists of France. Houdon, the greatest portrait-sculptor of the eighteenth century —a master as to the quality of whose consummate art the fellow-countrymen of Washington and Franklin should need no reminder—is particularly well represented in this gallery of works brought together from many public buildings of the Russian capital. Here is a "D'Alembert" done by him in 1782, and here, too, an original repetition of the incomparable "Voltaire," now in the public foyer of the Théâtre Français. This example, which is, if anything, less alive, less intense in characterization, than the more familiar one in Paris, bears the inscription, carved in the pedestal, "*Ordonné par S. M. I., Impératrice de toutes les Russies, Fait par Houdon, 1781.*" The Paris statue is dated 1778; that is in the last years of Voltaire's life, that of the overwhelming apotheosis before death at the Comédie Française. Here, too, is a marble original of the celebrated bronze "Diane" of the Louvre, identical, save for the addition of a supporting sheaf of reeds—an expedient rendered necessary in the marble version, in order to provide support for the gliding figure in its audaciously momentary action. It is not a little diverting to recall that, in a century which we certainly do not connect with any excess of decency in such matters, this completely nude "Diane" was originally refused at the Salon on the ground of its portrait-like character, but also because it was contrary to immemorial usage, in the presentment of the divine huntress, to show her as undraped as Venus and her attendant Graces. To be noted are further, "*L'Amour*," by Falconet, and a bronze portrait of Marie-Antoinette, dated 1780, from the Lobanoff-Bostowski collection.

But the pictures recall us to our chief duty, and no further digression is possible, if even the faintest idea of the vast and comprehensive collection is to be given within our narrow limits.

The strongest point of the Hermitage is not the group of Italian pictures of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; that is, if we measure it with the Flemish and Dutch schools so incomparably represented in the adjacent galleries. It will not, in this respect, bear comparison with the splendors of the Uffizi and the Pitti, the Louvre, the Prado of Madrid, the National Gallery, the Dresden and Berlin galleries. Yet, it is full of interest, and especially of puzzles, fascinating, not only to the specialist, but to all lovers of Italian art at its zenith. The puzzles are, moreover,worthy of all the pains that can be bestowed upon their solution, because they involve some of the main points which must be more definitely fixed before we can be sure that we know in every aspect the great protagonists who brought Italian painting to the apex of perfect achievement, where it remained for so short a space, before the descent began.

Works of the fourteenth century are practically non-existent at the Hermitage, and those of the fifteenth, even at its glorious termination, are few and far between. It is unnecessary to discuss here a much-injured diptych—or, perhaps, more correctly, two wings of a triptych—"Constantine Embracing Christianity," which are, on too slender grounds, ascribed to Andrea del Castagno.

The finest Quattrocento picture of the collection, and, indeed, one of the jewels of the Hermitage, is the "Adoration of the Magi," by Botticelli. It is a work of the middle time of the artist, and among the successive representations of the same subject to be found in his life-work—from its start to its finish—it resembles most the renowned "Adoration" of the Uffizi, with the portraits of the Medici family among the Wise Men and their following. Much less important in dimensions than this altar-piece, it is in quality even finer. The Florentine virility and haughty steadfastness which give a certain well-nigh unique character, among Botticellis, to the latter, are preserved in the St. Petersburg "Adoration." But it is as if the wand of an enchanter had touched the *dramatis personae*, loosening their limbs and thrilling them through with life and passion. The portrait-like character, the haughty virility, are preserved, but there is added in the later version the ardent impulse of onward movement, the concentration of living, pulsating human beings, towards the point of supreme interest, the Divine group,

which draws and holds them all in humblest worship. And, then again, the movement is not the feverish flutter, as ill-balanced as it is swift, which is among the most distinctive characteristics of the master; it is well-ordered, perfectly under control, and in the highest degree significant. The St. Petersburg example must date some few years after the Uffizi version of the "Wise Men's Offering," but, as the writer holds, before the great series of frescoes executed by Botticelli—in company with Domenico Ghirlandajo, Cosimo Rosselli, Piero di Cosimo, Luca Pignorelli, Perugino, and Pinturicchio—in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican.

Of the very highest interest is an elaborate triptych, "The Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John, the Magdalen, and St. Jerome," which was acquired for the Imperial gallery in 1886, together with other important works from the Musée Galitzine at Moscow, as a Raphael, but is beyond reasonable doubt a fine Perugino of the master's early time, in which it comes somewhat later than the beautiful *tondo*, recalling Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, in the Louvre, and, as nearly as possible, at the same moment as the small "Virgin and Child" in tempera at the National Gallery. Certain figures in the "Crucifixion" are in design almost identical with that curious representation of the supreme tragedy, by Perugino, in the conventual establishment of La Calza, Florence—a work in respect of which the authorship of the great Umbrian was at one time doubted by reason of the strong affinity to the manner of Luca Signorelli, which is therein displayed. There is little or no excuse for preserving the name of the Urbinate in connection with this remarkable Perugino, seeing that two of the most exquisite early Raphaels extant are to be found in the same gallery, and indeed at a few yards distance. One of these is that jewel of the purest water, the "*Madonna Connestabile*," or "*Madonna del Libro*," acquired for the Czar Alexander, in 1870, at Perugia, from the family which gives its name to the panel, at the price—enormous in relation to its size—of 310,000 francs.* This little picture cannot have been painted later than 1502 or 1503; it belongs to the earlier half of the youthful Raphael's Peruginesque practice, but has, far beyond such nearly contemporary performances as the "Madonna Solly" of Berlin,

*The much smaller panel, "The Three Graces," now at Chantilly, which, with the "Vision of a Knight," of the National Gallery, belongs to Sanzio's pre-Peruginesque period, was acquired by the Duc d'Aumale from the Dudley collection, for the still larger sum of 600,000 francs.

the divine suavity of Sanzio, developed from the mystic calm of Perugino. In this particular, it is only equalled by the "*Madonna del Gran Duca*" of the Pitti, painted some four years later, when Raphael was definitively emerging from the shadow of his master. The drawing for this "*Madonna Connestabile,*" by the German school of criticism given to Raphael, but by the great Milanese critic, Giovanni Morelli, to Perugino, is in the Print Room of the Berlin Museum. It is drawn on the back of a design by Perugino for a "Holy Family with Saints," copied and utilized by Raphael in his so-called "*Madonna del Duca di Terranuova,*" in the Berlin Gallery. In the drawing, the Madonna holds not a book but a pomegranate. Curiously enough, when the St. Petersburg example was transferred from panel to canvas, there was found, between the wood and the painting, what appeared to be the original sketch of Raphael, agreeing not with the picture, but, in the particular just mentioned, with the Berlin drawing. It would thus constitute the intermediate stage between the one and the other. Not less renowned is the other early Raphael, the famous "St. George and the Dragon," painted about 1506, for Duke Guidobaldo, of Urbino, as a present for Henry VII. of England, from whom he had received the Order of the Garter. Count Baldassare Castiglione, whose fame is sustained less by his once renowned work, "*Il Cortegiano,*" than by the wonderful portrait, now in the Louvre, which Raphael painted of him about ten years later on, was charged with the mission to the English King, and set out to accomplish it in July, 1506. The little panel found its way somehow from the royal collection into that of the Earl of Pembroke, for whom it was engraved in 1627 by Lucas Vorsterman. In 16 8, or thereabouts, Lord Pembroke ceded the panel to Charles I., in exchange for the famous collection of drawings by Holbein, now, after innumerable vicissitudes, restored to the royal collection, and —it need hardly be pointed out—to be found in the library at Windsor Castle. Even for the out-and-out worshipper of Raphael, it is hard to decide who, in such an exchange of masterpieces, got the best of the bargain. In the design of this "St. George," which it is interesting to contrast with the very slightly earlier and entirely different "St. George" of the Louvre, Raphael shows himself an Umbro-Florentine. He has been, evidently, inspired by the relief at the foot of the niche which, outside the church of Orsanmichele, once sheltered the world-famous "St.

George" of Donatello. This basso-relievo, which is from the same master-hand, is in these days better seen in an old *gesso* at the South Kensington Museum, than in the original marble, now defaced by the usure of the centuries.

A most romantic story attaches to the "*Madone de la Maison d'Albe,*" that often-reproduced Raphael of the earlier Roman period, which is deemed to be one of the great glories of the Hermitage. It was at the end of the eighteenth century in the palace of the Duchess of Alba, at Madrid, where, besides the original, there existed a very good copy. The Duchess, in token of gratitude to her body-physician, for having successfully tended her in a grave malady, bequeathed to him both the priceless original by Raphael and the excellent copy. Her sudden death, in 1801, very soon after this testamentary disposition, made a most sinister sensation in Madrid. The doctor, universally accused of having poisoned his patroness, was sent for trial, but saved through the influence of the then all-powerful Emmanuel Godoy, Prince of Peace. To him the doctor, in recognition of his intervention, gave the copy of the Raphael, but the original he sold to the Danish Ambassador, Count Edmond de Bourke. It was finally, in 1836, acquired for the Hermitage at the great price of fourteen thousand pounds, sterling. A masterpiece of rhythmically perfect design—a harmony, almost a music, in this respect—the "*Madone de la Maison d'Albe,*" undoubtedly is; yet the effort to attain to absolute perfection in this respect is too evident, and it is conveyed to the onlooker that the design is not quite naturally evolved from what would be the spontaneous action of the figures under such conditions as these. Moreover, the rather faded blue and red and crumpled white draperies make, on a first acquaintance with the picture, an effect the reverse of charming. "The Holy Family," known as the "*Madone avec St. Joseph imberbe,*" is generally catalogued as a Raphael, yet it cannot, by the serious student of the master, be accepted as wholly or even principally his—whether we consider its design or its execution. It stands in this respect about on the same level as the Raphaelesque "Madonna and Child" in the Northbrook collection, and below such more celebrated pieces as the Madonna Nicolini, the Garvagh Raphael (*Madonna Aldobrandini*), of the National Gallery, and the "*Vierge au Diadème,*" of the Louvre, in all of which the conception, if not the execution, is wholly Raphaelesque. The "Portrait of an Old

Man," ascribed to Sanzio is, in the opinion of the writer, the work of the Florentine Bacchiacca. The much discussed eight frescoes which, under the same magic name, came from the Villa Spada on the Palatine, and were acquired for the Hermitage from the Campana collection, need not long detain us. Waagen evoked in respect of them the names of Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni, but even these seem too big to fit the weakly pretty and purely decorative examples of Raphael's school, which, at the Hermitage, occupy a cabinet all to themselves. Five of the subjects are to be found again in the bath-room of Cardinal Bibbiena in the Vatican, the great classic decoration of which was mainly evolved from the designs of Sanzio.

But we must retrace our steps a little, and see what the galleries contain in illustration of the Florentine, Lombard, and Venetian schools in their earlier developments. Still under the name of Granacci hangs the very fine and important "Adoration of the Infant Christ by the Virgin and Saints," which Crowe and Cavalcaselle justly ascribe to Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, and identify with the picture which, according to Vasari, he painted for the monastery of Castello. This is in solidity and fineness of balance, greatly in advance of most of Ridolfo's works, revealing, as it does, a marked reminiscence of Domenico Ghirlandajo. It is less empty and superficial, more coherent, than such better known specimens of this facile and eclectic painter as the "Procession to Calvary" of the National Gallery, and the "Adoration of the Shepherds" of Buda-Pesth In a *tondo*, "The Nativity," ascribed with a prudent vagueness to the Florentine school of the sixteenth century, and most unkindly hung, the writer believes that he has rightly recognized an early and particularly fine Albertinelli. It must precede, by some years in point of time, that very popular *tondo*, by the same master, the "Virgin and Child with an Angel," which, at the Pitti, is so uninterruptedly the prey of the perfunctory copyist. Here, in the types, as in the ardent, stimulating color-chord, the influence of Piero di Cosimo, Albertinelli's elder companion in the studio of Cosimo Rosselli, is very evident. The landscape is one of the most charming of a school in which landscape often lacks color and beauty. In the scantily represented Bolognese-Ferrarese school, we find a noble altar-piece, dated 1500, by Francesco Francia, in his best manner, but unfortunately not very well preserved. In a little "Deposition," with

numerous figures, ascribed to Ercole Grandi, hung high and disfigured with repaints, the writer believes that the Imperial Gallery possesses yet another Francesco Francia. The treatment of the central group is very similar to that in the magnificent lunette with the "Deposition," which is one of the most precious possessions of the National Gallery.

The Hermitage is particularly rich in paintings of that main branch of the Milanese school, which issued from the flank of Leonardo da Vinci. First, we have the famous "*Madonna Litta,*" a composition of exquisite beauty, ascribed to the master himself, and which Leonardo's latest biographer, M. Eugene Müntz, seems still much inclined, notwithstanding modern research, to place to his account—an ascription on the part of the learned critic and archivist which would only be comprehensible on the supposition that he had not seen the picture itself. Notwithstanding the beauty of the conception—due, no doubt, in part to the mighty Florentine — notwithstanding the wonderful neatness and finish of the execution, it is evident that the author of the picture is a Milanese, and probably a Milanese of the elder, that is, the Foppa-Borgognone school, who has been superficially converted to that of Leonardo. The sharply contrasting reds and pale blues, the formal arrangement of the head-gear, the carefully banded hair—all these things are as foreign to the technique of Leonardo, at a period which would necessarily be well advanced in his career, as anything that could well be imagined. Crowe and Cavalcaselle put forward the name of Zenale, and alternatively the rather more acceptable one of Boltraffio; Giovanni Morelli, judging only from photographs, inclined to Bernardino di Conti, for whom, limited and clumsy as he now appears, the picture is, it can hardly be doubted, much too fine. A later critic has suggested, not more appropriately, Ambrogio de Predis. The important point must remain open for the present; but it may be laid down that there is no touch of Leonardo's brush on the picture, however much it may breathe forth his spirit.* Another puzzle is the delicious "*La Colombina,*" so-called from the flowers which the fantastically dressed, or rather

*In the Stroganoff Palace in the Newski Prospect at St. Petersburg, is to be found under the name of Leonardo, a magnificent example of Boltraffio—a "Head of a Youthful Saint," of that ornate and androgynous beauty peculiar to this follower of Leonardo. It resembles, with important differences, the panels contributed by the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Elgin respectively, to the Milanese Exhibition, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, but is vastly superior in beauty and preservation to these pictures.

undressed, Milanese beauty, idealized after the Leonardesque fashion, holds in her hand. Here is a work, manifestly by a less than first-rate artist, but which for all that deserves its reputation. If its fascination, even to the student, is indisputable, it is that some drawing by Leonardo himself has here been closely and most happily followed. The picture has until lately borne the manifestly inappropriate name of Bernardino Luini, whose suavity is more personal and less absolutely Leonardesque than this is. Morelli, again compelled to judge from photographs only, gave the "*Colombina*" to Gianpetrino. Had he seen it, he would at once have pronounced the flesh-tones and the general harmony utterly unlike those of that easily recognizable Milanese of Leonardo's immediate following. In the Hermitage the picture has now received, on the initiative of M. de Somof himself, the more appropriate designation of Francesco Melzi. The "*Colombina*" certainly bears a very close resemblance to the "Vertumnus and Pomona" of the Berlin Gallery, which on the authority of a now vanished inscription quoted by Mariette, is by the Berlin authorities taken from Leonardo, and given to his favorite Melzi. Very noticeable in this connection is the curious fact that the face of the "*Colombina*" is closely based on that of the Virgin in the so-called "Cartoon of St. Anne," an incomparable original by Leonardo, which gives fame to the Diploma Gallery of the Royal Academy in London. The whole figure of the "Pomona," too, suggests inspiration at the same source.

An undoubted original by Bernardino Luini, though it is marked by an asceticism in strong contrast with his usual feminine tenderness, is the life-size, full-length "St. Sebastian." The warrior-saint is here no beautiful ephebe, but a harsh-featured man arrived at full maturity. Luini betrays in this exceptional piece of his that characteristic timidity and lack of flexibility in the treatment of the nude which he never shook off. In his fullest accomplishment, and most perfect maturity, in his own mood of dreamy contemplation and pause from action, he is seen in the delightful "St. Catherine with Angels," which came from the Empress Josephine's Gallery at the Malmaison, where it was, it need hardly be said, called a Leonardo. Of this picture a repetition, or old copy, was recently seen in London at the exhibition of Milanese Art held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. A "Virgin and Child" (No. 75, cat. 1891), is the hardly outlined repetition

from another and greatly inferior hand of the beautiful "*Madonna Pourtales*," now in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House, London. Yet another repetition is in the Czernin Gallery at Vienna, and a very inferior version in the ante-chamber to the Borromeo Gallery at Milan. None of these is for a moment comparable to the *Pourtales* version, as may be ascertained even from a comparison of photographic reproductions.

The earlier Venetians, with the exception of Cima da Conegliano, are conspicuous by their absence.* By that naïve and, up to a certain point, most attractive painter there is a very characteristic "Annunciation" (Galitzine collection), dated 1495. The Hermitage possesses that rarest of all pictorial treasures—save, perhaps, a real Leonardo da Vinci—a genuine Giorgione. This is the beautiful "Judith," which was in some incomprehensible fashion put down by Dr. Waagen to Moretto, and remained thus strangely catalogued for many years. It is possible, seeing only the photographic reproduction, to doubt. There is some hardness in the contour of the head, Giorgionesque as is its oval; there are passages of faulty drawing in the leg and foot exposed; the type of the hand is not that most usually found in authenticated works. But all these doubts vanish like sun-drawn mist in the presence of the work itself; the first glance carries with it conviction, swift and permanent. In no extant Giorgione is the golden glow so well preserved, in none does the mysterious glamor from which the world has never shaken itself free assert itself in more irresistible fashion. It must be remembered that this is a relatively early work, to be placed rather before than after the great "Madonna of Castelfranco." Though the conception is pre-eminently, in its voluptuous beauty, one of the *Cinquecento*, the execution here and there in its charming timidity still reveals the *Quattrocento* at its extreme limit. And then, Barbarelli's drawing, as we see it in the famous "Storm with the Soldier and the Gipsy," of the Giovanelli Palace,† and the later "Concert Champêtre of the Louvre" is in the nude far from impeccable. The coloring is not so much Giorgionesque as Giorgione's own—a widely different thing. The drapery, which recalls the fifteenth

*A "Virgin and Child," dubiously ascribed to Giovanni Bellini, is evidently an original by, or a copy after, the Cremonese Boccaccio Boccaccino; it hangs so high that it would hardly be safe to pronounce more authoritatively on the point.

† Re-christened by Herr Frank Wickhoff of Vienna, "Adrastus and Hypsipyle."

century, in some of its sharp angles and breaks, is of that pale red, with yellowish high-lights, which is found again in early Titians. Wonderful touches, which the imitative Giorgionesque painter would not have thought of, are the girdle, a mauve-purple now, with a sharply emphasized golden fringe, and the sapphire-blue jewel in the brooch. Triumphs of execution, too, but not in the broad style of Venetian art in its fullest expansion, are the gleaming sword held in so dainty and feminine a fashion, and the flowers which enamel the ground at the feet of the Jewish heroine. This Judith, though she is no warrior-maid, capable of hewing off the head of the hapless Holofernes whom she has lured with her beauty, is still not merely a self-conscious Venetian beauty as which she has been represented. She gazes down at the head, upon which, in token of victory, she has placed her foot, with a tender and regretful interest, much as the Thracian girl in Gustave Moreau's well-known picture at the Luxembourg regards the severed head of Orpheus. What Moreau's latest critic, M. Ary Renan, aptly, if with a certain affectation, calls "*le principe de la belle inertie,*" reigns here as in all Giorgione's genuine works. This is partly because he is still a Quattrocentist, and has not yet acquired perfect command over the whole range of dramatic action; partly, however, because the very nature of his personality causes him to transpose the dramatic mood into the lyrical, the outward drama into the drama of the soul.

The writer, before going to St. Petersburg, had,* arguing from photographs only, pointed out that a "Virgin and Child" (No. 93, catalogue of 1891), bore all the characteristics, not of an early Titian, as which it is catalogued, but of that much rarer thing, an early Giorgione. He must now make frank avowal that the picture is not fine enough in execution to rank as an original by Barbarelli; it appears to him, nevertheless, to reproduce, in a nearly contemporary copy, a lost work of that master closely related to the altar-pieces of Madrid and Castelfranco.

Sebastiano Luciani, whom, from the title of his office at the Papal Court, we know better as Sebastiano del Piombo, is magnificently represented at the Hermitage. The "Christ Bearing the Cross" repeats with even greater intensity, and on a considerably larger scale, the two chief figures only in the similar picture in the Prado Gallery of Madrid, of which there is a fine copy—ac-

* *Magazine of Art*, July, 1895.

cording to Giovanni Morelli, of Flemish origin—in the Dresden Gallery. The famous "Portrait of Cardinal Reginald Pole" is Raphaelsque enough in style to have been, both in the Crozat collection, and later on at the Hermitage, mistaken for a Raphael, as were, indeed, until quite recent times the greater number of the Veneto-Roman master's portraits, including the so-called "Fornarina" of the Tribuna, the "Dorothea" of Berlin, the "Carondelet" in the Duke of Grafton's collection, and the Sciarra "Violin Player," now belonging to Baron Alphonse de Rothschild of Paris. This is the more curious seeing that Pole received the Cardinal's hat from Paul III., so that the portrait belongs to a comparatively late period of Luciani's practice, and one during which his leanings in sacred art were entirely towards the Michelangelesque. An important "Descent from the Cross," bearing the signature, "*Sebastianus Venetus Faciebat*," is half Raphaelesque, half Michelangelesque. In a certain coldness, both of conception and execution, it is disquieting, and suggests that Luciani may here have been aided in some portions of the picture by one of these Raphaelesques who had grown up round the Urbinate at Rome.

The important canvases by Titian, which constitute one of the chief boasts of the Imperial collection, belong exclusively to the late, some of them, indeed, to the very latest, time. This is accounted for by the circumstance that, with the exception of the "Danaë" (Crozat collection), they were all purchased in 1850 from the Barbarigo collection at Venice, which comprised the contents of the Titian studio, sold after the master's death by the scapegrace Pomponio, who had survived his all but centenarian father and the industrious Orazio Vecellio, his brother, both of them swept away at once by the plague. The "Danaë" is a replica, with certain variations, of the late Titian of the same subject in the Prado Gallery at Madrid, which itself descends from the earlier "Danaë" of Naples, so much more dignified and academic, so much less passionate in its conception than its successor, painted to suit the tastes of Philip II. Another *variante*, not, however, from the brush of the master, is the very similar work in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna. The St. Petersburg picture is, on the whole, very inferior to the Madrid version, though in the head and some few other passages the finishing touches of Titian himself may, in the opinion of the writer, be detected. The

"Repentant Magdalen," dating from about 1561—the magnificent original of many repetitions and copies—is the most splendid show-piece of Vecellio's late time to be found at the Hermitage; but it is also much more than this. The "Magdalen" of the Pitti Palace, with her cascade of magnificent blond locks, is of the earth earthy, and a repentant sinner only in name. The St. Petersburg "Magdalen," not less superb in her full-blown loveliness, is less conscious of its effect, infinitely more sincere in her tearful appeal to heaven. We descend to earth, and find ourselves in close contrast with Titian's contemporary Venice, when we come to the not less celebrated "*Venus au Miroir*," the orignal again of repetitions even more numerous than those which exist of the Pitti and Hermitage pictures. Titian is here seen painting, under the transparent disguise of the love-goddess, some exuberantly lovely *cortegiana* of his beloved island city. His mood is undisguisedly sensuous, as befits a subject which must be painted *con amore*; yet, it is mitigated by a certain calmness and nobility not always, in the treatment of such dangerous themes, noticeable in his latest works. Even in the partial ruin of its chief figure the canvas exercises an extraordinary power of attraction. Merely a miserable and much injured copy of a Titian is the "Perseus and Andromeda," which stands, or stood, catalogued in his name at the Hermitage. A far finer version of the same picture, in which Titian certainly had a large part, exists in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House, where it has not hitherto been publicly shown with the rest of the gallery. The "Portrait of Pope Paul III (Farnese)," also a Barbarigo picture, has generally, but quite erroneously, been put down as one of the numerous repetitions of a lost original by Titian. It is, on the contrary—like the great portrait-group at Naples, showing the Pope with Cardinal Farnese and Alessandro Farnese—an unfinished original, and one which differs, too, in essential respects, from the carefully finished portrait, also at Naples, which we must accept as finely reproducing another and more laboriously matured portrait by Titian. The suspicious, watchful look of the Farnese Pope is wonderfully given in the closely observed head, the rest being hastily filled in with a much broader and more careless brush. Latest of all in order of date—with the canvas next to be discussed—is an unfinished "*Ecce Homo*," with half-length figures, which, in its loose, impression-

istic handling, in its sombre splendors, its intensity of pathos, closely resembles the great "*Ecce Homo*," of Munich—itself a later and finer version of the celebrated picture in the Long Gallery of the Louvre. There was taken out of the depot of the Hermitage, two or three years ago, and is not yet to be found in the catalogue, an unfinished, full-length "St. Sebastian," which must undoubtedly be counted among the most powerful and expressive of Titian's latest performances. Half-wrapped in a tragic gloom, through which is divined, now, rather than seen, a forest country with one blood-red gleam on the horizon, the heroic Roman appears bound naked to the trunk of a tree—but after the ineffectual martyrdom and in absolute solitude. This is a far nobler and more moving conception than either of those versions of the Christian Apollo,—dating half a century further back in the master's immense career—the "St. Sebastian" of Brescia, a splendid athlete in a contorted attitude, and the figure in the Madonna di San Niccolo of the Vatican, which is that of a handsome, over-plump young Venetian of the people.*

To Paris Bordone, in whom are to be found united, on a lower plane of art, some of the characteristics of both Titian and Palma Vecchio, is here ascribed the sumptuous, and, at the same time, curiously naïve, "Portrait of a Lady and Child," once for no satisfactory or conceivable reason called "Isabella d'Este," though it in no particular resembles the authentic portraits of that illustrious patron of art and artists. This picture is greyer in the flesh, bigger in conception, at once broader and less solid in execution, than any authentic Bordone of the same type. It might, with much more probability, be ascribed to the great Friulan, Pordenone. The same fair-skinned, ample patrician—a North Italian but not a dame of Venice, as her huge turban proves—appears in the same splendid robe, and much the same attitude, but without her child, in a portrait owned by Mr. Ludwig Mond of London. One of the masterpieces of Venetian art is the "Pieta" of Paolo Veronese, which once belonged to the Church of San

*It is curious to note that Rubens must have known this unfinished "St. Sebastian" of the Hermitage. The early "St. Sebastian," No. 798H, in the Berlin Gallery, still mainly Italian in style, is but a splendidly vigorous translation into the Italo-Flemish of Titian's tragic conception. The picture is not a copy, like Rubens's avowed copies of the "Adam and Eve" and "Jupiter and Europa" of the Venetian. It is an appropriation and a transformation, which makes the theme Rubens's own, which gives to it a passionate truth less grand, but not less real, than that of the original.

Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, and was among the many treasures carried away from Italy by the agents of Charles I. of England. Hardly anything, even in Venice itself, gives so exalted an idea of this most splendid, most nobly decorative, of Italian masters as an exponent of sacred art. The Virgin, a massive and Michelangelesque figure, robed in blue-green and white, supports the pale, lifeless body of Christ, a cloth of a more positive blue being sparingly indicated rather than fully seen, near the body. Silver-white is the drapery on which the Christ lies, and pale purple the garment of the mourning angel who helps to support the precious burden. Not a note of more joyous, of franker color is allowed to disturb the solemn, yet rich and exquisitely subtle harmony. No painter of the later Renaissance can surpass Veronese in grandeur and intensity of sacred passion, when he chooses. If this statement should be deemed an exaggeration, let the admirers of the Veneto-Veronese master study a little more closely than they have yet done, the beautiful "Crucifixion" in the Louvre, the "St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata" in the Academy of Arts of Vienna, and the great "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian" in the church of that name at Venice, which is, as to its contents, the most glorious of monuments, raised by Veronese to himself.

Of the Italian art of the seventeenth century—that much, and on the whole justly, abused period, which deserves, nevertheless, more respectful treatment than is at present meted out to it—it is impossible to speak here in detail. With a mass of inferior stuff, bad even of its best kind, there are a few things which may rank as masterpieces of their peculiar and, just at present, *démodé* type. Those who, remembering Guido Reni's best work—at Rome and Bologna—should treat his art, rhetorical and self-conscious in passion as it is, with less than respect, would show themselves to be critics of the opportunist type. From the Walpole collection comes a first-rate example of the Bolognese *Caposcuola* in his later style, a "Dispute of the Fathers of the Church on the Immaculate Conception." More popular than this, by reason of a certain *intimité* and tenderness, is "St. Joseph Holding the Infant Christ," another example of the later time, which was originally in the gallery of William II. of the Netherlands. One of the finest and most convincing among the minor works of Domenichino is the "St. John the Evangelist," which

Nicholas I. acquired at a great price, and presented to his consort, Alexandra Feodorovna. A very similar picture is in the collection of the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard. Widely differing from these accomplished Bolognese stood out the Neapolitan Salvator Rosa, who was above all himself, much as he owed, as regards technique, to his chief master, Ribera. Here we have a true poet-painter, one in whom passion and imagination pierced through the obstacles placed in the way by the time itself and by the fashionable schools which were its outcome. If his power of direct and forcible representation had equalled his power of original and romantic conception, we should have had here one of the greatest of seventeenth-century artists. Unquestionably, one of his masterpieces is the large "Prodigal Son" which came to the Hermitage from the Walpole collection. By no painter has this most moving and human of motives been presented with a larger and more synthetic simplicity, by none—not even by Rembrandt himself—with a more intense and heart-piercing pathos.

CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

(*To be continued.*)

A TRANSVAAL VIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION.

BY DR. F. V. ENGELENBURG, EDITOR OF THE "*PRETORIA VOLKSSTEM.*"

SOUTH AFRICA is poor, extremely poor, in spite of its gold output of nearly two millions per month and its diamond export of five millions per year.

The disabilities from which South Africa suffers are manifold. The climate is glorious, the soil fertile, but the rainfall is uncertain and irregular. There are large tracts where rain falls only once every four or five years; and, where circumstances are more favorable, there are no natural reservoirs in which water can be stored, or certainly none to any appreciable extent. The rivers, dry in summer-time, become foaming torrents in the rainy season, and pour the whole of their waters into the sea. If the Witwatersrand were not situated alongside an extensive formation of dolomite, which absorbs rainwater, and stores it up like a sponge, it would have been utterly impossible for its unrivalled gold industry to attain its present condition, and the Boers to-day would be enjoying the rest and peace which they have ever longed for and deserve.

In addition to the dearth of water, South Africa has had to contend with many other drawbacks, resulting from its clumsy topographical configuration. On its northern confines, it is defenceless against the ravages of nature, which sweep like a whirlwind through the whole of the southern continent. From olden days, Africa has been known as the land of plagues and calamities. Rinderpest sweeps down from the north, and its latest attack, in 1896, brought ruin to both white and black; from the north, too, come the locusts and other noxious insects; from the

north, come the hot tropical winds, bringing drought and warding off the beneficent rain; and from the north have many clouds arisen casting sinister shadows on this part of the continent. The clumsy configuration of South Africa, to which I have alluded, is the natural result of its plateau-form, with its abrupt descent to the Indian Ocean. The region is devoid of navigable rivers; the seacoast is an endless, monotonous line without fiords, without estuaries, without inlets of any kind, and therefore without harbors. The west coast is, moreover, separated from the interior by wastes of sand dunes; the east coast is unhealthy and haunted by the tsetse fly. No wonder that Phœnicians, Arabs and Portuguese, after their first experience of the country, had little inclination to colonize it, and to make it their home. The only white men who manage to adapt themselves to the exigencies of the southern continent and build up a stalwart nation are the Afrikanders. They are destined to occupy the land for ever, and to thrive here when diamonds and gold shall be things of the past.

And the blacks? I have already said that South Africa is poor, and has never possessed any large population, for the reason that it could not support it. The Bushmen live like beasts of prey in the wilderness; the Hottentots were subject to continuous decimation through sickness and famine. When the warlike Zulus, several centuries ago, came down along the east coast, they drove before them the few handfuls of human beings they encountered, like leaves before the wind, became masters of the best sub-tropical portion of the eastern provinces, murdering and slaying like swarthy Huns, and pressed down to Natal. But although their social organization was higher than that of the nomadic tribes which they superseded, the poverty of South Africa constrained them to continue war amongst themselves. As soon as one Zulu tribe commenced to thrive and increased in wealth of cattle, it became necessary to obtain more land—in other words, to wage war against its neighbors; for South Africa was not able to give shelter to any dense population. That is why the Zulus could only manage to exist either by internecine strife or by occasional emigration, to the natural detriment of the weaker races. Both the legendary and documentary history of South Africa's blacks tends to prove that, when sickness had not to be reckoned with, war inevitably became the means of re-

ducing the population of this region to its normal sustaining capacity. In recent years, the supremacy of the whites has materially affected internecine war as a limiting factor with regard to native population; but its place has been filled in some measure by disease and drink. There is no doubt, however, that the black population is greatly on the increase, now that they are not permitted to indulge in war amongst themselves. But, at the same time, the importation of foreign "mealies" (maize)—the staple food of the Kaffirs—has also steadily increased; in 1897, the South African Republic imported nearly 36 million pounds of mealies; in 1898, the total importation had risen to over 44½ millions. There will come a day when the natives will cease to get work at the mines, when the mines will be exhausted. Then the importation of South American cereals will fall off, and South Africa will be expected to provide food for its own native population. Will it be equal to the task? The history of the past supplies an eloquent answer.

But with the industrious European colonist, schooled and disciplined by labor, can South Africa not produce what is necessary for his support? The white population of this part of the world amounts, in round numbers, to two millions—a very generous estimate—inhabiting a vast extent of country, larger than France, Germany and Italy together. This population is dependent on the outside world, not merely for the products of technical industry, but also for those of agriculture. We import potatoes and frozen meat from Australia, wood from Canada and Norway, eggs and butter from Europe, meal and mules from America. The sugar and tea grown in Natal cannot compete with the products of Mauritius and Ceylon, without the aid of protection. In order that these two millions of whites may be commercially accessible to the outside world, and that this huge import trade may be practicable, more than fifty million pounds sterling have been devoted to railway construction. Every week sees numerous steamers arriving from all parts of the world, laden with every conceivable kind of goods, to supply the limited South African community with many necessaries of life. Should this means of supply ever be cut off, a large portion of our white and other population would simply starve, or at any rate be deprived of the comforts of life. Only the Boers, who eke out a frugal existence on their secluded farms, and have not yet become depend-

ent on frozen meat, European butter, American meal and Australian potatoes—only the Boers, who, with rare endurance, the heritage of their hardy race, boldly face years of drought, rinderpest, locusts and fever, could survive such a collapse of the economic machinery of a country so severely dealt with by nature. The remaining Europeans would gradually disappear, just as the Phœnicians and the Arabs disappeared in the days long past. As long as the gold mines and the diamond mines can be worked and made to pay, so long will the abnormal economy of South Africa preserve its balance; but as soon as South Africa has swallowed up its capital to the very last bit of gold, the Uitlander will have to seek for fresh fields for the exercise of his nervous energy, and the Afrikander will be abandoned to his struggle with the inimical elements, as has ever been his lot in the past. By the sweat of his brow he will have to lead his carefully stored-up water to the fields continuously threatened by locusts, he will have to shield his flocks from plague and theft, he will have to preserve continual watch against the inroads of the ever-increasing blacks. The Boer—that is the agriculturist—is destined to be the Alpha and Omega of South Africa's white culture; he alone, in this quarter of the globe, can save civilization from the ultimate gulf of bankruptcy. To say that South Africa is a rich land, or to paint its future in glowing colors and to dilate on the brilliant prospects that it offers to an unlimited white population, is only possible to an extraordinarily superficial observer, to an unscrupulous company-promoter, or to an over-zealous emigration agent, whose salary is in proportion to the number of his victims.

The first European power which acquired a firm footing in the East Indies, the Portuguese, simply ignored South Africa. The Portuguese were succeeded by the Hollanders, who, not until after much hesitation and two futile attempts to conquer Mozambique, decided to take possession of Africa's southern extremity. And the English, in common with the Hollanders, never desired aught but the few harbors which South Africa possesses; the interior had no value in the eyes of the European maritime powers, which only looked to the opulent East. A clear illustration of this is furnished by the fact that, although possessing Walvisch Bay, England quietly acquiesced in Germany's protectorate over the hinterland; and another instance is to be found in the anxiety which England has recently shown to get hold of Delagoa Bay

and Beira. The possession of these harbors would give to the British Empire control of the sea-way to the East, and to the English merchants such trade with the interior of South Africa as circumstances might permit. Neither the Dutch East India Company nor the British rulers bestirred themselves in any way, in connection with the steady expansion of the white colonists in the hinterland. And this interior colonization had barely acquired any importance before there arose both petty and material disturbances with the authority representing the purely European factor. This was not at all difficult to understand. The community at the Cape was composed of administrators and merchants who amassed considerable fortunes by means of the uninterrupted trade between Europe and India; the luxury which reigned at the foot of Table Mountain was proverbial; all the comforts of European civilization could be enjoyed in sunny South Africa, untroubled by the shadows of the Old World. In vivid contrast to this luxurious life of ease, the burdens of the inland colonists were, indeed, grievous to be borne; rough, hardy pioneers of the wilderness, their life was one prolonged struggle with poverty, with ravaging beasts of prey, and with stealthy Bushmen and Hottentots. No wonder, therefore, that, little by little, a social gulf was created, that a marked dissimilarity of character was gradually developed between the up-to-date Cape patricians, treading the primrose paths of luxury, and the nomadic shepherds of the veldt, independent of aught save their fowling-pieces, and undisputed lords of the limitless plateau behind the mountains fringing the coast. No wonder, therefore, that the mere handful of conquerors of the Great Karroo had little love for the arbitrary rule of a Proconsul in Cape Town Castle, on behalf of an authority having its headquarters in Europe.

Under the Dutch East India Company friction often arose between the two white elements of the Colony, and when the Cape fell into the hands of the British, in the beginning of the present century, the old antagonism continued to exist. I once heard it said that when Napoleon surrendered to the British in 1815, there was some talk of assigning to him, as a final resting-place, that pretty country estate of the early Dutch Governors, not far from Cape Town, but that this idea had to be given up, on account of distrust of the feelings of the inland colonists, there being some fear that South Africa might see a repetition of the

Elba incident. As long as the Imperial authorities left the inland colonists to themselves, and only exercised a general repressive control, the relationship between the two white communities of South Africa remained satisfactory, but as soon as the strings were pulled too suddenly from Europe, and the Cape authorities had to carry out a grasping, despotic policy, the two elements inevitably came to loggerheads. The best South African politicians —both British and Boer—are those who have frankly admitted that the political key to South Africa lies in an intelligent insight into the limit which should be allowed to Briton, Boer and Black. In other words, let each of the three fulfil the mission which nature has allotted to him, and then this much-vexed continent will enjoy the rest and peace of which it so urgently stands in need.

Is it necessary to give a résumé of the painful episodes which thronged upon one another in South Africa in the nineteenth century? The result of a hundred years of incompetency, weakness, vacillation, and reckless greed culminates to-day in the awful probability of an insensate strife between two hardy vital races, races unique by reason of their capacity for colonial expansion, races of similar origin and religion, races whose internal co-operation could have made this country, if not exceptionally prosperous, at least a particularly happy land, so that the dream of one of its most gifted children, Thomas Pringle, might have been fulfilled in gladsome measure:

> "South Africa, thy future lies
> Bright 'fore my vision as thy skies."

The first beneficent breathing-space which was granted to South Africa by the fatal British policy, was when, in 1852 and 1854—after numberless mistakes had been committed by the Imperial authorities, mistakes which no historian now attempts to deny—the South African Republic and the Free State were respectively left to their own resources, by solemn covenants with the British Government—in other words, when the formal principle was adopted by England that the Briton should be "baas" of the coast and the Boer of the hinterland. The circumstances under which this took place had in the meantime become very grievous: the Boer States never had a fair start; the British maritime colonies levied enormous duties on goods consigned to the interior, and squeezed as much out of the Afrikander republics as

they possibly could. And thus whilst the British merchants at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban waxed fat and wealthy, the Boers became more and more impoverished. But they were sustained in their struggle against poverty by the hardy spirit which was their peculiar heritage from their forefathers. And although the Free State and the Transvaal languished in their material development, and Natal and the Cape battened upon them, the Boers were satisfied, like the lean dog in the fable who did not envy the lot of his richer brother, because the latter had to wear a heavy collar of gold.

The generous policy of 1852 and 1854 was only too short-lived. The lucid moments of the Anglo-African politicians have been, alas! few and far between. First came the ruthless annexation of Basutoland by the British authorities, just at the moment when the Free State had clipped the wings of the Basutos and rendered further resistance futile. Then came the unrighteous annexation of Griqualand West, which suddenly found favor in the eyes of the British on account of the discovery of diamonds, and on which arose the Kimberley of to-day. This was followed by the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, with all the bitter feeling that naturally resulted therefrom. And then the Sir Charles Warren expedition, by which the Boers were deprived of Bechuanaland, because Mr. Rhodes—whose fortunate career at the Kimberley Diamond Fields enabled him to give the rein to his restless ambition—wanted to open up a pathway to the north, to the Rhodesia of to-day. Then came the establishment of the Chartered Company, followed by the notorious Jameson Raid. Such petty incidents as the Keate Award, the Swazieland Muddle, the Annexation of Sambaan's Land, I will pass over, for brevity's sake. In short, the beneficent policy of 1852 and 1854, which was for a moment revived under the Gladstone Ministry of 1881—when the independence of the South African Republic was restored—has been the exception during the century now speeding to its close. British statesmen apparently failed to see that South Africa could only be served by giving each race the domain which destiny had prepared for it, viz., the Boer the hinterland and the Britisher the coast, together with the rights and obligations connected therewith. The welfare of the interior states has ever been the life-buoy to which the whole of South Africa has clung, in times of darkness and

depression. Let the interior have a fair opportunity of thriving as well as the peculiar circumstances of the country permit, and the subjects of Queen Victoria will be able to enjoy the manifold pleasures of life without one drop of English soldiers' blood having to be spilt.

The immediate motive which prompted Sir Theophilus Shepstone's annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 was the commencement made by President Burgers of the long-cherished railway to Lourenço Marques. Natal and Cape Colony were not satisfied with squeezing the inland States by means of heavy duties, high postal tariffs, and enormous trade profits; they sought the complete economic dependency of the Republics, by prohibiting all railway traffic except through British ports. The selfishness of a commercial community knows no limit.

The second attempt to annex the South African Republic—with which the names of British politicians were connected—was not the result of a commercial policy, but it furnishes a striking illustration of the capitalism which has become such an important factor in South African policy, since the amalgamation of the diamond companies of Kimberley into one mighty body. The fact that to-day—whilst these lines are being written—this unhappy continent is on the eve of a *bellum omnium contra omnes*, can only be explained by the overwhelming influence acquired by certain "*nouveaux riches*"—whose social existence depends upon the Transvaal gold industry—among those who on the British side are shaping the fate of South Africa.

During the course of the present century, this part of the world has witnessed a variety of "agitations." It was the negrophilist agitation which drove the Boers in bitterness of spirit beyond the boundaries of Cape Colony; and it was an administrative agitation which for a long time impeded their progress and threw all manner of obstacles in their way; it was the politics of the counting-house which suggested the annexation of the Diamond Fields and the annexation of the Transvaal; and it is a stock exchange organization which is pulling the strings of the movement of to-day. Of all these agitations, the last—that of the financiers—is the most despicable, the most ominous, the most dangerous, and the most unworthy of the British nation. The Boers can forgive Dr. Philip for his negrophilistic ardor, they can forgive Sir Harry Smith, Sir Philip Wodehouse, Sir Bartle Frere, and

Sir Owen Lanyon for their excess of administrative zeal, but no Afrikander will bow down at the bidding of a group of foreign speculators.

When the Witwatersrand gold fields were discovered, the Transvaalers had already had some experience of the advantages and disadvantages attendant on the possession of mineral wealth. In the early seventies, the opening up of the alluvial deposits at Pilgrim's Rest, in the northeast of the Republic, was the cause of considerable immigration. In the eighties, there was a rush to the diggings at Dekaap, of which Barberton became the centre, the Afrikander element being strongly represented. From the very beginning, the law-makers of the Transvaal dealt very leniently with the miners, the vast majority of whom were foreigners. The Boers knew of the mineral wealth of their country at an early date, but they never felt constrained to exchange the quietude of their pastoral life for the feverish existence of the gold-seeker. The Boers have never endeavored to turn the presence of gold in their soil to practical account, and make it a direct source of national income; as, for instance, the Chartered Company has done, expropriating a large portion of the profits of the gold fields. An instance of this liberal legislation, more striking than a long array of figures, is furnished by the public lottery of gold claims—some of which are extremely valuable—which is now taking place, and in which both burghers and Uitlanders can participate without distinction.

The exceptionally generous legislation of the Boers with regard to mining matters was effected with the sole object of fostering agriculture; this has, however, only been realized in part, owing to the fact that the expansion of the mining industry gradually made native labor dear, and thus heavily handicapped the agriculturist. The administration of the Boers in the days of Pilgrim's Rest and Barberton compares very favorably with that of the Diamond Fields of Cape Colony. The Transvaalers were good-natured, but they had no inclination to be trifled with. In those days there was no talk of Uitlanders' grievances, nor even during the early years of Johannesburg. The Witwatersrand is not situated, like Pilgrim's Rest and Barberton, in an unfrequented part of the country, but it lies to the immediate south of Pretoria, between Potchefstroom and Heidelberg, in the very heart of the Boer States. Johannesburg sprang up with aston-

ishing rapidity, and offered special attractions to the large number of South African adventurers who, like Mr. Micawber, were only "waiting for something to turn up." From their farms in the Free State, from their wayside stores in Cape Colony, from their plantations in Natal, from their broker offices in the Diamond Fields, they gathered together—men of every type and every class, but united in their feverish thirst for wealth. The expectations of the most sanguine were realized; they reaped a rich harvest in the shape of large exchange profits, although many of their number knew practically nothing about mining or financial administration. Then came the inevitable collapse in 1889, which only spared the most fortunate; and the great majority of this strangely mixed community were gradually compelled to make room for more competent men from Europe and America. These brought brains and experience into their work, and placed the industry upon a more solid basis; but they also inoculated the Uitlanders with the *bacilli* of discord and revolution, much to the detriment of the shareholders across the sea.

The appearance of the present-day Uitlander—that is to say, the grievance-bearing or rather grievance-seeking stranger—dates from the period when qualified experts satisfied themselves as to the uniquely favorable situation of the precious metal in Witwatersrand—from the time when wild speculation began to make room for a genuine exploitation of the mines. The preliminary period to which I refer above was the cause of an influx of immigrants into the Republic. They spread themselves over the face of the country, penetrating into the most outlying spots, in order to procure material for the flotation of mining companies. This period also saw the birth of the "Land and Estate" Companies, who generally bought up the most uninhabited or uninhabitable farms for speculative purposes. By reason of foreign ownership of large tracts of land, the argument is often advanced that an enormous portion of the South African Republic no longer belongs to the Boers. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that, whilst the Boer has been severely condemned for his slothfulness in matters agricultural, practically none of the land companies has ever devoted more than a few acres to the growing of crops. When the period of wild speculation suffered a collapse, the Uitlander no longer spread himself over the whole of the Republic. Henceforward, the Witwatersrand was the exclusive scene of his

labors, and here he elected to pitch his tent. Outside the Rand, he confined himself to the ordinary occupations of the olden days —that of storekeeper for the folk of the few rustic centres, and bank manager, hotelkeeper, and clergyman in the solitary country towns.

After the crash of 1889, Johannesburg slowly became *the* Uitlander town *par excellence.* It deserves to be recorded that, as the output of gold began to show a continual increase, the "Uitlander question" acquired a proportionate magnitude. In every country where foreigners are to be found in appreciable numbers, there is an Uitlander question. It exists in France, in regard to the Italians and Belgians living there; in Japan, in regard to the Americans and Britishers; in London, in regard to the Poles; in the Middle Ages the Jews were in many cases a powerful "Uitlander" element. During the last century, the Germans in Russia have been "Uitlanders," and, according to the Czechs and Hungarians, they are so in Austria to-day. But the Uitlander question in the South African Republic differs from the Uitlander question elsewhere, as it has been made the cause of an international dispute between two States of unequal strength. In its present form, the Uitlander question is only the mask of a financiers' plot, of a piece of Exchange jobbery. It has steadily kept pace with the gold output. In 1889, £1,500,000 was produced. In that year, Johannesburg was horrified by a series of stealthy murders which were only explained as the handiwork of "Jack the Ripper." No one thought at that time, however, of saddling the Transvaal Government with responsibility for them, or of sending plaintive petitions to England as to the danger of life in the South African Republic! Everyone understood, then as now, that gold-fields offer peculiar attractions to questionable characters of all classes. In March, 1890, during a visit of President Krüger to the Golden City, the Transvaal flag was pulled down from the Government buildings. It subsequently transpired that this was only the work of some drunken rough, and the mining and mercantile communities lost no time in expressing their disapproval of the incident. The realization of the practical value of the deep-level theory—in other words, the ultimate conviction as to the indisputable durability and wealth of the Witwatersrand gold-fields—has, in the meantime, become the signal for an agitation against the Government and

the people of the South African Republic. From this period dates England's claim to suzerainty over the South African Republic and the paramount-powership in South Africa, of which hitherto no mention had ever been made. In 1894, the then High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, was present at some diamond-drill experiments at the Rand, which proved beyond dispute the continuous nature of the gold-bearing reef at a considerable depth, and at an important distance from the outcrop reef. During this visit, Sir Henry Loch made a promise to the mining magnates—as per letter of Mr. Lionel Phillips, then the Chairman of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines*—to stir up the Transvaal Government on condition that the "Uitlander" agitation increased in intensity. The Transvaal Green Book provides instructive reading even for to-day; it contains extracts from private letters from Mr. Phillips to his London friends. On the 10th of June, 1894, he wrote to Mr. Beit:

"As to the franchise, I do not think many people care a fig about it."

On the 1st of July of the same year, he wrote to Mr. Wernher:

"Sir H. Loch (with whom I had two long private interviews alone) asked me some very pointed questions, such as what arms we had in Johannesburg, whether the population could hold the place for six days until help could arrive, etc., etc., and stated plainly that if there had been 3,000 rifles and ammunition here he would certainly have come over. He further informed me, in a significant way, that he had prolonged the Swaziland agreement for six months, and said he supposed in that time Johannesburg would be better prepared—as much as to say, if things are safer then we shall actively intervene."

This conversation took place at Pretoria, where Sir Henry Loch, as the representative of Her Majesty's Government, was the honored guest of the Transvaal people! On the 15th of July of the same year, Mr. Phillips wrote to Mr. Beit:

"We don't want any row. Our trump card is a fund of £10,000 or £15,000 to improve the Volksraad. Unfortunately the Gold Companies have no Secret Service Fund."

All this happened in 1894, when the gold output had already reached a total of nearly 7¾ millions sterling. In 1895, it had risen to 8½ millions; the "trump card" had also risen and amounted to £120,000, with which sum the Reform movement at Johannesburg was partially financiered—a movement which came to an untimely end at Doornkop.

* *Vide* Transvaal Green Book, No. 2, of 1896.

In 1897 the inquiry by the official Industrial Commission took place, the result being a substantial lowering of railway tariffs and import dues. But the "grievances" still remained, and increased in 1897 in sympathy with the gold output, which had now reached the large figure of 11½ millions. Still more "unbearable" were these "grievances" in 1898, during which year 16¼ millions of gold was dug out of Transvaal soil. This was the year of the Edgar affair and of the Uitlander Petition, and in the same year forty-five gold companies of the Rand (the share capital issued being £20,294,675) paid out in dividends no less than £5,089,785—an average of 25 per cent.! The output for 1899 has already been estimated at 22½ millions, and the number of dividend-paying companies increases every month.

In 1896, the rural population were visited by a series of grievous plagues—by rinderpest, by drought, by locusts, and by the dreaded fever. While the Uitlanders of the Rand were reported to be groaning under the oppression of their Egyptian taskmasters, and European shareholders were depicted as helpless victims of a corrupt Krüger régime, the Boers were "taking up arms against a sea of troubles" which threatened to overwhelm them, and of which we heard exceedingly little, either in the local papers or in the cable columns of the London press. Whilst thousands of Boer families saw the fruit of long years of toil plucked away by the hand of God in a single season, the campaign of libel on behalf of the Uitlanders was vigorously prosecuted with the help of money won from Transvaal soil by mining magnates, the princely munificence displayed by whom in London and other places outside South Africa was occasionally referred to in the local papers as a joyous chord between the "grievance" symphonies that were struck in the minor key.

I have little inclination to expatiate on the true character of the present movement against the Boers; but I do say that to support the latest type of agitation against the white population of the interior of South Africa is unworthy of the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race. The South African Republic is not without political blemishes; as in every other country, we have our administrative scandals, both great and small; we have our social and economic plague-spots, which must be made to disappear. Gold-fields never were fountains of pure morality nor are they so in South Africa. Has one ever pictured the future of the

most civilized country of the Old World if a second Johannesburg were to spring up in mushroom fashion? I do not wish to speak evil of the wire-pullers of the present agitation against the Afrikanders; but, surely, those persons whose princely palaces have been built with Transvaal gold, and who cry out so loudly against our government, should be the last to throw stones against the Republic. The "oligarchy" at Pretoria—to use Mr. Chamberlain's recent expression—consists of barely a few dozen Boers; there is, therefore, strong evidence in favor of this "oligarchy" in the fact that it has been able to offer such prolonged resistance to the well-disposed and undoubtedly disinterested attempts of such gentlemen as Lionel Phillips to "improve" them from Johannesburg and London. Such an "oligarchy" is without a parallel in modern times. It forms a striking contrast to the worship of the golden calf on the Witwatersrand, from which Pretoria is only distant about three hours on horseback. Such an "oligarchy" deserves to be carefully preserved rather than destroyed, as we preserve from total extinction some rare plant or peculiar species of animal.

There are undoubted grievances in the South African Republic, but they are not the exclusive property of the Uitlanders; a discreet silence is observed with respect to the wrongs of the Transvaal burghers, and I do not feel it to be my task to dilate upon them now. But still they exist, although the absorbing selfishness of the mining magnates keeps back the light of day; the lust for gold stifles all generosity, compassion, mercy, brotherly love, and respect for the rights of the weak. What Monomotapa was to the Phœnicians and Arabs, Witwatersrand is to our present gold-seekers, and to most of the Uitlanders—a temporary land of exile, which they only endure for the sake of the gold. Can we picture the wise king Solomon demanding the franchise for his subjects in the realms of the Queen of Sheba?

South Africa is poor; it will remain poor, in spite of its gold and its diamonds. It will never be able to pay back the cost of a bitter strife, unless the gold-bedecked princes come forward with the treasure which they have wrung from the land. As long as the Boers allow the modern Phœnicians to dig the precious metals out of Transvaal soil without heavy impositions, and to have a free hand in the administration of the country and the government of the native population, it will be found that the best busi-

ness policy will be to leave the Boers in undisturbed possession of their country, free to rule it by their own healthy instinct and according to the good old traditions of their forefathers, with their own language, their own rulers, their own aspirations—even with their own faults and prejudices.

It should not be forgotten that, from the earliest days of the gold-fields, the Uitlanders knew that the South African Republic was an "oligarchy"; they knew that the Boers were "illiterate," "stupid," "ignorant," and a great deal besides; they knew that a dynamite monopoly existed, and that President Krüger was a "hard nut to crack." Notwithstanding this knowledge the "Uitlanders" have flocked in by thousands, and foreign capital has been invested amounting to several hundreds of millions sterling. During the first five months of the present year, Transvaal gold and other companies were registered here with a combined capital of over £15,391,389. In July last—in the middle of the crisis—five new companies were registered with a capital of £1,159,000. And of all the Uitlanders only a section of the British subjects are genuinely dissatisfied. Notwithstanding that the "oppression" of the Transvaal "oligarchy" has been told and retold, until the world has become sick and weary, immigrants are still pouring in from all quarters of the globe.

The Boers do not ask for mercy; they ask for justice. Those who keep up the unfair agitation against the South African Republic are the last men, however, to listen to the voice of righteousness, or to be guided by any noble impulse; political corruption is the seed they sow, and by their unexampled opportunities they feel confident of reaping their criminal harvest. Up to the present they have gathered only tears; a still more bitter time of reaping has yet to come. In the past, the Boers have been able to fight against immensely superior odds. They feel that the final victory will be theirs; for they know they have right on their side.

Well would it be for the British nation if they could but realize the significance of those words of Russell Lowell:

> "Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne,
> Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
> Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own."

F. V. ENGELENBURG.

Pretoria, August, 1899.

THE PRESENT LITERARY SITUATION IN FRANCE.

BY HENRY JAMES.

THERE are as many reasons just now, I dare say, as can well be pointed out for a certain sense of difficulty on the part of those who, caring for the things of the mind, desire, as the century draws to its end, to accompany its last steps with some acknowledgment of a great particular debt. We have all owed so much to the France of the past fifty years, that we should fail of common good manners were we to neglect the right moment—as this might naturally be deemed—for putting our gratitude on record. The difficulty I just spoke of is, however, that the right moment happens, by a shocking perversity and just in time to disconcert us, to have assumed every appearance—every superficial one, at least—of being the wrong. There has, unfortunately, for all the fifty years, been no crisis in France at which the things of the mind were so little the fashion. Practically suppressed and smothered, stricken and silent behind the bars of their hideous political cage, we must think of them as, at the worst, only living by the light of faith and biding their time. What is, at any rate, most clear to us is that to doubt of any but a happy issue for them would be a particularly cheap disloyalty. They are there, and they will again show it. They were still there till the other day, and any appearance of virtual extinction is, therefore, promptly to be challenged. The bad dream must pass, and the prospect of relief and of a good day's work must come with the morning.

Our concern, moreover—to speak of ourselves—is, at this date, mainly for those who shall follow us. The question for us, in the presence of the actual, sharp eclipse, is of the prospect of profit for the new generation; of whether it may count, at the best, on forming ties and receiving benefits that shall have been at all

a match for our own. We have been, we others, a fortunate company, and it is only of late that our fortune has sensibly shrunken. When I think of the "good time" we have had, the readers who began in the fifties and sixties to be aware of their luck, I have to acknowledge with a sigh that the longest feast comes, in the nature of things, to an end. "It is not to be expected," we are prepared blandly to say to our children, "that you should be as happy as we." Yet it comes back, after all, to what may really be left for them.

There is no convenient measure of this that does not involve some measure, first, of what has been taken; and yet I am afraid of going but too far if I begin to analyze the sense of loss that abides with the elder contemporary. I must remember, too, that he pleads in such a case for his own house, and that his own house—poor wretch that he is—is essentially his own youth and the irrecoverable freshness of its first curiosities and its first responses. Lucky for him, indeed, if letters were his bent, that he could cultivate them in the near presence of the greater figures—of Victor Hugo and Sainte-Beuve, of Balzac and George Sand, of Taine and Renan and Flaubert. The generosity of youth, all the same, I bear in mind, makes its own heyday; and I am not without envy of those who, at present, are able to add that agreeable sauce to their relish of—for instance—M. Anatole France. On the other hand, of course, it is quite open to the new generation to spend their time, to their hearts' content, with Victor Hugo and Balzac, with Sainte-Beuve and Madame Sand. The truth, however, remains that preference, at any period, settles, gracefully enough, on those flowers of production that the period itself wears in its breast. The other flowers, faded petals and withered herbage, come too much within the definition of the "pressed." They lurk between the leaves of the books that have ceased to lie on the table, the books that lurk, themselves, behind cold glass. It is with those on the table that we are now concerned; and, to be definite about the moment at which they may be taken as exchanging the table for the honor of the upper shelves, I shall assume this occasion to be that of the author's death.

The great historians are dead, then—the last of them went with Renan; the great critics are dead—the last of them went with Taine; the great dramatists are dead—the last of them went with

Dumas; and, of the novelists of the striking group originally fathered by the Second Empire, Émile Zola is the only one still happily erect. The present men, in different quarters, are the younger—so much the younger that Zola, among them, rises almost like a patriarch. This is the case even with the critics—the race which, as a general thing, is least accountable for itself when positively young. It much enriches the experience of a reader who has come to fifty years, that he can really recall the time when Jules Lemaître was not. It even, perhaps, in truth, contributes to that wisdom that he has lived to be conscious of a period once more practically deprived of this possession. M. Lemaître is still on the table, but I think it not injudicious to say that his happiest star has, within less than twenty years, set as well as risen. None the less, with whatever losses, it is not yet on the critical side that the French intelligence may be noted as faltering to any such degree as shall minister to the comparative complacency of observers—and, least of all, of competitors—of our own race. The spirit of conversation is so indefeasible a part of the genius of the people that, however among them the creative gift may flicker, the last light markedly to pale must ever necessarily be the form that has most in common with suggested talk. If the races personally inexpressive, monosyllabic at best, may be—as regards letters and art—handicapped by that fact for criticism, so it is beyond contradiction, I think, that the French, on the opposite basis, have so much the start of us that the spirit of the matter begins for them quite where we are condemned to see it—and in no little exhaustion—give way. There are always criticism and *causerie*, in short, in France, even if there be not always Sainte-Beuve; and this can never, it is well to remember, be so much an advantage to a nation as on the occasion of its having to recognize other conditions of weakness. Marked as such conditions may, on other lines, have become, it is still the French genius that would have the most and the best to say about them. Twenty volumes of free discussion of such and other kinds of possibility appear in Paris for one that is published in London or in New York. This is a circumstance not to be lost sight of in any estimate, on our own part, of the rise or the fall: it may turn so in favor of the presumption that our standpoint for appreciation needs a little further building up. I confess that I am conscious of how much, among us all, it requires an indifference to

lurking irony to say that M. Jules Lemaître is not so good as—well, as he used to be.

He is not so good just now, at all events, as M. Émile Faguet; nor as the authors of several of the happiest little volumes—at once so much and so little on the pattern of the series of the "English Men of Letters"—in Hachette's undertaking of *"Les Grands Écrivains Français."* The latter publication has had its ups and downs, but nothing is more suggestive, in many ways, than to compare the spirit and the form of it with those of its predecessor. The authors of the English studies appear to labor, in general, under a terror of critical responsibility; the authors of the French, on the contrary, to hunger and thirst for it. The authors of the English, shirking and dodging, at every turn, any relation of their subject that may compel them to broach an idea, hug the safe and easy shore of small biographical fact and anecdote; the authors of the French are impatient till they can put out into the open and sound its depths and breathe its air. That he was so far from being afraid of ideas as to find, on the contrary, something like intoxication in them, was the more particular secret of that early freshness of M. Jules Lemaître which makes us recall with delight the first years of his activity. It was, perhaps, his defect that one could serve for his amusement almost as well as another; this led him, in time, to play with them too much the game of cup-and-ball—there was none too light or too heavy for him to toss in the air, with an art all his own, and catch again. He had acquired his perfection at this exercise in the great and beautiful school—had, with a diligence only to be matched in Anatole France, studied under Ernest Renan that art of imperturbable charmed inquiry, vertiginous speculation and inconclusive thought of which this beautiful genius was so happy a master. Whereas, however, the positive high beauty of Renan's temper was ever in itself a kind of conclusion, it was the fate of this most promising of his pupils to give us, finally, the impression of a critic trying rather vainly not only to make up a mind, but to make up a character. Had I space in these too few pages to do more, on any side, than glance, it would be extremely interesting—it would, I think, sharply point a moral—to follow the successive steps by which the author of *"Les Contemporains"* was to become, little by little, and comparatively speaking, a sort of reduced, disembodied agility, playing his trick in a close room and

a stale air. The strange thing was that, when he at last elected, as we say, to represent a conviction, he should have fixed upon one of the ugliest. His voice was loud, throughout the "Affair" —by no means concluded as I write—in the anti-revisionist and anti-Semitic interest. And I remember, with due deference to the mystery of things, that there was a year or two in the time of their working, as it were, side by side when I wondered if Anatole France were not, of the two, the less to be desired.

Things have changed since then, and the author of "*La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pedauque*," the creator of Monsieur Bergeret and of Sylvestre Bonnard, has shown a complexity of talent in the presence of which the interest that he inspires deepens more and more—I speak at least for myself—to a sense of fascination. M. Lemaître, on the other hand, has pushed his fortune, both in the critical and in the more directly productive way, more and more in the quarter of the theatre—a phenomenon which would, precisely, receive its due attention in any study of what I cannot help thinking his rather dark deviation. Of the more distinctly critical industry of his happier rival, I may take no space to speak, the later development of M. France placing him in a new and special category. And then there remain M. Brunetière, the editor of the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," who has lectured, with authority, in the United States, and M. Émile Faguet and M. Paul Bourget, each in his degree a striking representative of certain sides of the French critical spirit. M. Bourget, indeed, like M. France, has found his most effective vocation as a novelist —though his productions in this character bristle, not less than those of M. France, and much, I hasten to add, to their enrichment, with that superior presence of the insistent question which the fiction of our day has so happily learned to treat as an aid to the rendering of appearances. Of all novelists, M. Bourget has most the mark of having learnt his trade in a school—the school of reflection—not hitherto supposed to be that of the novel; which is exactly, moreover, one of the things that make him most interesting. His subject is always an idea, and he is capable of regarding an idea as a positive source of "excitement."

I have the less regret at being able, in this small summary, only to testify to the large space occupied, in the public eye, by M. Brunetière, as, critically speaking, he has been, to my judgment, the least genial, in the German sense, of all such recent

appearances. M. Brunetière is two distinct things which are much better kept so than united: an extremely erudite mind and an extremely irritated temper. He is full of information and chagrin, and it is one way to describe him—since I may deal but in the shortest cuts—to say that his intelligence has not kept pace with his learning. It has gone into that large and lighted, but unduly heated, chamber and closed the door behind it; and there, perched at the narrowest of windows, it has looked through a glass darkly—with fatal frustration. He produces the impression of second-rate opinion, of perception arrested and confused. It does him no injustice to say that he represents that least luminous of all things, official criticism. The only office of the critical understanding that does not stultify it is to *give* itself, to the last drop of its blood. If M. Brunetière has made this surrender, it can only be said that he had not originally much to give. Of the most interesting things that have happened round about him, he strikes me as having been the interpreter the most hampered; and it is scarcely too much to say that his country and his age have, to a certain extent, been wasted on him. There are other periods, certainly other climes, that, frankly, would have served him quite as well.

With M. Émile Faguet, since I must also be brief, I prefer to speak under impressions most recently received, and in particular under that of the extraordinarily able little study of Gustave Flaubert just contributed to the "*Grands Écrivains.*" Remarkably full and remarkably intelligent, M. Faguet had previously struck me as—I confess it with compunction—perceptibly common. The case, indeed, was almost ambiguous—how *could* a writer be common who not only always knew, but always felt, his affair so well? M. Faguet's affair was invariably excellent. But I remember the ambiguity dropped when, one day last spring, in the reading-room of a foreign hotel, I came across the newspaper in which, on the occasion of the death of Francisque Sarcey, our critic, in an admirable piece of fore-shortening, commemorated that colleague. The portrait, in a few strokes, yet of a handling the largest and fairest, was a little miracle of understanding and expression. Decidedly, M. Faguet was *not*, in this case, common; and that imputation appears to me, on the whole, to apply equally little to his exhaustive—his almost too exhaustive—analysis of the author of "*Madame Bovary.*" I am reduced, however, I admit,

in respect to this performance, almost to a single state of mind—that of absolutely grateful appreciation of the particular long chapter devoted to Flaubert's masterpiece. It is not that this chapter contains no utterance whatever with which I find myself at odds: if one had space one might, surely, on the contrary, contest with some spirit the supreme place it assigns to "*Madame Bovary*" as an exhibition of the perverse female creature. Nothing will ever prevent Flaubert's heroine from having been an extremely minor specimen, even of the possibilities of her own type, a two-penny lady, in truth, of an experience so limited that some of her chords, it is clear, can never have sounded at all. It is a mistake, in other words, to speak of any feminine nature as consummately exhibited, that is exhibited in so small a number of its possible relations. Give it three or four others, we feel moved to say—"then we can talk." But this, I hasten to add, is beside the matter in my mind, which is that of the happy lift assuredly given to any worker in Flaubert's field who may read M. Faguet's chapter. What can it be else than a joy to an artist to encounter so concrete an example of the undertaking, in the presence of a work of art, to *consider?* The pages I speak of are a masterpiece of consideration. Let them remain as a proof of what, to the critic, is possible in that line. There is no excuse after them for any question of the matter.

To have just encountered, in connection with this name, I may further observe, the much more diffused one of the late M. Sarcey, is to feel afresh with what eagerness I profit by my exemption from speaking of the dead. This most sedentary of spectators—his eminent office, as all know, was that of theatrical reporter for upwards of thirty years to "*Le Temps*"—was incontestably, during much of his career, one of the "forces" of literary criticism in France; but he would take us much further than it would be worth our while to go. He was, in his way, a massive and genial figure, but he was, on the whole, little of a light. One may desire all honor to his shade and still be conscious that one has even yet not forgotten, among many things indeed, certain recent cases in which his vulgarity of judgment was a strange—was, in fact, a ridiculous—false note in the "authority" he had so patiently built up. I recall, from a few months ago, a presentation of "Othello" at the Théâtre Français, which, both as to the version adopted and the rendering offered, was a sufficient

challenge to wonder; but this performance was the flower of distinction compared with M. Sarcey's remarks on it. It went hard with him, at any time, to admit that any play of Shakespeare was *"une pièce,"* and, indeed, for his doom of having had, on occasion, to examine several of them in the light of this question, I hold that he was much to be pitied. If I write the name of M. de Voguë in the same neighborhood, it is only that M. de Voguë too is critically eminent, and that I am yet obliged to pass him by. Consummately clever, yet without having created a manner, he is, perhaps, as but one of a number, the best instance of how the most characteristic French aptitude may assert itself even in dull days. The man of genius is always a wonder, but the man of M. de Voguë's particular combination of resources may, perhaps, still more, on occasion, cause the observer to lose himself in meditation. He shows at times as what the observer would, perhaps, himself fain have been. He is, at all events, in especial, the man of the world of his *partie;* he knows many things and has a clear and frequent eloquence and a wonderful easy hand. The hand, assuredly, in France, never fails, and may be seen at the century's end nervously reaching out from the abyss of an intellectual experience, that almost seems at moments to threaten to operate as a shaft sunk too straight. A great curiosity still survives this experience. French critical literature is even now a monument of it, and if the time ever was when the preponderance of inquiry was on our side of the Atlantic and of the Channel, contemporary periodical literature in the opposite quarter has quite reversed the relation. We at present, Americans and English together, push our intellectual feelers with a vivacity by no means proportionate to our own exposure. We seem unlikely to create any successful diversion to our being ourselves understood.

It is distinctly when we come to the novelists—for I must make a long stride over historians, philosophers and poets, sustained by the reflection that the best novelists are all three—that we remain rather persistently more aware of what is gone than of what is left. There is in this quarter, evidently, a distinct chill in the air; there are empty places, gaps into space, the look of a field less occupied. Daudet, so individual and beautiful, died but yesterday; Maupassant, as strong—productively speaking—as a young horse, and with a voice all his own, passed away the day before. Émile Zola, of the elder men, alone remains; with Paul

Bourget and Pierre Loti and M. Huysmans—with Anatole France, perhaps, too—among the younger; and with MM. Paul Hervieu and Marcel Prévost among the youngest of all. Merely to enumerate these names, however, is to become freshly aware of my inability to take them in turn: the most that, in these conditions, they may help the critic to is some new demonstration, much abbreviated, of the intensity with which, in France, this wondrous form has been worked. At whatever result the serious inquirer might arrive, he would recognize no want of the real energy, the proper passion, in the working of their material by this interesting group. Of the material itself, there would easily be much to say—I cannot help thinking that there *is* much; but there is little that is not obvious to be said of the intelligence and the courage. These remain so great—are capable of giving out, on occasion, such vivid lights and of throwing up such renewals—as to bring back a possibility by no means unfamiliar, I dare say, to any ingenious mind attentive to these things: the apprehension that there may, after all, be some strange and fatal disparity between French talent and French life. That puts the case, no doubt, with a certain breadth; but it may, none the less, represent one of the occasional wonderments of a spectator from a distance. Does French life *support* being worked with the fury—as we may almost say—that the great combination, from Balzac down, have brought to bear on it? Would our bigger Anglo-Saxon life, even? Would any collective life that is now being led on the globe? The Anglo-Saxon world, with the multitude of its practical experiments and the variety of its material habitats, would, perhaps, hold out longest; and I express a fancy that I have sometimes idly entertained when I say, that we alone would have offered a broad enough back to such acute penetration and such consistent irony. The spirit of the French novel at its best, in other words, would have been worthy to plunge into us, and we should have been, as a rich world-people, worthy to be stretched on the table. We should not certainly have been Paris at all—in which there would have been a loss; but we should, on the other hand, not have been Paris only and ever—in which there would have been a gain.

The danger I glance at is, in a word, the danger arising from sameness of subject. There tends too much to be only one—*the* subject, so familiar to us all that this light emphasis suffices to

identify it. The complications, the perils, that wait on concealed atachments play, it may perfectly be argued, an immense part in life, and a face of proportionate surprise may be offered to any plea that so general and indispensable an element of truth and interest is lightly to be dispensed with. This is a position with which, of course, all suggestion has to reckon; and I may as well say at once that I have no direct remedy to produce. The candid critic is, I even hold, excusable for not being wholly sure that, taking into account the general play of the French imagination, the remedy is quite within reach. It might, none the less, be tried. If I said just now that Flaubert's Emma Bovary is at best the demonstration of a poor case, and that the case would have been bettered if more relations had been shown, so this may, perhaps, serve as a hint of the quarter in which general help lies. Might not, in general, the painter of French life do something towards conjuring away that demon of staleness who hovers very dreadfully, at this time of day, everywhere, I acknowledge, on the horizon of us belated workers, by cultivating just this possibility of the vision of more relations? There *are* others, after all, than those of the eternal triangle of the husband, the wife and the lover, or of that variation of this to which we are too much condemned as an only alternative—the mistress, the first and the second, or the second and the third, the third and the fourth, lovers. What we continue to have, for the most part, is the paraphernalia of concealment—the drama of alarm and exposure; on which, with prodigious ingenuity, all the changes have been rung. Our real satiety lies, however, I think, not even in our familiarity with this range of representation; it lies, at bottom, in our unassuaged thirst for some more constant and more various portrayal of character. It may fairly be said that the French *parti-pris* not only turns too persistent a back on those quarters of life in which character does play, but also—and with still less justice—tends to pervert and minimize the idea of "passion." Passion still abides with us, though its wings have undoubtedly been clipped; the possibility of it is, in the vulgar phrase, all over the place. But it lives a great variety of life, burns with other flames and throbs with other obsessions than the sole sexual. In some of these connections it absolutely *becomes* character; whereas character, on the contrary, encounters in the sexual the particular air, the special erotic fog, that most muffles and dampens it. Closely observed, indeed, the

erotic drama gives us, for all the prodigious bustle involved, almost never a striking illustration of it. "Passion" crowds it out; but passion is strangely brief, while character, like art itself, as we know, is long. The great Balzac, clearly, had made this reflection when, beating the bush with a cudgel all his own, he started up game of so many different kinds. I know not really if there be a better possible admonition to his successors than to go back to him. It would probably ensue from their doing so, that what I have called their sameness of subject would find itself by the very fact eased off, relieved of the undue strain upon it and enabled to recover some of its lost elasticity.

The reporter free to proceed to particulars would, at any rate, to-day find the superficial space occupied by M. Émile Zola not sensibly shrunken during these dozen years. His competitors have in most cases, come and gone, but M. Zola has solidly stayed. Perhaps this it is that most makes him difficult to dispose of briefly; he is, at one and the same time, so little a genius of the highest distinction and so little a negligible quantity. He would still be magnificent if he had nothing for him but his solidity—in the contemplation of which I should almost luxuriously lose myself were it permitted to me to treat in summary fashion even one side of his work. He is a large enough figure to make us lose time in walking round him for the most convenient view. The question of choice, however, let me hasten to add, finds itself, if the critic happen to be also a member, however subordinate, of the author's own guild, materially simplified—so much more does M. Zola, when it comes to the entertainment a brother-novelist may seek from him, speak of one particular matter than of all the others together. He speaks of the great, plain, measurable matter of method, and his own is the thing that has ended by making him most interesting. So, at least, must one put it for one's self, taking courage to do this even in face of the multitudinous results of an energy extraordinarily "creative." What he has most vividly created, to my sense, is the process that has seen him through. None of M. Zola's heroes stand so squarely on their feet as M. Zola's heroic system; the evolution of none of his heroines has been so unbrokenly patient. There the system is to-day, supremely representing on his behalf the communication of life. We have seen it at work, time after time—seen it more and more a calculated means to an end; and have, surely—if it has engaged

our curiosity at all—lived with it during these years very greatly to our entertainment, if not to our highest edification. I may not here undertake the business of describing it, and I mention it, indeed, mainly to pay it publicly my respects. For it has been in its way an intellectual lesson. Quite apart from what may be urged to its advantage or its detriment, it has shown, at least, admirably what a method can do. To arrive—as he has arrived—at the goal he began with fixing, M. Zola had to make out his special economy—see it steadily and see it whole. He has seen, moreover, many things besides; not the individual soul, the individual life, perhaps, with any great intimacy—never, indeed, with an inspired penetration; but always, vividly, its happy mean, or general average, of sense; its associated, confounded, scarce discriminated state. He has given us in this way—and the phenomenon is curious enough—an immense deal of life, a big chronicle of tragedy and comedy, action and passion, while giving us, nevertheless, comparatively little consciousness. Once or twice—as in the case of "Rome"—he has, in the absence of subjective saturation, been reduced to method alone; and remarkable enough, no doubt, is the spectacle of what, out of habit and gratitude, method alone has there done to him. This case was curious enough for those who knew. But the horse is not, I take it, to be trusted to repeat the jump.

It is not, certainly, true of M. Paul Bourget that his manner is a compromise founded on any generalization of the consciousness. It involves, on the contrary, a specification, for the individual represented, that is intense and exhaustive. M. Bourget literally *inhabits* the consciousness, as writers of the temperament of M. Zola inhabit the outer world. His relation to it is not that of a visitor for a purpose or of a collector with a note-book; it is that of a resident, of habits so confirmed that he on no pretext whatever can bring himself to stir from home. His travels far and wide are accomplished in that wonderful continuous gallery. It forms for him, as a spectator of life, a large glass cage equipped with wheels, stoves and other conveniences, in which he moves over his field very much as a great American railway-director moves over his favorite line in his "luxuriously-appointed" private car. For the consciousness inhabited by M. Bourget *is* luxuriously appointed. I only regret that it is impossible we should here accompany him on one or two of his journeys. We must use at

this moment shorter cuts. I so feel that it fairly makes mince-meat of M. Anatole France to throw off a rough estimate of *"L'Orme du Mail"* and *"Le Mannequin d'Osier,"* that I prefer to escape altogether from the question of shades by saying that he is a writer who freshly stirs up one's gratitude to his country, and one's frank recognition of the rich conditions that could produce him. We take him, as we have, first and last, gladly taken Pierre Loti, for a regular happy case. He is, in fine, at this moment, the great luxury of the time; he helps us to resign ourselves to an age that at last cynically confesses itself—in a million volumes—"unliterary." M. Anatole France and his fortune are really the facts that, at the actual hour, most save it. To his own country, in especial, at a juncture when she has need, he renders extraordinary redemptive service; he persists in being what he is—and sells. It makes up for many things that there is still a liberal ear in France for such native notes, still a diffused taste for a mixture so artful. The author of *"L'Anneau d'Améthyste,"* therefore, does the best thing a good patriot can do—he makes others like to think, in spite of his own strictures upon it, of his public. Who makes anyone like to think of ours?

HENRY JAMES.

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY.

BY PROFESSOR J. B. MOORE, FORMERLY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

In his annual message of December 2, 1872, President Grant, referring to the award rendered by the Emperor of Germany in the preceding October upon the long-pending dispute as to the San Juan Water Boundary, remarked that this award left us, "for the first time in the history of the United States as a nation, without a question of disputed boundary between our territory and the possessions of Great Britain on this continent." In making this statement, President Grant was not unmindful of the fact that the boundary between the British possessions and Alaska, as defined in the treaty between Great Britain and Russia of 1825, had not been surveyed and marked. No dispute, however, in regard to this line had then arisen; and, with a view to prevent the occurrence of any in the future, he immediately proceeded to make, in the same message, the following recommendation:

"Experience of the difficulties attending the determination of our admitted line of boundary, after the occupation of the territory and its settlement by those owing allegiance to the respective governments, points to the importance of establishing, by natural objects or other monuments, the actual line between the territory acquired by purchase from Russia and the adjoining possessions of Her Britannic Majesty. The region is now so sparsely occupied that no conflicting interests of individuals or of jurisdiction are likely to interfere to the delay or embarrassment of the actual location of the line. If deferred until population shall enter and occupy the territory, some trivial contest of neighbors may again array the two governments in antagonism. I therefore recommend the appointment of a commission, to act jointly with one that may be appointed on the part of Great Britain, to determine the line between our territory of Alaska and the coterminous possessions of Great Britain."

By correspondence published in the Canadian Sessional Papers, this recommendation appears to have been inspired by

representations, originating with the government of Canada, and communicated through the British Minister at Washington, as to the desirableness of definitely marking the boundary. No action upon the recommendation was taken; but an estimate then made by United States officials as to the probable cost and duration of the task of surveying and marking the line as laid down in the treaty, placed the cost at about $1,500,000, and the time at nine years for field operations and at least an additional year for office work.

In January, 1886, the Minister of the United States in London, acting under instructions, proposed the appointment of a joint commission, which should designate and establish the boundary line, or else report such *data* as might afford a basis for its establishment by a new treaty. The Dominion Government, to whom this proposal was referred, expressed the opinion that a preliminary survey was "preferable to a formally-constituted joint commission," and suggested that such a survey "would enable the two governments to establish a satisfactory basis for the delimitation of the boundary and demonstrate whether the conditions of the convention of 1825 are applicable to the now more or less known features of the country."

Early in 1888 several informal conferences were held in Washington between Prof. W. H. Dall, of the United States Geological Survey, and Dr. George M. Dawson, of Canada, for the purpose of discussing the boundary and elucidating, so far as the information then in existence enabled them to do, the questions which might be involved in it. The result of these conferences was communicated to Congress.

A further step was taken in the convention between the United States and Great Britain of July 22, 1892, by which it was agreed that a coincident or joint survey should be made "with a view to ascertainment of the facts and *data* necessary to the permanent delimitation of the said boundary line in accordance with the spirit and intent of the existing treaties in regard to it between Great Britain and Russia and between the United States and Russia." The time for the report of the commissioners under this stipulation was extended by the supplemental convention of February 3, 1894, to December 31, 1895. Joint surveys and a joint report were made, but no recommendations as to the boundary.

By the protocol of May, 1898, it was agreed that the joint international commission to be organized thereunder should endeavor to adopt "provisions for the delimitation and establishment of the Alaska-Canadian boundary by legal and scientific experts if the commission shall so decide, or otherwise." Under this clause, it is understood that the commission has failed to reach an agreement, and the question still remains open. It is our purpose to disclose, in general outlines, in what the dispute consists.

By a ukase dated July 8, 1799, the Emperor Paul I., of Russia, having in view the benefits resulting to his empire from the hunting and trading carried on by Russian subjects "in the northeastern seas and along the coasts of America," conceded to the Russian-American Company the right to "have the use of all hunting grounds and establishments now [then] existing on the northeastern (*sic*) coast of America, from the . . . fifty-fifth degree [of north latitude] to Bering Strait," as well as the right "to make new discoveries not only north of the fifty-fifth degree," but farther to the south, and "to occupy the new lands discovered, as Russian possessions," if they were not previously occupied by or dependent upon another nation.

Still further privileges were granted to the Russian-American Company by the famous ukase issued by the Emperor Alexander, September 7, 1821, by which the pursuit of commerce, whaling and fishing, and of all other industry, on all islands, ports and gulfs, "including the whole of the northwest coast of America, beginning from Bering Strait to the fifty-first degree of northern latitude," was exclusively granted to Russian subjects, and foreign vessels, except in case of distress, were forbidden "not only to land on the coasts and islands belonging to Russia, as stated above, but also to approach them within less than 100 Italian miles."

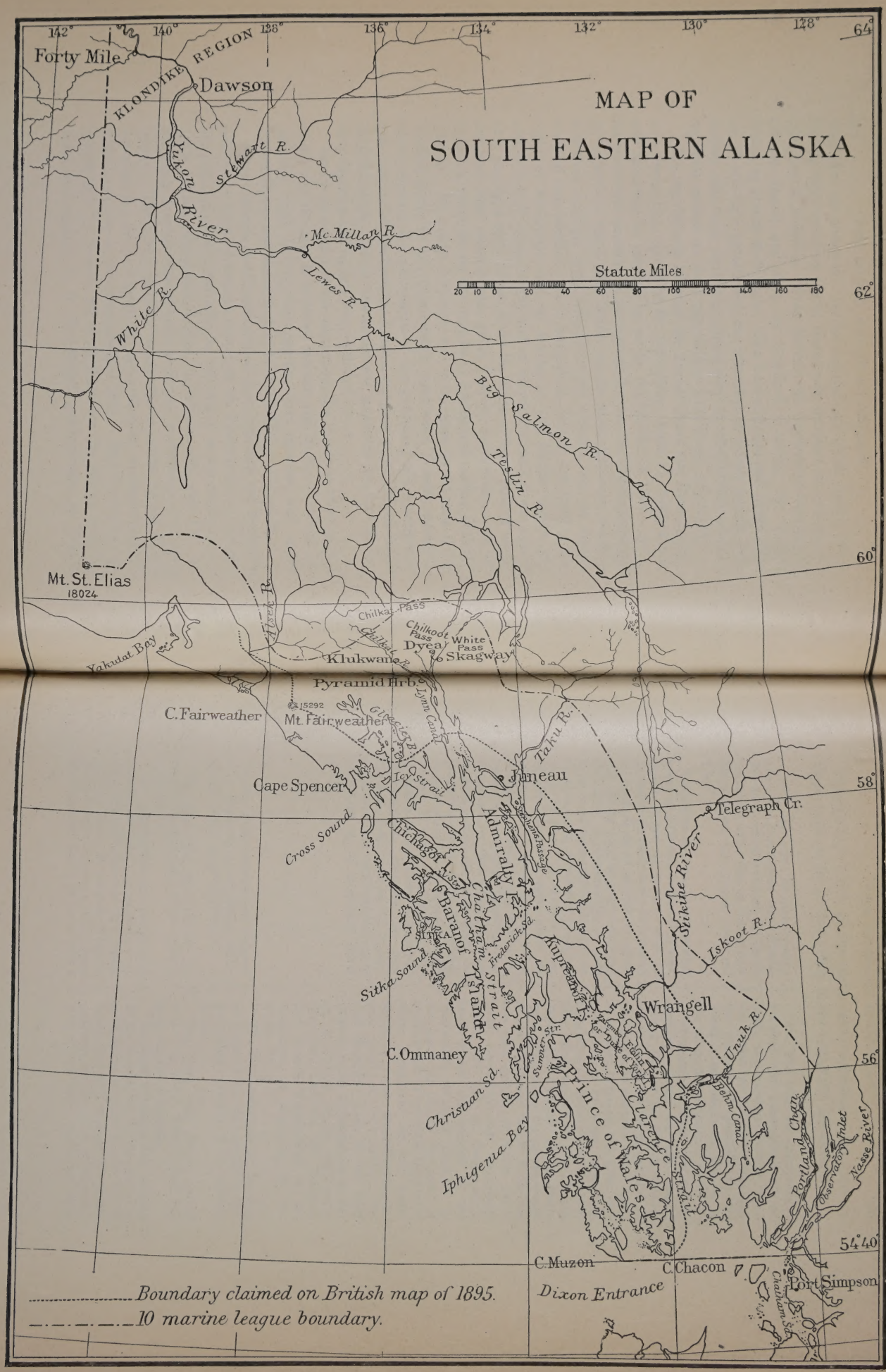
This extension by Russia of her claim of dominion on the northwest coast of America from the fifty-fifth parallel of north latitude down to the fifty-first, coupled with the new claim of exclusive marine jurisdiction of 100 Italian miles along the coast, called forth protests both from the United States and from Great Britain. Both these powers claimed territory north of the fifty-first parallel, as well as the right freely to navigate the ocean and to fish and trade with the natives on unoccupied coasts. Russia met their protests with an offer of negotiation.

This offer was accepted. In the negotiations which ensued, Russia was represented by Count Nesselrode, minister for foreign affairs, and M. Poletica. Great Britain was represented first by Sir Charles Bagot, and then by Stratford Canning; the United States, by Henry Middleton. The United States and Great Britain at one time entertained the intention of acting jointly, but, finding that their territorial claims were to some extent conflicting, they carried on their negotiations with Russia separately.

The negotiations between the United States and Russia ended in a convention, signed at St. Petersburg, April 17, 1824, which will hereafter be referred to as the convention of 1824. As to the territorial question, it was agreed that no establishment should be formed by the United States on the northwest coast *north* of fifty-four degrees, forty minutes north latitude, nor by Russia *south* of that parallel. As to navigation, fishing, and trading, the right of navigation and of fishing in the Pacific Ocean was acknowledged unqualifiedly and in perpetuity; and it was agreed that during a term of ten years the ships of both powers might frequent "the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks upon the coast" in question, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives. No resort, however, was to be made by citizens of the United States to any point where there was a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor; and a reciprocal rule was to be observed by Russian subjects as to United States establishments. From the commerce permitted by the convention, firearms and liquors were excluded.

So far as dominion was concerned, the practical effect of this treaty was to leave it to Great Britain and Russia to divide the territory north of fifty-four degrees forty minutes, and to the United States and Great Britain to divide that to the south.

Great Britain and Russia settled their maritime and territorial differences by a convention signed at St. Petersburg on February 28, 1825, which will hereafter be referred to as the convention of 1825. This convention defines, in Articles III. and IV., the boundary between Alaska and the British possessions as it exists to-day. The treaty of 1867, ceding Alaska to the United States, describes the eastern limits of the cession by incorporating the definition given in the convention of 1825. This convention was signed only in French, which is therefore the official text; but there accompanies it, in the British publications, an English


MAP OF
SOUTH EASTERN ALASKA
Statute Miles
20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160 180
142° 140° 138° 136° 134° 132° 130° 128°
64°
62°
60°
58°
56°
54°40'
Forty Mile
KLONDIKE REGION
Dawson
Yukon River
Stewart R.
McMillan R.
Lewes R.
White R.
Big Salmon R.
Teslin R.
Mt. St. Elias
18024
Alsek R.
Chilkat Pass
Chilkoot Pass
White Pass
Dyea
Skagway
Klukwan
Chilkat R.
Yakutat Bay
Pyramid Hrb.
C. Fairweather
Mt. Fairweather
15292
Glacier B.
Lynn Canal
Juneau
Taku R.
Cape Spencer
Icy Strait
Telegraph Cr.
Cross Sound
Chichagof I.
Admiralty I.
Stikine River
Baranof I.
Sitka
Sitka Sound
Chatham Strait
Frederick Sd.
Kupreanof I.
Iskoot R.
Wrangell
Unuk R.
C. Ommaney
Summer Str.
Christian Sd.
Prince of Wales I.
Clarence Strait
Behm Canal
Portland Chan.
Observatory Inlet
Nasse River
Iphigenia Bay
C. Muzon
C. Chacon
Port Simpson
Chatham Str.
Dixon Entrance
Boundary claimed on British map of 1895.
10 marine league boundary.

"translation," which in the main fairly reproduces the original. These texts, so far as they relate to the boundary, are as follows:

"*III. La ligne de démarcation entre les Possessions des Hautes Parties Contractantes sur la Côte du Continent et les Iles de l'Amérique Nord Ouest, sera tracée ainsi qu' il suit:—*

"*A partir du Point le plus méridional de l'Ile dite Prince of Wales, lequel Point se trouve sous la parallèle du 54me degré 40 minutes de latitude Nord, et entre le 131me et le 133me degré de longitude Ouest (Méridien de Greenwich), la dite ligne remontera au Nord le long de la passe dite Portland Channel, jusqu 'au Point de la terre ferme où elle atteint le 56me degré de latitude Nord: de ce dernier point la ligne de démarcation suivra la crête des montagnes situées parallèlement à la Côte, jusqu 'au point d' intersection du 141me degré de longitude Ouest (même Méridien); et, finalement, du dit point d' intersection, la même ligne méridienne du 141me degré formera, dans son prolongement jusqu'à la mer Glaciale, la limite entre les Possessions Russes et Britanniques sur le Continent de l' Amérique Nord Ouest.*

"*IV. Il est entendu, par rapport à la ligne de démarcation déterminée dans l' Article précédent:*

"1. *Que l'Ile dite Prince of Wales appartiendra toute entière à La Russie:*

"2. *Que partout où la crête des montagnes qui s' étendent dans une direction parallèle à la Côte depuis le 56me degré de latitude Nord au point d' intersection du 141me degré de longitude Ouest, se trouveroit à*

"III. The line of demarcation between the Possessions of the High Contracting Parties upon the Coast of the Continent and the Islands of America to the North-West, shall be drawn in the following manner:

"Commencing from the southernmost point of the Island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, North Latitude, and between the 131st and 133d Degree of West Longitude (Meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the North along the Channel called Portland Channel, as far as the Point of the Continent where it strikes the 56th Degree of North Latitude; from this last mentioned Point the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st Degree of West Longitude (of the same Meridian); and, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said Meridian Line of the 141st Degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British Possessions on the Continent of America to the North West.

"IV. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding Article, it is understood:

"1st. That the Island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

"2d. That wherever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the Coast, from the 56th degree of North Latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of West

la distance de plus de dix lieues marines de l' Océan, la limite entre les Possessions Britanniques et la lisière de Côte mentionnée ci-dessus comme devant appartenir à La Russie, sera formée par une ligne parallèle aux sinuosités de la Côte, et qui ne pourra jamais en être éloignée que de dix lieues marines."

Longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the Ocean, the limit between the British Possessions and the line of Coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the Coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom."

It was further provided (Art. V.) that neither party should form establishments within the limits thus assigned to the other, and, specifically, that British subjects should not form any establishment, "either upon the coast, or upon the border of the continent (*soit sur la côte, soit sur la lisière de terre ferme*) comprised within the limits of the Russian possessions."

As to navigating, fishing, and trading, the convention of 1825 included substantially the same provisions as that of 1824. The right of navigation and of fishing in the Pacific Ocean was acknowledged. For the space of ten years, the ships of the two powers were to be at liberty to frequent "the inland Seas, the Gulfs, Havens, and Creeks on the Coast" in question. Permission to land at points where there were establishments was to be obtained from the governor. Trade with the natives in firearms and liquors was prohibited. Besides these stipulations, it was agreed (Art. VI.) that British subjects, whether arriving from the ocean or from the interior of the continent, should "forever enjoy the right of navigating freely . . . all the rivers and streams which, in their course towards the Pacific Ocean, may cross the line of demarcation upon the line of coast described in Article III. of the present convention;" and that, for the space of ten years, the port of Sitka, or Novo Archangelsk, should be "open to the Commerce and Vessels of British subjects."

An examination of the boundary defined in Articles III. and IV. of the convention of 1825 shows that it is scientifically divisible into two distinct sections, first, the line from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, through Portland Channel and along the summit of the mountains parallel to the coast, to the point of intersection of the 141st meridian of longitude; and, second, the line from this point to the Arctic Ocean. With the latter section, which is merely a meridian line, and as to which

the United States and Canadian surveys exhibit no considerable difference, we are not now concerned. The section as to which material differences have arisen is the first.

The principal differences in this quarter are two in number, first, as to what channel is meant by Portland Channel (sometimes called Portland Canal); and, second, as to what is the extent of the line or strip of coast (*la lisière de côte*) which was assigned to Russia. The latter difference, since it is the more complicated, we will consider first.

As has been seen, the easterly limit of the *lisière*, from the point where the line strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude, was to follow "the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast," except that, where this summit should prove to be more than ten marine leagues, or thirty miles, from the ocean, the limit was to be formed "by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom." On the part of Canada two theories as to this line have been advanced, (1.) that it should follow, not the actual windings (*sinuosités*) but the general trend, of the coast, so as to intersect or cross the headlands of some of the bays and inlets, especially in the Lynn Canal, and give Great Britain one or more ports on tide water; and (2.) that the coast whose windings are to be followed is not the shore of the mainland, but that of the adjacent islands, bordering on the ocean.* The United States, on the other hand, has maintained that the coast whose windings were to be followed was the coast of the mainland, the design of the convention being to give to Russia the control of the whole of the shore of the mainland, and of the islands, bays, gulfs, and inlets, adjacent thereto. In other words, Russia was to have exclusive dominion of tide water and of a continuous strip of territory bordering upon it, while Great Britain was to have the interior country, with a right of free navigation of streams crossing the Russian territory on their way to the sea.

That this was the design of the convention may be shown, first, by the record of its negotiation.

The principal object on the part of Great Britain was to obtain the withdrawal by Russia of the claim made in the ukase of

* On the sketch map accompanying this article, the Canadian claim is given as shown on the "Map of the Province of British Columbia, compiled by direction of Hon. G. B. Martin, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Victoria, B. C., 1895." This claim would give Dyea, Skaguay, Pyramid Harbor, and various other points, and a long stretch of tidewater, to Canada.

1821 to exclusive jurisdiction over the Pacific Ocean, a claim which involved the right to navigate a vast extent of ocean and, incidentally, the right of passage from the Pacific to the Arctic Ocean through Bering Straits. "It is *not* on our part," declared George Canning, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "essentially a negotiation of limits. It is a demand of the repeal of an offensive and unjustifiable arrogation of exclusive jurisdiction over an ocean of unmeasured extent." With a view to facilitate the withdrawal of this pretension, Great Britain proposed a settlement of limits.* The actual geographical features of the territory were, to a great extent, unknown. Vancouver had navigated and charted the coast, but the interior was unexplored. Back from the shore high mountains were visible, and, after the manner of the early geographers, he drew artistic ranges which follow the windings of the coast, making a continuous barrier between the coast of the mainland and the interior country. It was well known, however, to the negotiators of the convention of 1825, that the mountain ranges might be broken, or that, instead of following closely the windings of the coast, they might extend far inland. Instead, therefore, of attending to geographical details, they adopted general rules, which should be applied whenever the line came to be actually marked.

In settling the limits along the coast, the two governments were largely guided by the interests and the representations of certain commercial companies—on the part of Russia, the Russian-American Company, and, on the part of Great Britain, the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies—which hunted and traded with natives for furs. The fur trade was then the principal object of value in the estimation of the worth of the regions in question. The British companies, however, had no establishment on the coast now under consideration. Their operations in that quarter were conducted in the interior, and their furs were sent to England through their own territories, and not across the coast involved in the negotiation.

The first definite proposition as to limits was made by Great Britain to Russia in the autumn of 1823. Sir Charles Bagot, then British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, was instructed to propose a line drawn east and west along the fifty-seventh parallel of north latitude. He went somewhat further, and suggested that Great

*G. Canning to Stratford Canning, December 8, 1824.

Britain would "be satisfied to take Cross Sound, lying about the latitude of fifty-seven degrees thirty minutes, as the boundary between the two powers on the coast; and a meridian line drawn from the head of Lynn Canal, as it is laid down in Arrowsmith's last map, . . . as the boundary in the interior of the continent." This suggestion was not accepted, and subsequently, acting under instructions, he proposed "a line drawn through Chatham Straits to the head of Lynn Canal, thence northwest to the 140th degree of longitude west of Greenwich, and thence along that degree of longitude to the Polar Sea."

The Russian plenipotentiaries rejected this proposal and submitted a counter-project. By the ukase of 1799, the Russian dominion was assumed to extend to the southward as far as the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude. The Russian plenipotentiaries therefore offered to adhere to this limit, with a deflection at the southern extremity of Prince of Wales Island so as to avoid a division of territory, and, for the rest, proposed that the line should "follow Portland Channel up to the mountains which border the coast," thence "ascend along those mountains, parallel to the sinuosities of the coast, as far as the 139th degree of longitude (meridian of London)," and then pursue that meridian indefinitely to the north.

The reasons of the two governments for their respective proposals were fully explained by them. In the early stages of the negotiation the Russian plenipotentiaries intimated that they would require the fifty-fifth degree of latitude as their southern boundary. In his instructions to Sir C. Bagot, of January 15, 1824, Mr. George Canning, adverting to the fact that no limit was suggested by the Russian plenipotentiaries to the eastern extension of the parallel, declared that it was essential to guard against the "unfounded pretensions" of Russia in that direction, and for that purpose, whatever the degree of latitude assumed, to assign a definite meridian of longitude as a limit. The 135th meridian northward from the head of "Lynn's Harbor" might suffice. As to "*the mainland southward* of that point," it would be expedient to assign "a limit, say of 50 or 100 miles from the coast, beyond which the Russian posts should not be extended to the eastward. We must not," he continued, "on any account admit the Russian territory to extend at any point to the Rocky Mountains. By such an admission we should establish a direct

and complete interruption between our territory to the southward of that point and that of which we are in possession to the eastward of longitude 135 degrees along the course of the Mackenzie River."

The Russian plenipotentiaries explained their object with equal clearness. In a memorandum accompanying their counter-proposal they said: "The principal motive which constrains Russia to insist upon sovereignty over the above-indicated strip of territory (*lisière*) upon the mainland (*terre ferme*) from the Portland Channel to the point of intersection of the sixtieth degree [latitude] with the 139th degree of longitude, is that, deprived of this territory, the Russian-American Company would have no means of sustaining its establishments, which would then be without any support (*point d'appui*) and could have no solidity." If Great Britain would accept the line proposed by them, the Russian plenipotentiaries declared that their government would grant to British subjects "the free navigation of all the rivers which empty into the ocean through the said *lisière*," and open the port of Novo Archangelsk to their trade and vessels.

To this counter-proposal Sir C. Bagot objected that it "would deprive His Britannic Majesty of sovereignty over all the inlets and small bays lying between latitudes fifty-six degrees and fifty-four degrees forty-five minutes, whereof several (as there is every reason to believe) communicate directly with the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company and are consequently of essential importance to its commerce." He offered, however, to accept a line traced from the west toward the east "along the middle of the channel which separates Prince of Wales and Duke of York islands from all the islands situated to the north of the said islands until it touches the mainland." Subsequently he modified this offer by proposing that the line be drawn "from the southern extremity of the strait called 'Duke of Clarence's Sound,' through the middle of this strait to the middle of the strait which separates Prince of Wales and Duke of York islands" from the islands to the north, and thence eastwardly to the mainland, thus giving Prince of Wales Island to Russia.

These proposals the Russian plenipotentiaries declined. They declared that "the possession of Prince of Wales Island without a slice (*portion*) of territory upon the coast situated in front of that island could be of no utility whatever to Russia," since any estab-

lishment founded upon it would then "find itself, as it were, flanked by the English establishments on the mainland and completely at the mercy of the latter." They adhered to Portland Channel; but, as to the eastern boundary of the *lisière*, they offered to extend it "along the mountains which follow the sinuosities of the coast as far as Mount Elias," and then to run the line along the 140th meridian of longitude instead of the 139th. Said Count Nesselrode, in an instruction to Count Lieven, Russian Ambassador at London, April 17, 1824:

> "This proposal will assure to us merely a narrow strip of territory (*lisière*) upon the coast itself, and will leave the English establishments all needful room for increase and extension. . . . We limit our demands to a mere strip of the continent, and . . . we guarantee the free navigation of the rivers and announce the opening of the port of Novo Archangelsk. Russia cannot stretch her concessions further. She will make no others. . . . It cannot be reiterated with sufficient positiveness that, according to the most recent charts, England possesses no establishment either up to the latitude of Portland Channel or on the shore of the ocean itself; and Russia, when she insists on preserving a moderate expanse of the mainland (*terre ferme*) only insists in reality upon the means of utilizing—we might better say of not losing—the surrounding islands."

The British cabinet, with the concurrence of the Hudson's Bay Company, decided to accept the Russian proposal, with a limitation of the distance from the coast at which the line along the mountains should run, and the selection of a meridian of longitude north of Mount St. Elias farther to the west than the 140th. In this way Russia would secure her strip of territory on the mainland and Great Britain prevent the intersection of her interior possessions and communications. Great Britain accordingly proposed that the line should ascend northerly along Portland Channel "till it strikes the coast of the continent lying in the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude," and that it should thence be carried "along the coast, in a direction parallel to its windings, and at or within the seaward base of the mountains by which it is bounded," provided that it should not extend more than a certain number of marine leagues inland, whatever the distance of the mountains might be. Experience had shown, said the British Government, that mountains which were assumed as lines of boundary were sometimes incorrectly laid down, and that it was "therefore necessary that some other security should be taken that the line of demarcation to be drawn parallel with the coast, as far as Mount St.

Elias, is not carried too far inland." It might be limited to ten leagues or less.*

The Russian Government, in response to the last British proposition, proposed that the *lisière,* instead of being bounded by the summit of the mountains, except where it exceeded a certain distance from the coast, should "not be wider on the continent than ten marine leagues from the shore of the sea." In other words, Russia wanted either the crest of the mountains, or else a line ten leagues from the coast, as the boundary all the way. Great Britain objected to this as a withdrawal of the limit of the *lisière* which the Russians were themselves the first to propose, viz., "the summit of the mountains which run parallel to the coast, and which appear, according to the map, to follow all its sinuosities, and to substitute generally that which we only suggested as a connection of their first proposition."† Accordingly, Mr. Stratford Canning, who had lately been appointed a plenipotentiary to conclude the convention, proposed that the line should follow "the crest of the mountains, in a direction parallel to the coast," but that, if the crest should be found anywhere to be more than ten leagues from the sea, the boundary should there be "a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast, so that the line of demarcation shall not be anywhere more than ten leagues from the coast."

This proposal was accepted as a compromise, and the treaty was drawn up and signed in conformity with it. Until a recent period the line, as it was then understood by both governments, remained unquestioned. It appeared on all the maps, including those published in England, as the United States now maintains it, following the sinuosities of the coast and running around the heads of the inlets, including the Lynn Canal, and giving to Russia an unbroken strip of the mainland up to Mount St. Elias.

But more significant, perhaps, than any map, is the fact that the greater part of the strip of mainland in question was for many years after 1839 leased, at an annual rental, by the Hudson's Bay

*G. Canning to Sir C. Bagot, July 12, 1824. Were there room for doubt as to what these proposals and counter-proposals meant, it might be worth while specially to note the phase, "seaward base of the mountains," as well as the suggestion made by the British Government that no forts should be established or fortifications erected by either party "on the summit or in the passes of the mountains," in case the boundary should follow their summit and not their seaward base. (G. Canning to Sir C. Bagot, July 24, 1824.) Both these phrases obviously referred to mountains on the mainland.

†G. Canning to S. Canning, December 8, 1824.

Company. The lease embraced the coast (exclusive of islands) and the interior country belonging to Russia, situated between Cape Spencer, on Cross Sound, and latitude fifty-four degrees forty minutes or thereabout, including "the whole mainland coast and interior country belonging to Russia," eastward and southward of an imaginary line drawn from Cape Spencer to Mount Fairweather. By an agreement between the Hudson's Bay and Russian-American companies, which received the sanction of both governments, this strip of territory was exempted from molestation during the Crimean War.*

As to the southern limit of the strip in question, a line through Portland Channel, as now maintained by the United States, continued to be the uncontested boundary till about 1873, when Canadian writers began to suggest that the line should run through Behm Canal, or by some other way than Portland Channel, (1.) because, while the line is required by the treaty to "ascend to the north" from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, it must first run to the east in order to enter Portland Channel, and (2.) because the head of Portland Channel does not reach the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude. These suggestions, besides disregarding the historical and geographical evidence, including that of the British Admiralty charts, presuppose a minuteness and accuracy of description which the negotiators did not essay. When the line, commencing at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, was required to "ascend to the north" till it should strike the fifty-sixth degree on the continent, the general direction and objective of the boundary obviously was intended to be given. This has not been uncommon in descriptions of boundary. An actual due north line from the point in question would have cut the island. Nor is the argument from a hiatus between the head of Portland Channel and the fifty-sixth degree any stronger. The "line," after ascending "Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude," is required from "this last-mentioned point" to follow "the summit of the mountains." If this was in-

*Sir George Simpson, Governor of Hudson's Bay Territory and a director of Hudson's Bay Company, in his account of a trip around the world (Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia, 1847, Part 1, p. 124), referring to the lease said: "Russia, as the reader is of course aware, possesses on the mainland between latitude fifty-four degrees forty minutes and latitude sixty degrees only a strip, never exceeding thirty miles in depth; and this strip, in the absence of such an arrangement as has just been mentioned (the aforesaid lease), renders the interior comparatively useless to England."

tended as a complete description, covering every foot or mile of the boundary, and if the "it" of the treaty was intended to refer to the channel and not to the line, then Portland Channel evidently was supposed to have performed the remarkable feat of climbing to the summit of the mountains. But, obviously, it was the "line" which was to "strike" the fifty-sixth parallel and reach the summit of the mountains.

The drawing of the line through Portland Channel, whose outlet into the sea appeared on the map in the same latitude as the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, was part of the plan of allowing to Russia, in return for her abandonment of abnormal jurisdictional claims and her concessions in respect of trade, a strip of territory on the mainland as a barrier between her islands and the British possessions in the interior. We have seen how the representatives of Great Britain successively proposed as the southern boundary the line of fifty-seven degrees thirty minutes, then a line through "Chatham Straits to the head of Lynn Canal," then a line drawn from west to east "through the middle of the channel which separates the islands of Prince of Wales and Duke of York from all the islands to the north" till it should touch the mainland, and then a line drawn northward through Clarence Strait and thence eastward to the mainland through the strait separating Prince of Wales and Duke of York islands from the islands to the north; and how they finally accepted the line through Portland Channel, on which Russia, for the purpose of preserving for her islands a protective barrier on the coast of the mainland, had firmly and finally insisted.

But, while we have shown how the general principles of the boundary were settled, it yet remains to adjust the line and mark it. For this purpose it is conceded that something more than the general descriptions of the treaty is requisite. To meet this defect, various plans have been suggested, and there may be room for the adjustment of common interests. The discovery of gold in the Klondike region has intensified the desire of Canada for an outlet on Lynn Canal. This desire, if considered upon grounds of mutual interest and convenience, rather than of treaty right, is worthy of attention, since the coast must profit by the development of the interior. It has been suggested that a lease be granted of a narrow strip of land in that quarter, as an outlet on the sea. The same object might, perhaps, be attained by assimilating one

or more of the portages, for instance, that by way of the Chilkoot pass, the principal Klondike route, to a stream of water and treating it as an international highway. By Article II. of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, it was stipulated that "all the water communications and all the usual portages along the line [of boundary] from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, and also Grand Portage, from the shore of Lake Superior to the Pigeon River, as now actually used, shall be free and open to the use of the citizens and subjects of both countries." But, whatever the plan that may be adopted, it is obvious that, if the end can be attained without the sacrifice of clear national rights, the boundary should not be left unsettled, but should, in the interest of trade and industry, of the administration of justice, and of international amity, be finally adjusted and marked.

J. B. MOORE.

SOME SOCIAL TENDENCIES IN AMERICA.

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND H. C. POTTER, D D., BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

THE historian of the future will find an interesting task in tracing, within what has practically been a single century, the rise and growth of two great republics, the French and our own. The former may be said to have been born in 1789, and the latter in 1783; and, though the history of the former was obscured and apparently terminated by the recurrence of periods of imperialism, yet with the year 1848 the republican form of government re-established itself, and with a brief interval, represented by the pyrotechnics of Napoleon the Third, has persisted until this hour.

Such a study would become naturally, first of all, a study of origins; and, from this point of view, its contrasts would be both interesting and dramatic. When one takes the French *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, and puts it beside our own Declaration of Independence, it is, indeed, first of all, the resemblances rather than the contrasts that impress us. The charter of the French Revolution affirmed:

(1.) That all men are born and continue free and equal in rights;

(2.) That Society is an association of men to preserve the natural rights of men;

(3.) That sovereignty resides in the nation, and that all authority, whether vested in an individual or in a body of men, comes expressly from the nation;

(4.) That liberty is the power of doing what we will, so long as it does not injure another; the only limits of each man's natural rights being such as secure the same rights to others; these

limits being determinable only by the law, and not by the "divine rights" of anybody;

(5.) That the law can forbid only such actions as are mischievous to society, and that *quod lex non vetat permittit* (what the law does not forbid, it permits);

(6.) That all citizens have a right to take part through their representatives in the making of the laws;

(7.) That freedom of speech, of writing and printing (save in cases reserved by the law), is one of the most precious rights of man, etc.

Here it will be seen that the French *Déclaration des Droits* was much more explicit than our own, but, equally, that our Declaration, by its forms of protest, carried with it the same claims, the same original conceptions of the rights of a citizen, and the same distinct repudiations of those older forms of government which were absolutist, paternal, or monarchical in their character.

And yet, if one had gone to Paris, and thence to Boston or Philadelphia, toward the close of the last century, he could not easily have found more marked contrasts than these communities, on different sides of the Atlantic, presented. The early Puritanism of New England, the Reformation spirit as it came from Holland to New York, and the earlier Quakerism of Philadelphia had, indeed, already begun to experience the effects of those modifying influences which, since then, have so largely obliterated many of their most distinctive characteristics; but, in each case, the ideas of the fathers survived, and the earlier traditions and manners widely ruled. Nothing more unlike them, whether in the city of Penn or in the city of Cotton Mather, could easily have been found than the beliefs, the traditions, the license of that gay Parisian capital, which, since then, has had so much to do with forming the manners and modifying the social and moral standards of the rest of the civilized world. The French people demanded a republic as the one form of relief from the wanton wastefulness, the personal corruptness, the cruel exactions of princes, nobles and ecclesiastics, whose lives were even a greater offence than their feudal claims and their aristocratic indifference. The Americans demanded a republic, though from the beginning they had known nothing else than the most severe colonial simplicity, and though, with many of them, the contention was rather for a principle than for the transformation of a condition.

In France, there were great social extremes, great prodigality and luxury on the one hand, and great poverty and hardship on the other. In America, there was neither extreme luxury nor extreme want, neither great wealth nor great poverty. And while in France there was the heroism of a fine indifference to suffering, if it could purchase freedom, in America there was something more and higher, in those great moral aspirations which were more concerned with a great opportunity for the realization of a lofty ideal of government and citizenship, than with any mere impatience of the intolerable character of existing conditions.

As one saw them then, the situations seemed to be so unlike, that any considerable resemblance in their history and development appeared to be altogether improbable.

And yet, as a matter of fact, as one looks to-day at France and America, unlike as they are in so many of their national characteristics, the tendencies which have in them elements that are mischievous and alarming are substantially the same. I shall not attempt to trace them in the history of our sister Republic; it will be sufficient for my present purpose if we take some note of them in our own.

I. First among them, I would name what I may call the gradual alteration of the standard of values. A clever foreigner not long ago remarked, after discussing our national incertitude as to a permanent standard in the matter of commercial exchanges, that it seemed to him an image of something that underran our whole theory of life and modes of conduct. "In other words," he observed, "I find among different classes and sections such varying measurements of what, for instance, is personal excellence. Among educated and civilized peoples, ordinarily, there is a very strong conception of what is national, personal, social justice and honor; but in America this conception seems to me a shifting quantity, having one character and certain definite elements in one community or individual, and in others quite another." The criticism has in it, undoubtedly, the note of exaggeration which is usually characteristic of the judgment of foreigners; but it is certainly worth while to ask whether there is not enough of truth in it to furnish food for serious reflection. It cannot be denied that the earlier pages of the history of the Republic were disfigured by greed, unscrupulousness and chicanery, both in public and private life, and I have no mind to chal-

lenge the statement of the writer who, in the pages of an English periodical, not long ago, recalled how, on one occasion in our early history, "Gouverneur Morris was sitting over the polished mahogany at Bedford with John Jay, when he suddenly ejaculated, through clouds of smoke: 'Jay, what a set of d——d scoundrels we had in that Second Congress!' 'Yes,' said Jay, 'that we had,' and he knocked the ashes from his pipe."

But I am very confident that no one who knows our earlier American history will pretend that such a tone or such incidents were generally descriptive of it. It may indeed be urged that the conditions in those earlier days were different, and they were. Society was more homogeneous then; and the competitions of life were certainly not so sharp and strenuous as they are to-day. But the very fact that to-day we are wont to speak of a certain type of business or professional man as almost an extinct species, has in it a significance of which we cannot afford to lose sight. What was that type? It was that of one to whom a nice sense of integrity, a fine scruple in a business or professional transaction was so instinctive a thing, that it would not have been possible to conceive of the individual without it. But it must be owned, I think, that to-day that type of man is ordinarily referred to as slow, antiquated, a "back number," or by some other more or less polite periphrasis by which we indicate a certain remoteness and inadequacy, so far as the tasks and transactions of our modern life are concerned. We are all, theoretically, in favor of honest dealing and a nice scruple; but, in the enterprises which make our most conspicuous successes, in the financial schemes that illustrate our cleverest achievements, what we look for is not so much these, as that adroitness that takes advantage of an opportunity, and that shrewd far-reaching which, if it be not overreaching, consists, often, largely in taking advantage of another's ignorance. In the great industrial and financial combinations which are the especial feature of our day, it must be admitted that it is the gain of a few, and not the equities of the many, which are chiefly kept in view.

And so it is in connection with the public service, and the qualities which may justly be demanded of those who are appointed to it. It must be owned that in our political history the standard, here, has not from the beginning been fixed in accordance with the highest conception of those standards; and this,

since we know what were the standards of the mother country when the Republic came into existence, is not surprising. In an admirable paper on "Imperialism and the Civil Service,"* Professor G. E. Howard has lately pointed out how slowly, in connection with the acquisition of her colonial possessions, England ascended to the idea of an honest and competent civil service. But it is to be remembered that England had had no such object-lessons as we have had from the beginning, in connection with a system which, with the recurrence of every presidential election, has practically made of every office in the land a spoil. That our doctrine that "to the victor belong the spoils" has given us neither capability nor efficiency, and that its glaring defects have been before our eyes for more than a hundred years, ought, one would think, to be a reason for admitting that a better and a purer system is indispensable in the interests of public business and of the public integrity. It is doubtless true that the enemies of Civil Service reform are in the minority, or else we should not have secured so much of it from Congress as we have already obtained. But that the public sentiment in the matter is a strong and resolute one, that attacks upon the principles and the administration of Civil Service reform are likely to awaken, as they ought to awaken, wide-spread resentment and resistance, this is so little evident that those attacks do not cease, and that, even in very high places, they have lately had the encouragement of a quasi-endorsement if not approval.

It is the existence of facts such as these that, in connection with an estimate of our present social tendencies may well give us pause. Society, if it is to be something more than a breed of predatory animals preying upon one another, must be based upon certain established principles of mutual honesty; and if a people whose boast is their progress along the pathways of a higher civilization expect to vindicate that claim, it must be by demonstrating that, in their dealings with one another and the world, they are dominated by a sentiment of incorruptible integrity.

II. But, to advance a step higher, what shall we say of those social relations which, as compared with those of business and the state, are so much closer and more intimate? There is one of these which, in one sense, stands at the centre of our whole so-

* *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1899. pp. 240-250.

cial system, and which has, in the progress of human society out of the brutalities of its lower barbarisms, been its distinguishing note. I mean the institution of marriage. Some recent features of our social history may well awaken in even the most unreflecting among us, in this connection, profound anxiety; and, if they do not, sooner or later, bring to pass throughout the land some strenuous movement of legal and moral reform, are surely prophetic of the most deplorable consequences.

For, when we come to trace the rise of great peoples, we are constrained to recognize that marriage, its sanctity, its indissolubility, its very intimate and sacred relations to that oldest and most sacred institution, the family, is one of the earliest concerns of the moral teacher and of the law-making power. If we go back in this matter to the history of beginnings, we at once discover, in the story of the Roman Empire, how soon, in contrast with those merely tribal associations of Greece and India, and other relatively more advanced peoples, the idea of the family, the laws of its constitution, the guardianship of its traditions, the maintenance of its rights, grew up; and how closely all these were connected with, and, indeed, sprang from, the idea of the sacredness of marriage, the sanctity of which in later ages, and in Christian communities as a Sacrament, found its prototype in that striking religious ceremony in which, before ten witnesses (wise provision, which our modern law might wisely imitate!) an ox was sacrificed, and a wheaten cake broken and divided between the spouses by the priest. Under these provisions, also, the consent of the *paterfamilias* was essential, and the restrictions as to age, relationship by consanguinity, etc., were substantially those which have prevailed in modern Europe and in our own country.

Of course, when the time came that the regulation of the marriage relation was taken over by the Church, the beginning was made in that series of restrictions which, in time, precipitated the revolt whose consequences we are experiencing to-day. It was inevitable that, when the powers of the Church and the State ceased to be identical, and when communities came into being in which ecclesiastical authority, outside of the immediate fellowship that recognized it, was practically disowned, there should be great reaction. The Church had often used its power in connection with marriage in ways that were gravely open to suspicion; and its stern front to the weak and poor, and its easy

compliance in the case of the rich and powerful, were not the least among potential influences in producing the revolt, both from monarchical and ecclesiastical authority.

Out of such a condition of things came, inevitably, and by steps which I need not trace here, the condition of things which we find in this land to-day. Marriage was practically taken out of the custody of the Church, and made altogether an affair of the State. Ministers of religion might, as they may, solemnize marriages, but practically in a quasi-magisterial relation to the transaction, rather than any other. Worst of all, as we are now slowly coming to realize, in a Republic whether of thirteen or three times as many States, each State might make its own marriage laws, and the contract according to any one of them was valid anywhere in the land. And so, in the forty-five States of this Union, there are almost as wide diversities in the matter of marriage laws, as there are of climate, color, or local tradition.

Nor is this all. The revolt from ecclesiasticism carried with it many of those conditions precedent in the case of marriage, which experience has shown to be among its wisest safeguards. Thoughtful people to-day throughout the land are shocked and dismayed by the reckless and dissolute precipitance with which the marriage tie is broken, and with which unscrupulous people conspire to rid themselves of its obligations to one person, in order that they may flippantly assume them towards another. But what was to be expected in a relation which the law, in some of the oldest and most conservative communities, enables people to create without either circumspection, publicity, or deliberation? The old ecclesiastical provision, still existing in other countries, which requires publication in Church, or otherwise, of the intention of marriage, is widely scouted by us as intolerable tyranny and impertinence. And yet, upon even the lowest view of it, marriage is something in which not those alone who contract it are concerned. The State, human society, the community of whatever description, have a large stake in the marriage of individuals; for such a contract implies, according to the law of nature, burdens in which all must directly or indirectly share, and the possible perpetuation of evils from which all must more or less really suffer. We approach here, I recognize, a line where the question passes over into the domain of what we are wont to define as that of those larger rights and larger freedoms which

no law may equitably invade. But the question which, in the United States, demands our urgent consideration to-day is the question, whether our concessions to freedom have not already been concessions which threaten primary moral sanctions and the whole social fabric. To endure a condition of things such as exists among us, where that which, within one geographical area, law and public sentiment both declare to be wrong, becomes right the moment one has crossed a territorial line a few miles away; to recognize divorces, and marriages subsequent to them, which have in them no other element than the loosest license, and the most wanton self-will; this is to tolerate a situation which, sooner or later, threatens all social or moral sanctions, and condemns a people which accepts it to that reversion to primitive type that would land us at last in barbarism.

It is a matter for profound thankfulness that there has been, of late, on this subject, a wide awakening of the public conscience. It is true, I presume, that the time for the ideal remedy, at least in one direction, for our present situation, is not yet ripe. That would be a uniform divorce law throughout the land. But we may at least begin, in the several commonwealths, some organized movement for strengthening our defences against reckless and imprudent marriage. In some of our oldest states, such, for instance, as New York, the present law is, in this respect, most defective. Persons desiring to be married may come from anywhere, accompanied by anybody and often by nobody, without previous notice, published proclamation, or warning of any kind; and without any license from State, city, or court, may demand marriage of magistrate, or minister of religion, and be married by him solely upon his own discretion. He is in all cases to be the judge of their legal or moral competency to contract marriage, of their previous condition, unmarried, widowed or divorced, and of every other question which so great a step involves. And yet, when these persons are married, when the wife has borne children, and when the husband has abandoned them, the State must interfere to protect the mother and to support the children! It is difficult to conceive of a situation which, under the most solemn sanctions of law, and often of religion, could be more deplorable.

Let it not be supposed, however, that in this matter, or in any other, in connection with our present social tendencies, of which I have spoken thus far, I am building greatly upon the

law. A great authority has reminded us that the law was made "not for a righteous man but for the disobedient,"* a barbed wire fence, as it were, coming against which he is to find that he is a creature living within fixed restrictions, whose unyielding limitations, and not his own wayward will, are to be the boundaries of his liberty. But as, to follow the same homely figure, reason, intelligence, an awakened moral sense, the power of fixed habits on the side of good conduct, are better guides to life than a barbed wire fence, so society may wisely recognize that more potent than laws, whether of the Church or of the State, with reference to any social evil among us, is that nurture of the individual which determines in him, at length, those higher motives and judgments of life, in all its various relations, which are to make of that life something worthy of its origin and its powers.

And so this discussion leads us finally to the question, What is that institution and order which has in it the forces most competent to contribute to that end? To that question I answer, that institution which in human history is the oldest and most nearly universal, the family. We take it up in its earliest and most primitive forms, and we find in it the first dawnings of a regulated and organized life resting, for its foundation, upon authority. That first step which takes a group of people out of a condition of utter lawlessness, is the investing of the parent with the right to rule. Crude impulse, unbridled passion, ignorant prepossessions, these must give way in every direction to that wiser judgment, knowledge, foresight, which are the fruit of years and experience, and which are the reasonable grounds of the authority of a parent. And as we go forward from the least civilized beginnings to the highest developments of human society, it is impossible to miss the profound significance of this fact. There is one race in the world to-day which, in the face of disabilities, persecutions, ostracisms of the most persistent and implacable nature, has for thousands of years illustrated this fact in a very remarkable way. The Hebrew has, of all other peoples, clung to a high ideal of the family life, its affections, its mutual loyalties, and above all its submission to parental authority. And, whatever other traits may explain the remarkable triumphs of this people over obstacles, this must be owned to be pre-eminent among them.

*St. Paul, 1st Epistle to Timothy, I., 9.

I do not forget that it has been urged that it has been the transplantation of the Hebraic idea of the family to our shores, and its illustration, to look no farther, in our own earlier history, which largely explain the situation confronting us to-day. The earlier homes of our fathers, especially in New England, it will be said, were largely dominated by the Hebraic note. Paternal authority was absolute; filial obedience was, or was expected to be, unquestioning; and it may not unnaturally be urged that the present reaction, in many aspects of the large domain of morals, is the result. But even if this were more than partially true, it would prove no more than that an exaggeration in one direction had produced its inevitable reaction in another, and that the extremes of that reaction are less excusable than the austerities that provoked them.

For, as a matter of fact, that melancholy disintegration of family life which it must frankly be owned is a characteristic of our modern society, is, quite as often as otherwise, to be found where there is no such explanation to account for it. For myself, I believe it to be the product of that enormous exaggeration of individualism of which our own century has seen the development, and which has brought with it in its train a whole host of evils. The struggle for freedom has issued, in more than one direction, in the triumph of license; free thought has been translated to mean free love; and the restraints of august and eternal sanctions have, under the pretext of the rights of the individual, been thrown down and trampled under foot. One illustration of this will be sufficient for my purpose, and it has at least this advantage, that it is pertinent pre-eminently to the sanctity and perpetuity of the family. One of the large movements in the direction of individual rights which have occurred in our day is that in behalf of the rights of woman. Her condition has been described as one of defenceless servitude, and the laws of several of our American commonwealths have undergone considerable modifications in the direction of her personal independence, and of a more equitable definition of her rights in the matter of her person, property, the custody of her children, etc. Along with this, there has gone also what one can only regard, on the whole, with sympathy and approval, a very considerable widening of her opportunities for independent maintenance. The large excess of single women necessarily dependent upon their own resources,

in countries like England and our own, where men are being constantly withdrawn from the mother country to the colonies, or from the older to the newer portions of the Republic, has made it necessary that avenues of employment for women should be opened in directions wholly unprecedented. It is of this state of things, especially in cities, that we are just beginning to see the consequences. The independent single woman, with her own *ménage*, however simple and microscopic, mistress of herself and of her time when the task hours of the day are done, and of her own person all the time, presents a tempting contrast to her married sister, weighted with cares of little children, with impaired health, narrow means, and, it may be, a selfish and brutal husband. Under the unnameable conditions of our modern life, indeed, the children may often be absent; but, in such a case, the situation is not greatly changed, and the modern wife, without domestic occupation sufficient to keep her happily employed, falls a prey to false teachers and foolish dreamers, who are continually finding some better order on which to rest the foundations of human society than that on which the Originating Mind has rested it. "For God setteth the solitary in families," and it is at our peril that we tamper with His Divine Order!

And so, a wise foresight will see that he is the truest friend of the Republic who strives to re-build the Home and re-create the Family. In this connection, it would be worth while for some one to gather and tabulate for us our American statistics of hotel life. The proportion of married people who, in cities and towns, live in hotels is coming to be one of the most curious and grave phenomena of our modern civilization. The proportion of such persons who have no children or whose children are in schools or seminaries, would also be an interesting statistic; and the plea, in such cases, that the city is no place for children—as if any mere hygienic conditions could supply the place of home love and training—would bring us face to face with the most pathetic revelation of all.

For, straightway, in such a case there must needs arise in the memory of any thoughtful person a home which he has known, and of which, it may be, it was his high privilege once to be an inmate. In such a home the family circle, which in our modern life exists, so far as it survives at all, in the attenuated dimensions of the breakfast table, to which its members, if they come at all,

come in ragged and disjointed order, the other meals being eaten down town, at the Club, as guests at somebody else's table, at restaurants, and the like; in such a home, I say, the daily order was a daily privilege, and the family gathering in the evening a daily refreshment. Age and youth, in such companionships, daily touched each other in mutually helpful and inspiring ways. Fatherhood was wisdom, gentleness, counsel, sympathy. The boy's tasks and books were the counters through which the common knowledge and interest were exchanged; the girl's dainty needlework the first expression of artistic taste, which a mother's reading, travel, social intercourse, gilded with the fine charm of a wider horizon; the thought for others; the consideration for helplessness; the homage to age; the gentle breeding, in one word, that makes fine manners because its fruit is a sensitive respect for what is due to others rather than a brusque determination to exact what is due to ourselves, these it was that made in such a home a centre of reverence and loyalty to all that was pure and good, to all that was just and tender. And this because to such the home was not a tavern but a sanctuary, not a lodging house, but a haven of rest and strength. The passion for freedom was forever subordinated to the sense of duty, and the yoke of authority was forever transformed by the touch of love.

And so we Americans may well see our calling to-day. That brilliant people to whom I began by referring have no word in their vocabulary for *home*, and their tragic history is the monumental illustration of the absence of that training and nurture for which, in its highest aspect, the home stands. As one of their own prophets has lately said, "The children are the principal victims of the French home system. It would seem that our homes are really organized for strangers more than ourselves. This must be changed. Our course of action must be reversed. Private life is an unrecognized but formidable power; *no social recovery is possible unless this be recognized.*"* I italicize these last words, for they are the key to reform in our whole social structure. Wherever we end, we must begin with the home. Our own history has given to us, here, a high and noble ideal. The question for us is, Can we re-produce it?

HENRY C. POTTER.

*"Anglo-Saxon Superiority," Edmond Demolius, p. 196.

A TRAINED COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE.

BY EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN YALE UNIVERSITY.

Our previous annexations of territory, with the possible exception of Alaska, have never involved questions of administration essentially different from those with which our public men have been familiar; for, from the first settlement of the colonies, the occupation of new land and the organization of new communities have been the special task and most noteworthy achievement of the American people. Acquisitions, like the Louisiana and Mexican cessions, merely afforded room for the natural overflow of our people, and the new possessions soon became more distinctively American than the mother States. The wonderful results of this spontaneous process are accepted by too many of our people as a demonstration that we can cope equally well with the extremely difficult and complicated task of governing large masses of alien and unwilling subjects. Yet, a moment's reflection must show everyone that the simple form of growth which has expanded the United States from the Alleghanies to the Pacific, cannot be extended to our recent acquisitions.

Neither Cuba nor Porto Rico is likely ever to be populated by English-speaking Americans. Our ideas, no doubt, will pervade these islands to some extent, but that their civilization will cease to be Spanish is highly improbable. Their inhabitants are a civilized people, heirs, like ourselves, of a European culture, possessing a noble language, a splendid literature, and a highly developed jurisprudence. This inheritance they will never voluntarily give up, nor can they be forced to sacrifice it without tyrannical oppression. Those who think differently should study the case of French Canada, or, even better, the case of Louisiana.

It would have been natural to expect, in 1803, that the inflowing tide of American immigration would soon absorb or overwhelm the scattered little settlements of French creoles, numbering in all, masters and slaves, within the bounds of the present State of Louisiana, not more than thirty thousand. On the contrary, French life and manners still survive, the civil law has never been displaced by the English common law, and after nearly a century, over one-sixth of the native whites of the State cannot speak the English language. In view of this experience how remote is the possibility that the dense population of Porto Rico will ever lose its Spanish character?

Turning to the Philippines we find a task still more widely different from any that we have ever undertaken, and far more complicated. This archipelago is nothing less than an ethnological museum. Its population of six or seven millions ranges from the Negrito headhunters to the civilized Tagals and Visayas, who had a written language before the Spaniards came among them, to say nothing of the Chinese, the Chinese-Malay and Spanish-Malay mixtures who constitute the enterprising element in the towns. Furthermore, although hitherto beyond our horizon, these islands are not in a remote corner of the earth like Alaska, where failure would be hidden or unnoticed, but they lie at the very meeting place of nations, and all that we do there will be under a white light of publicity. The most energetic and ambitious powers of Europe will be our neighbors and critics.

To expect that the problem of the Philippines or of Cuba and Porto Rico can be dealt with by our ordinary methods of administration and of appointment to office is to live in a fool's paradise. Only a blind national pride can believe for a moment that the average American politician or office seeker can deal with the situation any better than the Spanish political heelers have done. In fact, the American with his ignorance of the language and customs and his contempt for "dagoes" and "niggers" will be even less qualified for the task. A repetition in the West Indies of the mistake of Jefferson, who committed the French and Spanish population of Louisiana to the government of Claiborne and Wilkinson, men grossly ignorant of their language, customs, institutions, and history, will make our rule less tolerable than that of Spain. A repetition in the Philippines of the government of Alaska or South Carolina thirty years ago, would be a world-

wide scandal, and bring more disgrace on the American name than all the fraud, stealing and murder of the entire Reconstruction period.

As a civilized, progressive, and conscientious people, we must either not attempt the work which has fallen upon our hands, or we must entrust it to the best administrative ability that the country possesses, to men not inferior in natural powers and special training to our leading army and navy officers, who will, like these officers, enjoy permanence of tenure, the social distinction of an honored profession, and the privilege of retiring after their term of service on an allowance adequate to their comfortable support.

The nucleus for such a body of officials will naturally be found in the regular army, and for the transition work of establishing order and restoring confidence they are fitted by their professional experience and discipline. But a permanent military government is alien to our ideas and should be established only as a final resort. The education of a soldier does not prepare him for civil administration. The military mind is arbitrary and unconciliatory; it is disposed to crush rather than to win; it holds life cheap. In brief, its ideals and standards are those engendered by war and its necessities.

What, then, should be the nature of the special training required of candidates for administrative positions in our dependencies? In thoroughness and extent, it should not be less than that demanded of our own lawyers and physicians. This means two or three years of distinctively professional training resting on the solid foundation of a regular course of study in a college or scientific school. Starting from the same general level of preparation as the student of law or medicine, the colonial civil service candidate should devote himself to the following groups of studies: Geography and Ethnology, History, Economics and Law, Languages, Religions, and Folk Psychology.

The work in geography should cover the physical features, climate, plants, and economic resources of our dependencies, and the principles of tropical hygiene. Under the head of ethnology, the elements of the comparative study of the races of man would be followed by a more thorough examination of the peoples of Eastern Asia and Polynesia. The next group would deal with the history of the relations of Europeans with the East, and, in

particular, with the history of the colonial systems of England, France, Holland, and Spain; with the tariffs and financial systems; and, finally, with the principles of administration, including the study of the civil law as developed in the Spanish codes, Mohammedan law, and the legal customs of the native tribes. Between customs and religions the dividing line is really invisible, and this branch of the work may just as well be included under the general head of Folk Psychology. By this somewhat unfamiliar name we mean the study of the outfit of ideas, moral, religious, social, and philosophical, which any well differentiated human group inherits from its ancestors and passes over to its posterity. Into this mental world in which they live he must enter who wishes to stand on common ground with any alien race. In no other way can suspicion and hatred be made to give place to sympathy and confidence. The entrance to this strange world, vastly more remote and inaccessible to the average man than the Philippines is to be found only through the study of language and with the help of a trained scientific imagination. Translations and interpreters, at the best, leave one still outside and merely peering in through a dense and highly refracting medium.

Does all this seem impracticable and Utopian? In proportion as it does, the reader may be sure that he falls short of realizing what we have really undertaken to do. It is no more than England, Holland, France, and Germany are doing for their colonial and diplomatic service. If we do less, we shall take heavy risks that European colonial authorities will have the same contempt for our management that we now have for Spain's. Mr. John Foreman, after an experience in Spain and the Philippines of nearly a quarter of a century, writes: "Of the hundreds of officials that I have known, not one had the most elementary notions of Tagalog or Visaya (the native languages of the Philippine Islands), at the time of their appointment, and not one in fifty took the trouble to learn either language afterwards." In not one of the Spanish Universities is there taught a modern Oriental language, except Arabic, nor was there last year a single chair devoted to colonial problems, nor in the university of Manila was there any opportunity to study the languages and customs of the Philippines. The civil service in the Spanish colonies, like that of the mother country, has been purely a spoils system. No examinations of any kind have been required. Offices have been the re-

ward of fidelity to the political "*caciques*" (bosses), and the dangers and discomforts of colonial service have been compensated for by the abundant opportunities for "*chocolate*" (boodle). Not least among the causes of the final collapse of Spain's colonial power has been the blight of spoils.

In marked contrast to Spain stands little Holland, with substantially the same problems in the East. Whatever have been the dark sides of the Dutch colonial system, incapacity and venality have not been among them. For the last fifty years, the Dutch Government has required a definite standard of proficiency for the various grades of the colonial service, to be proved by passing the colonial service examinations or by the attainment of a degree in law. The candidate for the colonial service finds in Holland extensive provision for his instruction. At the university of Leiden there are professors of colonial and Mohammedan law, the Japanese and Chinese languages, of Ethnography, and lecturers on the Sunda languages, on Malayan, Persian and Turkish, on Mohammedan civilization and religious history. Designed especially for training men for the colonial service is the *Indisches Institut* at Delft, where there are courses in the administrative and constitutional law of the Netherlands, Indies, the Malayan and Sunda languages, Japanese, ethnology, geography, religious legislation and customary law, the law and institutions of the Dutch Indies, and the Bata, Bali, and Madura languages. This systematic training has borne abundant fruit in the indefatigable activity of the Dutch officials, travellers, and scientific men in the collection of material and the diffusion of knowledge relating to every aspect of their colonial domain, to an extent of which the average American can have no idea. In 1895 a clerk in the Dutch Colonial office published a bibliography of the literature of the Netherlands East Indies, covering only the twenty-seven years, 1866-1893. This simple list of titles and references fills four hundred octavo pages.

Turning to England, France, or Germany, we find, as we might expect, a highly trained colonial service, and university courses of study designed to supply such a training. At Oxford, there are teachers of Hindustani, Persian, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Bengalese, Turkish, and Chinese, Indian law and Indian history. In Cambridge, nine courses of a practical character are provided for the candidates for the Indian civil service. In London, Univer-

sity College has professors and lecturers on Arabic, Persian, Pali, Hindustani, Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu, and Indian law. Still further provision is made by King's College joining with University in establishing a separate school of modern oriental languages in which instruction is given in Burmese, Arabic, Japanese, modern Greek, Chinese, Persian, Russian, Turkish, Armenian, and Swahili. Candidates for the Indian service in their final examination must be examined in the Indian Penal Code, the language of the province in which they seek appointment, the Indian Evidence Act and the Indian Contract Act, and in any two of the following: Civil procedure, Hindu and Mohammedan law, Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, and the history of India.

France is not behind England in the effort to obtain highly qualified men to take up the responsibilities of administration in Africa and Asia. In Paris the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, founded twenty-five years ago, is designed especially to prepare students for foreign diplomatic service. Its corps of teachers is recruited from the most eminent scholars in France within and without the regular faculties, and the courses embrace administrative law, political economy, finance, commercial geography, commercial law, history and modern languages. On "colonial questions" alone there are six lecturers. Side by side with this school of politics is the school of modern oriental languages, a list of whose graduates is annually communicated to the ministers of war, marine, commerce, and foreign affairs. In this institution the course of study extends over three years, and instruction is provided in Arabic, written and colloquial, Persian, Russian, Turkish, Armenian, modern Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Hindustani, Roumanian, Annamese, Malayan, and Malagasy, in the geography, history and legislation of the Far East and of the Mohammedan countries.

Germany, although a late competitor in the field of colonial and commercial expansion, has realized as fully as England and France the importance of trained men in the public service, and the seminary for the study of modern oriental languages at Berlin is one of the most systematically equipped in the world. The teaching force is made up both of Germans and of Orientals, who teach their native tongues, and includes instructors in Arabic (2), Chinese (2), Japanese (2), Gujarati, Persian, Hindustani, Syrian Arabic, Maroccan Arabic, Egyptian Arabic, Turkish (2), Swahili

(2), Hausa (2), Russian, and modern Greek, in the technique of the natural sciences, the hygiene of the tropics, and tropical botany. The unequalled opportunities in both Berlin and Paris for studying anthropology, ethnology, comparative religions, and all branches of geographical science need not be set forth here.

This brief review of what Holland, England, France, and Germany are doing to obtain trained men for the diplomatic and colonial service, cannot fail to impress every thinking reader with the simple fact that we have entered the race for the control and development of the East far behind our rivals and critics in preparation for the work. Vastly superior to Spain in wealth and energy and progressiveness of spirit, and actuated in some measure by philanthropic impulses, we take up our task under a fearful handicap. We lack not only trained men, but the belief that training is necessary. The most ominous feature of the situation is that the controlling element among the advocates of expansion look upon a trained civil service with hostility and contempt. Yet, if our colonial service is sacrificed to party interests as spoils, nothing can be more certain than that we shall take up Spain's work with her methods, and that with such discredited methods we shall fall far short in our colonial administration of the disciplined and intelligent efficiency of the English and Dutch services. The consequence will be humiliation for ourselves and irritation and discontent among our dependents.

Yet, supposing that the seriousness and perplexity of the problems of government in our new dependencies should convince our authorities of the need of highly trained men, where can they be found? Pending the organization of a regular system of preparation, the first resort should be to men of successful diplomatic experience in Spanish speaking countries and in the Orient. A knowledge of Spanish should be insisted upon at the earliest practicable moment for every official in the West Indies and the Philippines. The events of the last year have already given such an impulse to the study of Spanish at our colleges, that before long this requirement will be as practicable as it is reasonable.* For service in the Philippines a certain number of men of the highest character and thorough knowledge, and familiar with oriental life and thought, could be recruited from the ranks of our missionaries in Asia. Suitable instruction for candidates for a colonial

*At Harvard, this year, the course in elementary Spanish was chosen by over 150 as compared with 65 last year.

service in such subjects as oriental history, colonial problems, administrative law, civil law, comparative religions, ethnology, anthropology, and Folk Psychology could be supplied to-day in no small degree at five of our universities—Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania, and Chicago. The facilities at these institutions and at others would be enlarged and adjusted in prompt response to a specific demand. In fact, in a suprisingly short time it would be entirely practicable for our Government to have as candidates for appointment for the colonial service, men as thoroughly equipped for intelligent and efficient administration as those at the disposal of England, France, Holland, and Germany. As I have just said, the most serious difficulty will not be to get the right kind of men, but to educate public opinion to demand trained men for such work. This will require resolute, persistent, and intelligent agitation, and the energetic diffusion of knowledge in regard to the nature of our task and the ways of dealing with it. In this direction a good beginning has already been made, in the dispatch of the Philippine Commission, and in the appointment of committees by the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association to collect information and report at the next meeting of these bodies. In the report of the Historical Association, we may look for a clear account of the systems of colonial administration employed by England and the Continental powers, and the methods of recruiting the civil service, and in the report of the Economic Association, for a similar review of the commercial and tariff policies of these powers in regard to their dependencies. Much may be hoped from both these committees in the way of extending our knowledge of every phase of the expansion of Europe in the nineteenth century. In the light of this knowledge, an intelligent and well directed public opinion may guide and control the expansion of America in the twentieth century.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

FIVE YEARS OF AMERICAN PROGRESS.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THE Statistical Abstract of the United States, recently issued for the year 1898, enables us to measure at a glance the progress made in the last 5 years, under 12 headings.

1.—*Population.*

The estimated number of inhabitants in June, 1898, was 74,389,000, against 66,826,000 in 1893, and the increase was accounted for in this way:

Immigrants	1,397,000
Natural increase	6,166,000
Total	7,563,000

Immigration has fallen off by one-half, averaging only 280,000 yearly, whereas in the preceding term of 5 years (1888-93) the average was 520,000 per annum. Natural increase (that is, the excess of births over deaths), was only 17.4 per thousand, a low ratio compared with the preceding records of the republic, viz.:

Period.	Medium Population.	Natural Increase yearly.	Rate per 1,000.
1831-50	17,500,000	422,000	24.1
1851-70	31,100,000	602,000	19.3*
1871-90	50,400,000	1,019,000	20.2
1893-98	70,600,000	1,233,000	17.4

The decline of immigration may be traced directly to the vexatious regulations against what are termed "European paupers," but it is not so easy to account for the diminished rate of natural increase. We must suppose either a higher death-rate or a lower birth-rate, and the former is the more probable in view of the exceedingly rapid growth of urban population, while there is no reason to suppose a declining birth-rate. In fact, to judge by

*In this interval occurred the civil war of 1861-65, but for which the rate of increase would have exceeded 22 per thousand.

European countries, the birth-rate of towns is usually higher than that of rural districts. It may be well here to observe that, according to the growth of population in the last 5 years, the census of 1900 ought to show 77,300,000 inhabitants.

2.—*Manufactures.*

Hardware industries have developed in the most amazing manner, the production of pig-iron and steel rising as follows:

	1893.	1898.	Rates of Increase.
Pig iron, tons	7,100,000	11,800,000	67 per cent.
Steel, tons	4,020,000	7,160,000*	78 per cent.

It may be safely asserted that the world has never before seen such a development of hardware industry in 5 years. The growth of textile manufactures has, of course, been less rapid, but is nevertheless remarkable, the consumption of fibre in the various mills showing thus:

	1893.	1898.
Cotton, tons	526,000	835,000
Wool, "	210,000	180,000
Flax, jute, etc	224,000	255,000
Total	960,000	1,270,000

Notwithstanding a decline of 14 per cent. in the weight of wool consumed in the mills we find that, so far from any increase in the imports of woollen manufactures, these have fallen 70 per cent., namely from 37 million dollars in 1893 to 13 millions in 1898. Meantime, it is worthy of observation that the consumption of raw cotton rose from 17 pounds per inhabitant in 1893 to 25 pounds in 1898, while that of wool fell from 7 to 5½ pounds, as if cotton goods were superseding woollen in some parts of the Union. Altogether, the weight of fibre consumed in 1898 was 32 per cent. more than in 1893, from which it may be inferred that the manufacture of textiles increased by one-third in 5 years.

3.—*Mining.*

The latest returns of mineral production are for the year 1897, which compare with those of 1893 as follows:

	1893.	1897.
Coal, tons	162,200,000	178,500,000
Pig iron, tons	7,100,000	9,700,000
Silver, ounces	60,000,000	54,000,000
Gold, "	1,740,000	2,770,000
Petroleum, barrels	48,400,000	60,600,000

*The steel returns are for 1897, those for 1898 not being yet known.

The total official value of mining products in 1897 was 632 million dollars, against 574 millions in 1893, an increase of 10 per cent., but it will be observed that the increase as regards quantity was much greater, viz.: 25 per cent. in petroleum, 45 per cent. in copper, 60 per cent. in gold. The only item that shows a decline is silver, because the market-price fell 24 per cent. in 4 years.

4.—*Currency and Banking.*

The quantity of money in use has increased 315 millions in 5 years, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.	
	1893.	1898.
Gold	598	862
Silver	615	637
Paper	1,110	1,139
Total	2,323	2,638

The stock of gold money has risen 45 per cent., while silver and paper money show but a slight increase. If we distinguish what was in the Treasury from the money in circulation the account will stand thus:

	Millions of Dollars.			
	Treasury.		Circulation.	
	1893.	1898.	1893.	1898.
Gold	189	204	409	658
Silver	493	515	122	122
Paper	44	81	1,066	1,058
Total	726	800	1,597	1,838

Taking the aggregate amount of money between the Treasury and circulation, we find that gold constituted 32 per cent. of the total in 1898, against 26 per cent. in 1893.

Banking returns show a considerable decline as regards capital, and at the same time an increased activity, the turn-over rising 30 per cent. in 5 years: the principal items stood in millions of dollars, thus:

	1893.	1898.
Capital	679	622
Deposits	1,468	2,107
Sundries	963	1,275
All liabilities	3,110	4,004

These figures refer only to National Banks, the number of which is now 3,576, against 3,758 in 1893, showing a diminution of 182 banks, notwithstanding the increase of trade and population in the interval. The average dividend on banking capital last year was 3½ per cent., the same as in 1893.

5.—*Trade and Commerce.*

Comparing the external trade of the Union in 1898 with that of 1893, and excluding all goods in transit, we find as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.	
	1893.	1898.
Imports	844	587
Exports	831	1,210
Total	1,675	1,797

Notwithstanding an increase of 7½ millions in population, there has been a decline of 257 million dollars in imports, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.		
Imports of	1893.	1898.	Decline.
Food	269	171	98
Raw material	218	189	29
Manufactures	249	153	96
Sundries	108	74	34
Total	844	587	257

The value of food imports has declined 36 per cent., which is the immediate result of violent changes in the tariff, viz.:

Year.	Food Imports.	Duties.	Incidence.
1893	269,300,000	12,900,000	4.7
1898	170,700,000	40,800,000	24.0

The largest item in this class of imports is sugar, which has sustained a serious check, the importations falling from 1,680,000 to 1,200,000 tons, while the growth of native sugar is still small, hardly reaching 350,000 tons yearly. There are, meantime, other items which show a heavy fall as regards value, but in which there is no diminution as regards quantity—thus the importation of coffee last year amounted to 390,000 tons, against 250,000 in 1893, and yet the value indicates a fall of 16 million dollars. There has been a great fall of prices in the last 5 years: in Sauerbeck's table the price-level of food is 10 per cent. lower than in 1893. Hence it is evident that the imports of food have not declined in quantity so much as in value. When we turn to consider the imports of manufactured goods we are confronted with the singular fact that there has been a decline of nearly 40 per cent., although the duties in 1898 were much lighter than in 1893, as appears from the following table:

Year.	Imported Manufactures.	Duties on same.	Incidence per cent.
1893	248,500,000	112,200,000	45.0
1898	153,000,000	55,000,000	36.0

In view of the lower scale of duties, we should have expected an

increase in this branch of imports, but the fact is that the home manufactures of the United States are growing with marvellous rapidity, and as a natural consequence the American people takes less goods from Europe every year.

6.—*Education and Public Lands.*

Public instruction has made very satisfactory progress in the last 4 years recorded (1893-97), the average daily attendance of school-children having risen 13½ per cent., while the increase of population in the same period was only 9 per cent. The average attendance in 1897 was 48 per cent. of the population of school age, as compared with 45 per cent. in 1893, viz.:

Year.	Population of School Age.	Average Attendance.	Per-centage.
1893	19,620,000	8,840,000	45.0
1897	21,080,000	10,090,000	48.0

This shows that the schoolmaster is making himself felt more and more every year, expenditure increasing in almost the same ratio as the number of school-children: it amounted in 1897 to $187,300,000, being an average of $18.70 per pupil, or 10 cents higher than the average for 1893. The schools have 403,000 teachers, that is, one for 25 pupils.

Land grants and selections, including Homestead grants and lands belonging to railroads, which were taken up by settlers in 5 years, covered an area almost as large as the island of Great Britain:

	Acres.
Homestead grants	28,600,000
Railroad, etc.	19,500,000
Total	48,100,000

This gave an average of nearly 10 million acres taken up yearly, to be devoted, for the most part, to new farms, either tillage or grazing. The States in which such grants and selections were made were:

	Acres.
Oklahoma	7,200,000
Dakota	6,300,000
California	3,300,000
Nevada	2,800,000
Various	28,500,000
Total	48,100,000

It may be well here to recall the fact that the census of 1890 showed the total area under farms to be 623 million acres. Land-grants from that time to June, 1898, amounted to 84 million acres,

from which it may be inferred that the actual farm area is about 707 million acres, the rate of increase being 30,000 acres daily.

7.—*Agriculture.*

The value of agricultural products in 1893 was as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.	Dollars per Inhabitant.
Home use	3,288	49.50
Exported	615	9.30
Total	3,903	58.80

Assuming the home consumption in 1898 to have been the same value per inhabitant the total of agricultural products in the latter years would show thus:

	Millions of Dollars.	Dollars per Inhabitant.
Home use	3,683	49.50
Exported	854	11.50
Total	4,537	61.00

This gives an increase of 634 millions over 1893, equal to $2.20 per inhabitant. As regards agricultural exports the weight has more than doubled in 5 years, and the value has risen 40 per cent., viz.:

	Value, Millions of Dollars		Weight, Tons.	
	1893.	1898.	1893.	1898.
Grain	200	334	5,900,000	13,250,000
Provisions	226	290	720,000	1,080,000
Cotton	189	230	980,000	1,720,000
Total	615	854	7,600,000	16,050,000

The latest details as regards tillage are for 1897, which compare with those of 1893 as follows:

Year.	Acres Under Grain.	Crops, Tons.	Value, Millions of Dollars.
1893	140,500,000	69,100,000	953
1897	150,300,000	81,100,000	1,122

The average yield was 22 bushels per acre in 1897, against 20 in 1893, the product per acre $7.50 against $6.80 for the said years respectively. Meantime pastoral farming showed a great falling-off, both in the number and value of live-stock, viz.:

Year.	Number of Head.	Value, Millions of Dollars.	Dollars Per Head.
1893	164,100,000	2,484	15.20
1898	138,700,000	1,889	13.50

The number of live-stock declined 15 per cent., the aggregate value 24 per cent.

8.—Railroads and Shipping.

Railroads appear to have sustained a serious check in the last 5 years, the annual rate of construction being now hardly one-half of what it was 20 years ago, viz.:

	Miles Built.	Miles Yearly.
1873-83	44,000	4,400
1883-93	63,000	6,300
1893-97	7,800	1,950

Receipts and net earnings for 1897 (the latest year published), show a great decline as compared with 1893, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.	
	1893.	1897.
Gross receipts	1,207	1,124
Expenses	848	786
Net earnings	359	338

The net profit in 1897 averaged 3 per cent. on capital, against 3½ per cent. in 1893. Tonnage of port entries shows an increase of 30 per cent. in 5 years, viz.:

Flag.	1893.	1898.
American	3,490,000	3,360,000
British	8,630,000	11,300,000
Various	4,580,000	7,040,000
Total entries	16,700,000	21,700,000

American shipping continues to decline, while foreign entries show an increase of 5,100,000 tons. When we examine in detail the trade of the several ports we find that New York is rapidly losing its preponderance, viz.:

	Tonnage Entries.		Ratio.	
	1893.	1898.	1893.	1898.
New York	7,020,000	7,770,000	42.3	35.8
Boston	1,630,000	1,910,000	9.8	8.8
Baltimore	790,000	1,650,000	4.7	7.6
Philadelphia	1,620,000	1,640,000	9.7	7.6
New Orleans	940,000	1,600,000	5.5	7.4
Various	4,700,000	7,130,444	28.0	32.8
Total	16,700,000	21,700,444	100.0	100.0

The Southern ports have gained ground prodigiously, and the Northern declined relatively in importance, which is, after all, a favorable symptom, as it indicates a better distribution of trade. Five years ago Philadelphia stood for as much tonnage as Baltimore and New Orleans collectively; at present all these three ports are equal. Baltimore has more than doubled her trade, while Philadelphia has stood still.

The merchant-navy of the United States (for the most part coasting vessels), continues to decline, viz.:

	Tons Register.	
	1893.	1898.
Coasting	3,896,000	3,960,000
High seas	880,000	730,000
Fishing	90,000	60,000
Total	4,866,000	4,750,000

In the above interval of 5 years, there were new vessels built in the United States summing up altogether 880,100 tons, but the loss of vessels wrecked or broken up was 960,000 tons, and hence a diminution of 80,000 tons, as shown above.

9.—*Finances.*

The ordinary receipts for 1898 show a great falling-off as compared with 1893, and whereas there was a surplus of revenue in 1893, amounting to almost two millions over expenditure, the accounts for 1898 showed a deficit of 103 millions of dollars, viz.:

	1893.	1898.
Customs dues	203,400,000	149,600,000
Internal revenue	161,000,000	170,900,000
Post Office	75,900,000	89,000,000
Sundries	21,400,000	20,000,000
Total receipts	461,700,000	429,500,000
Expenditures	459,400,000	532,400,000

The customs revenue fell 54 millions in consequence of the rapid decline of import trade already alluded to. On the other hand the Post Office receipts were the largest on record. The increase of expenditure was due to the war with Spain. The deficit above-mentioned was partly met by selling Pacific Railway stock to the amount of $64,800,000, the rest being covered by increase of public debt.

The nominal amount of public debt rose in 5 years from 1,546 to 1,796 millions of dollars, but if the amount of cash in the Treasury be deducted, the actual debt in 1898 was only 1,027 millions, an increase of 188 millions as compared with 1893.

10.—*Summary of Results.*

There are lights and shadows in the picture, but the preceding tables show us that the United States are progressing favorably.

1. Population advances at a slower pace than ever before recorded, which is due not merely to restricted laws against immi-

grants, but also to a diminution of natural increase, arising apparently from higher death-rate.

2. Import trade has fallen off 30 per cent. in five years, partly owing to changes in the tariff, partly to a fall of prices, partly to the development of home manufactures. On the other hand, exports have risen by 400 million dollars.

3. Manufacturing industry appears to have grown prodigiously, the consumption of raw material showing an increase all round of about 50 per cent. in 5 years.

4. Agricultural interests are prosperous as regards tillage, the area under grain having risen 10 million acres since 1893, but pastoral farming seems to have suffered, the number of live-stock falling 25 millions, the value being six million dollars less.

5. Mining shows a great increase in the production of gold, copper and petroleum, while there has been, of course, a decline in the output of silver.

6. Finances have been deranged by a heavy fall of import dues and an increase of expenditure resulting from the war with Spain. The deficit of 1898 reached 103 million dollars. Public debt has risen 250 millions since 1893.

7. Money actually in circulation has risen 241 millions, entirely in gold, silver and paper money, showing no sensible change. At the same time the Treasury has had an increase of 15 millions in gold, 22 millions in silver.

8. Banking business, to judge by the National Banks, has increased 30 per cent. in 5 years, or three times as fast as population, an unquestionable proof of the general prosperity of the Union.

9. Notwithstanding the increase in mileage, the gross receipts of railroads fell 83 millions, the net profits 21 millions.

10. The tonnage of port entries has risen 30 per cent., but this has been entirely in ships carrying foreign flags. The merchant-shipping of the United States shows a steady decline.

11. Public instruction progresses steadily, the average daily school attendance increasing much faster than population. School expenditure is 3 times as much as in the United Kingdom.

12. Land grants to settlers and farmers average 10 million acres yearly, and the area under farms is at present approximately 707 million acres, of which one-third is under crops, two-thirds under pasture.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

THE DECLINE OF BRITISH COMMERCE.

BY A. MAURICE LOW.

If, during the next twenty-five years, Great Britain loses her trade as rapidly as she has during the quarter of a century from 1870 to 1895, she will have yielded her primacy as the greatest of the world's commercial powers. If, in the quarter of a century ending in 1924, the same industrial progress is held by the United States as has marked the closing years of the present century, the United States will lead the world in export trade, with Germany second and Great Britain third.

The marvellous expansion of the export trade of the United States during the last few years, has led certain English economists to assert and believe that England, despite the world's competition, still holds her pre-eminence as the greatest exporting nation; that, while other nations have obtained their share of the world's commercial expansion, England's supremacy remains unassailed. Admitting, as they do, that Germany now controls certain industries formerly monopolized by Great Britain, and that the sceptre of the iron and steel trade has passed out of their hands into those of the United States, it is still the belief of English students of trade movements that England has nothing to fear from its commercial rivals. These hopes are false. England is steadily losing her control of the world's markets.

It is a matter of great difficulty to obtain satisfactory and exact *data* as to the world's commerce. Simply to take the aggregate of exports and imports is misleading, because exports of one nation may appear in the returns of imports of two nations. Thus, wool exported from Australia and imported into England, and thence re-shipped to the United States in its original condition and without being advanced in the process of manufacture, would be carried in the import returns of both the United States

and Great Britain. It is true—or it may, at any rate, be assumed—that British ship-owners and Liverpool or London merchants would have profited by the transaction; the ship-owners by the freight, and the merchant as a factor or commission agent; but the value of this particular Australian export—its value considered as a single item in working out the sum of the world's commerce—is its increase to the wealth of Australia derived from its own resources. Since, therefore, a consideration solely of *special exports* (*special exports* are exports of *domestic* production) would show in a manner more nearly exact than any other the operations of the great exporting nations—because while some nations, conspicuously England, do a large and profitable trade in reshipments, it must be manifest that the foundation of every nation's wealth is in its manufacturing or agricultural productiveness—in the following attempt to exhibit the movement of the world's commerce, only special exports have been considered, and whenever possible British official reports have been used as the authority. The reason why the period from 1870 to 1895 was selected, rather than that from 1874 to the present time, is that from 1870 dates Germany's commercial *renaissance*, while the twenty-five years in question in the United States have been average years; years of plenty and years of famine, in which panics have been followed by booms, and there have been the usual interference with trade by politicians and dislocations of commerce by changes in the tariff. The last three years in the United States have not been average years, they have been as abnormally favorable to our people as they have been, in some respects, unfavorable to some of the nations of Europe.

In 1870 and 1895 the world's commerce (special exports, except where otherwise stated) stood as indicated in the table given on next page (Table A),* amounts being rendered in pounds sterling at the current rate of exchange.

An examination of this table shows that, in the quarter of the century, Russian exports † increased 17.35 per cent; German,‡ 42.90; French, 20.40; the United States, 110.66; British, 13.17. Put in another form, the loss of British commerce becomes even more apparent. In the period from 1870 to 1895, the aggregate

*Compiled from British Board of Trade returns.

†The Russian exports for 1870 are general as well as special, no separate figures having been kept in that year.

‡The German exports are of the year 1872, figures for 1870 not being available.

Table A.—Special Exports.

Country.	1870.			1895.		
Russian Empire	£56,985,000	(1)		£66,875,000	(3)	
Finland	1,381,000	(1)		5,648,000		
Norway	4,487,000	(1)		7,134,000		
Sweden	8,417,000	(1)		17,302,000	(1)	
Denmark	6,477,000	(1)		12,040,000		
Germany	116,031,000	(2)		165,895,000		
Holland	31,831,000			98,061,000		
Belgium	27,604,000			55,418,000		
France	112,084,000			134,952,000		
Switzerland	.....			28,177,000	(4)	
Portugal	4,565,000			6,066,000	(4)	
Spain	15,721,000	(1)		30,172,000	(1)	
Italy	30,212,000			41,508,000	(5)	
Austria-Hungary	39,541,000			61,817,000		
Greece	1,355,000	(4)		2,846,000	(4)	
Bulgaria	.....			3,107,000	(1)	
Roumania	6,313,000	(1)	(6)	10,602,000	(1)	
Turkey	.....			14,015,000	(7)	(1)
Egypt	13,983,000	(1)	(8)	12,961,000		
United States	78,462,000			165,290,000		
Mexico	6,582,000	(1)	(4) (6)	18,928,000	(1)	(4)
Costa Rica	.....			855,000	(1)	(7)
Venezuela	.....			4,306,000	(3)	(4)
Chili	5,620,000	(4)		15,192,000		
Uruguay	2,662,000	(4)		6,780,000		
Argentine Republic	6,093,000	(4)		24,014,000	(4)	
Paraguay	.....			372,000	(9)	
China	16,588,000	(10)		23,434,000	(11)	
Japan	3,912,000	(8)	(12)	14,238,000	(13)	
United Kingdom	199,586,000			225,890,000		
Total	£796,492,000			£1,273,895,000		

(1) General exports; (2) 1872; (3) 1896; (4) Including specie and bullion; (5) Including silver bullion; (6) 1873; (7) 1893; (8) 1874; (9) 1892; (10) Haikwan tael, 1870 = 6/; (11) Haikwan tael, 1895 = 3/3¼d.; (12) Yen, 1870 = 4/2d.; (13) Yen, 1895 = 2/1$\frac{7}{16}$d.

export trade of the five great commercial nations of the world increased 34.70 per cent., while Great Britain's share of the increase was only 13.17 per cent. In 1870, Great Britain did a trifle more than 35 per cent. of the total of the commerce of the great industrial nations; in 1895, her share was a trifle under 30 per cent. In twenty-five years, she had not only *not* held her position, but she had lost some of the trade she held in 1870, and gained nothing by the commercial expansion of the world. It was because of this loss that the United States, in twenty-five years, were enabled to more than double their exports, and Germany to increase its exports 42 per cent., both nations profiting at the expense of Great Britain.

In 1870, one-quarter of the world's commerce (exclusive of the British colonies and dependencies) was done by England; including her colonies and dependencies, thirty-five per cent. In 1895, Great Britain's share of the world's commerce had fallen to a fraction less than eighteen per cent; or, including her col-

onies and dependencies, it had declined to thirty-one per cent.; showing that, while she still retained her supremacy as the leading commercial factor of the world, her power was waning instead of growing.

The value of total exports (including bullion and specie)* from British Colonies and Dependencies was:

Table B.—Exports of British Colonies and Dependencies.

Country.	1870.	1895.	
India (1)	£53,513,729	£118,605,745	
Straits Settlements (2)	8,709,395	18,378,589	
Ceylon (3)	3,803,731	4,278,401	
Mauritius (4)	2,086,571	3,009,700	
Labuan	61,218	118,046	
Australasia	28,421,353	64,073,700	
Fiji	.....	332,209	
Falkland Islands	19,894	122,988	
Natal	382,979	1,305,184	
Cape of Good Hope	2,603,211	16,904,756	
St. Helena	27,485	4,314	
Lagos	513,366	985,595	
Gold Coast	378,239	877,804	
Sierra Leone	349,488	452,604	
Gambia	142,517	93,537	
British North America (5)	17,085,260	24,646,270	
Bermuda	36,757	115,913	
Honduras	171,988	244,335	(6)
West Indies	4,991,297	5,351,124	
British Guiana	2,383,422	1,769,500	
Malta	3,627,694	.....	
Total	£129,309,594	£261,670,314	

(1) India: Conversions into sterling have been made 2s. to the rupee.
(2) Straits Settlements: 1870, dollar, 4s. 2d.; 1895, 2s. 1½d.
(3) Ceylon: 1870, accounts kept in sterling; 1895, rupee: 1s. 1¼d.
(4) Mauritius: Same as India.
(5) Canada: Dollar: 4s. 2d. in all years.
(6) 1894.

An analysis of the export returns would show that, in nearly all the great staples, Great Britain has lost her position. Space will not permit this detailed examination; but it is interesting to study the changes in four leading lines—coal, iron ore, pig iron and shipping.

In 1870, Great Britain's proportion of the coal production of the great coal producing nations was fifty-one per cent.; in 1895 it was thirty-four per cent.

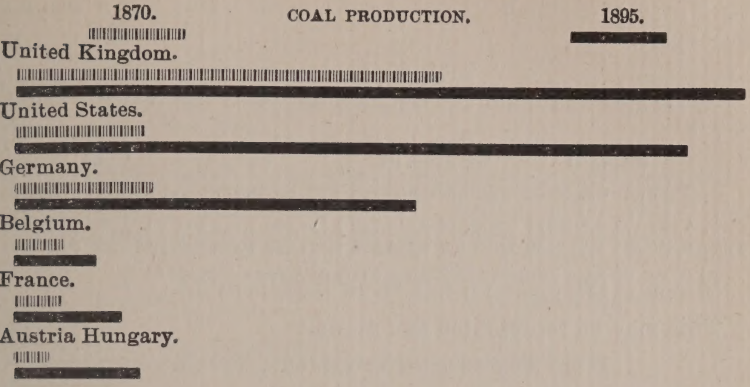
Table C.—Coal Production.

Year.	Germany (1)	Belgium (1)	France (1)	Austria (1) Hungary.	U. S. (2)	United K'dom (2)
1870....	34,003,004	13,697,118	13,179,788	8,355,945	32,863,000	110,431,192
1895....	103,876,813	20,414,849	28,019,893 (3)	32,654,777 (3)	172,426,366†	189,661,362

(1) Metric tons; 17th Annual Report United States Geological Survey.
(2) Long tons; 17th Annual Report United States Geological Survey.
(3) Eighteenth Annual Report United States Geological Survey.

*British Board of Trade Returns.
†The steady advance of the United States in industrial development is

The following diagram indicates the import of these figures:



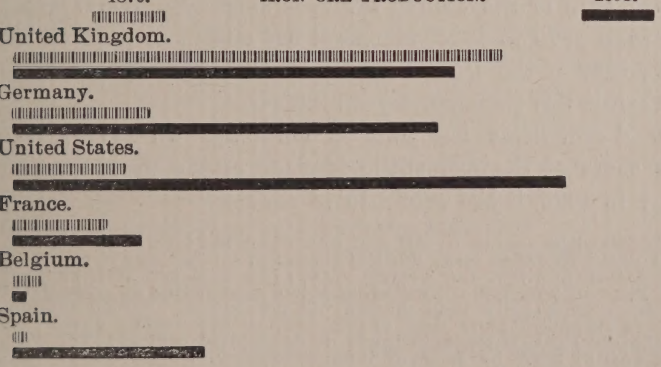
The shrinkage of Great Britain's production of iron ore has been still more marked. In 1870, her output was fifty-six per cent. of the great iron producing nations; in 1895, it had fallen to twenty-five per cent. In 1870, she had produced more ore than all the rest of the world combined; in 1895, she had yielded her first place to the United States.

Table D.—Iron Ore Production.

Year.	Germany (1)	Belgium. (1)	France (1)	Spain (1)	U. S. (3)	United K'dom (2)
1870	3,839,000	654,000	2,614,000	437,000	3,395,718	14,371,000
1895	12,350,000	313,000	3,680,000	5,514,000	15,957,614	12,615,000

(1) Metric Tons; British Board of Trade Returns.
(2) Long Tons; British Board of Trade Returns.
(3) Long Tons; 1870: United States Census; 1895, 17th Annual Report United States Geological Survey.

This diagram shows to the eye what those figures mean:



well illustrated in the following tables showing the world's production of

In 1870 Great Britain was the only pig iron producing country whose production exceeded consumption and left a surplus for export.

Table E.—Pig Iron.

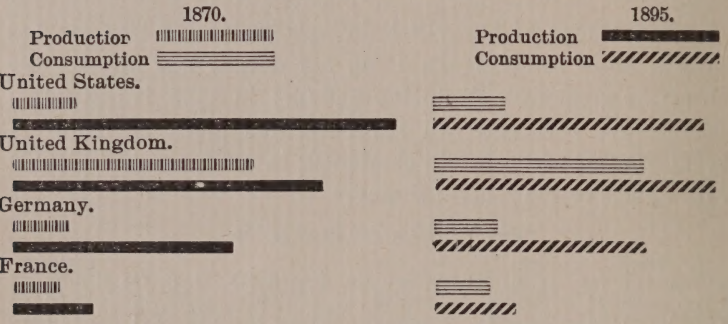
Production and Total Consumption (domestic and foreign) of pig iron in:

	United States (1)		United Kingdom (1)		Germany (2)		France (2)	
Year.	Production.	Consumption.	Production.	Consumption.	Production.	Consumption.	Production.	Consumption.
1870..	1,665,178	1,863,114	5,963,515	5,245,765	1,391,000	1,510,000	1,178,000	1,252,000
1895..	9,446,308	6,648,930	7,703,459	6,925,961	5,464,000	5,434,000	2,004,000	2,007,000

(1) Tons of 2,240 pounds; British Board of Trade Returns.
(2) Tons of 2,204 pounds; British Board of Trade Returns.

This may be represented as follows:

PIG IRON PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION.



The United Kingdom, in 1870, produced more than one-half (58.47 per cent.) of the total production of pig iron; in 1895, her production was only 31.28 per cent; although the total production had increased 140 per cent. In this, as in other great staples, the gain of the United States is amazing. While Great Britain, from 1870 to 1895, increased her output of pig iron 29 per cent., that of the United States in 1895 was 460 per cent. greater than it was twenty-five years earlier.

England still holds her own in shipping. In 1872, Great Britain's share of the mercantile tonnage of the world was 33 per cent.; in 1895, it had grown to 48 per cent.

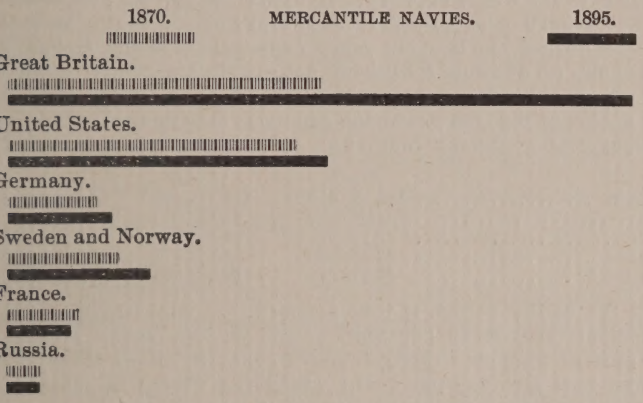
coal for twenty-eight years. In 1868 and 1869, when the total output of the world was about 225,000,000 tons, the United States yielded but 14 per cent. In 1892, 1893, 1894, and 1895, the world's output has exceeded half a billion tons each year, of which the United States has contributed an average of 30 per cent., having more than doubled its percentage. Great Britain, whose mines furnished more than 50 per cent. of the world's product in 1868, now barely exceeds the percentage of the United States.—"The Production of Coal in 1895," by Edward Wheeler Parker, United States Geological Survey.

Table F.—Mercantile Navies of the World.

Country.	Number.	Tons.	Number.	Tons.
Great Britain (1872)	20,097	4,510,556	21,003	8,988,450 (1)
Russia (1874)	2,504	520,584	2,055	513,663 (2)
France (4) (1870)	15,778	1,074,656	15,598	887,078 (1)
Germany (1871)	5,122	1,305,000	3,592	1,502,044 (1)
United States (1870)	28,998	4,246,507	23,240	4,635,960 (3)
Sweden (1872) and Norway (1873)	11,325	1,669,433	10,033	2,087,968 (1)

Statistics from *American Cyclopaedia.* (1) As of date Jan. 1, 1896; *The Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1897. (2) 1895; *Ann Cyclo.,* 1896. (3) June 30, 1895; *Ann. Cyclo.,* 1895. (4) Exclusive of small fishing vessels.

The accompanying diagram illustrates the state of the case :



Although the majority of Englishmen have not yet realized that England is fast being outstripped in the commercial race, it is a fact keenly appreciated by foreign governments. In a report made to the Foreign Office by M. S. Constable, British Consul at Stockholm, under date of June 6, 1898, statistics are quoted from a report compiled by the Swedish government on the trade and industries of Great Britain, in their relation to those of foreign countries. The statistics as well as the conclusions agree with mine, although it should be remembered that the Swedish returns are for five-year periods instead of individual years as I have given them. Mr. Constable's report is of so much importance that the salient portions are quoted *in extenso*:

"Output of principal iron ore producing countries:

Country.	1871-1875. Tons.	1881-85. Tons.	1891-95. Tons.
Great Britain and Ireland	16,087,000	17,154,000	12,249,000
Germany	5,262,000	8,557,000	11,679,000
United States	4,532,000	8,516,000	14,288,000
France	2,651,000	3,018,000	3,651,000
Spain	613,000	4,119,000	5,346,000
Other countries	4,181,000	4,578,000	9,068,000

"It is noticeable that Great Britain and Ireland's production has decreased absolutely, not merely relatively as regards that of other countries.

"Average output of principal pig iron producing countries:

	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Great Britain	6,562,000	8,227,000	7,361,000
Germany	1,946,000	3,411,000	5,082,000
France	1,265,000	1,899,000	2,006,000
United States	2,284,000	4,370,000	8,263,000
Other countries	2,114,000	2,780,000	4,038,000

"During this period, it appears that Great Britain and Ireland's proportional share in the world's production of pig iron has sunk from 46.3 to 27.5 per cent., while, on the other hand, the United States has increased its proportion of output from 16.1 to 30.9 per cent. In this instance, also, during the last ten years, Great Britain and Ireland's production shows an absolute falling off, not merely a decrease relative to that of other countries. The rapid development of Germany and the United States as pig iron producing countries is very striking.

"Principal coal producing countries:

	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Great Britain	126,972,000	161,470,000	184,819,000
Germany	44,680,000	68,630,000	97,008,000
France	15,862,000	20,250,000	26,658,000
United States	45,283,000	94,130,000	160,832,000
Other countries	33,973,000	52,175,000	78,832,000

"During the earlier period, it thus appears that Great Britain and Ireland supplied forty-seven per cent. of the world's output of coal, but at the present time only thirty-four per cent.; Germany seventeen per cent. and now eighteen per cent.; whilst the United States have advanced from seventeen per cent. to nearly thirty per cent.

"Estimated annual consumption of raw cotton:

Country.	1871-80. Tons.	1891-94. Tons.
Great Britain	5,632,000	7,091,000
Europe	4,271,000	8,524,000
United States	2,746,000	5,522,000

"Since the year 1870 Great Britain's consumption of cotton has increased by one-quarter, whilst that of the rest of Europe and the United States has doubled.

"Estimated average annual value of the commerce (imports and exports taken together) of the four greatest trading countries:

Country.	1881-85.	1891-95
Great Britain	£573,888,888	£589,166,666
Germany	306,611,111	352,777,777
France	318,222,222	296,833,333
United States	302,333,333	347,333,333

"Thus, during this period, Great Britain's trade has increased by slightly more than 2½ per cent.; that of Germany and the United States, each, by fifteen per cent.; whilst the trade of France has steadily declined.

"Perhaps the most striking fact brought into relief by these statistics, is the rapidity of Germany's industrial development since the Franco-Prussian war. The fighting organization of the country was

then strong, but its wealth and resources, though sufficient for the effort it was called upon to make, were by no means proportionately developed. The sudden increase of her coal, iron, and iron-ore producing industries, the extension of her railway system, and the quick growth of her foreign trade (considerations more fundamentally related to a continued exercise of influence and power than the actual number of soldiers a nation may, at any given time, be able to put in the field) have now placed her in a much stronger position.

"A comparative review of these statistics moreover shows, that the standing of Great Britain (considered apart from her colonies) has retrograded in relation to the other great nations within the last twenty-five years. In nearly every important department of industry her proportional share has much diminished. As to her shipping only is her early supremacy fully maintained. This change in Great Britain's position with reference to other countries, as regards wealth, occurring as it has within so short a period, has probably not been appreciated, nor its consequences fully considered, except by those whose attention has been especially directed to such subjects."

That England is losing her trade cannot be controverted. What are the causes? Briefly, in my opinion, they are three, and one is especially worthy of study by the United States at the present time.

Undoubtedly, the principal cause of England's commercial decadence is her extreme conservatism and the individual Englishman's obstinacy. He is willing to accept an improvement if stamped "made in England;" if it comes to him from abroad, whether from Germany or America, he fights against it until actually forced to surrender. It is this antagonism to a new thing which makes London in some respects twenty-five years behind New York or Chicago. No American would tolerate the heat and abomination of the Underground Railway; or the inadequate street-car system; or the still more inadequate telephone service; or the scarcity of electric lights; or the regularly recurring water famines; or the almost complete cessation of telegraph service at night; or the inconvenience every traveller suffers in taking his luggage to or from a station; all of which might and could be easily remedied, if the Englishmen were not so wedded to the old and could be made to see that the new is not without merit.

It is the constant study of engineers to eliminate friction. Eliminate friction, and your machinery is perfect. The American man of business, in little as well as in great things, is continually studying to remove the grain of sand; the Englishman appears to enjoy it. Labor-saving devices, so common as to

be regarded as matters of course in an American office or factory, are rare enough in England to excite comment. The head of a great establishment in America sits at a desk from which, by simply pressing a small button, he can call his cashier, his heads of departments or his assistants; without leaving his chair, he can talk through the telephone to his manager in an adjoining room, or to his superintendent in the factory half a mile away or to his partner in another city. An Englishman, if he want his cashier, rings a hand bell, which is answered by a boy, to whom the message is given, and in course of time the cashier appears. Before the Englishman can tell the cashier to make out the check, the American has cashed his check at the bank, invested the proceeds and made a profit.

It is the same in the factory as in the office. We are too apt to flatter ourselves that the native American is a more intelligent workman than the British workman. Man for man I question this. What is true is that the American proprietor is a more intelligent "boss" than the Englishman. Convince an American manufacturer that any device will save labor—eliminate friction—and he will adopt it. He will put in a colossal engine to do the work formerly done by scores of men; or a small electric motor which saves a few seconds in the sharpening of a tool; but those few seconds in the aggregate mean hours and days in the course of a year, and to that extent his productive capacity is increased. The Englishman, on the other hand only adopts these devices when the American is ready to try something still better.

The consular reports, both English and American, tell the same story of British adherence to fixed and antiquated ideas. "If my customer doesn't like the goods I make, he needn't buy them," seems to be the English theory; while the American manufacturer has no pre-conceived prejudices and considers the customer's tastes as of more importance than his own.

Perhaps this adherence to the old and repugnance to the new is the principal reason why England is feeling so keenly the effects of industrial competition.

The second reason sounds like a contradiction. Too much prosperity is making England poor. England has so long held the monopoly of trade, she has been so long the world's banker as well as the world's master of water transportation, that she has become indifferent to and almost contemptuous of rivalry.

England plays too much. The workingman averages about the same number of hours as in America, but the master, the employer, the superintendent of labor, is lazy. The American, whether the head of a great corporation, the owner of a small factory or a member of one of the professions, has longer business hours than an Englishman in similar circumstances; and during his business hours the American works under greater pressure. What man of business, lawyer or banker in New York, Boston, or Chicago would think of breaking into his afternoon for a cup of tea at five o'clock? In London, the man "in the city" takes his cup of tea as much as a matter of course as does the member of the West End Club, or the woman of fashionable Mayfair. England is in the position of a man who, having worked hard in his younger days and amassed a great fortune, still keeps his shop open as a matter of habit, and shuts his eyes to the inroads made into his trade by his younger and more enterprising rival across the street. The old customers, especially those whose names are on the books, continue to trade with the old establishment; but the public who are not governed by sentiment when they spend their money, go where they are offered the greatest bargains and the most attractive wares.

It has been alleged that the spread of trades-unionism and the restrictions imposed by the Unions have seriously interfered with, if not in some case actually crippled, certain British manufacturing industries. I doubt whether the tyranny of the English trades-union is any more oppressive than that known in America. The employer of labor in the United States must walk in an exceedingly straight and narrow way, if he would avoid the obstacle which organized labor so recklessly throws in his path; not only must he live up to all the canons of the order, but he must accept responsibility for the acts of his agent's agent. If the contractor whom he engages to erect an addition to his factory has obtained his stone from a non-union quarry, or has it dressed by "scabs," his mill hands, who are perfectly satisfied with their hours and their wages, will strike in the name of labor. In England, as well as in America, the Unions dictate the number of apprentices, the hours and other conditions. If trades-unionism is responsible for England's declining trade, why does not the United States suffer from the same cause? No, English apologists must find a better cause.

The third reason—and the one which is of direct interest to us in this day of trusts and syndicates—is that the good old-fashioned, safe system of doing business has been superseded by a new method, which is neither good nor safe. The merchant proprietor has given place to the managing director; the owner, his sons or his partners, who were entities, have yielded to a "board," a fleshless creation having no personal significance to the workers, who miss the inspiration of the master. Heredity - servitude is unknown in this country; in England a man was proud of having worked at the same loom where his father worked before him for the father of the present owner; it was a tie not without its influence on master and man, and having an influence not less important on the product of the loom. But all that has changed. The most important man in business affairs to-day is the lawyer, next to him the promoter. In former days, when capital was sought for a new enterprise, the verdict hinged on the decision of practical men who knew the probable profits and reasonable risks. To-day, it is the lawyer who is first consulted, the promoter whose assistance is needed to "float" the shares which the public is expected to buy. All England is engaged in a gigantic gamble; the buying and selling of shares has become an industry of the first magnitude. It is a day of "big" things. There must be substantial commissions for the lawyers, the promoters, the experts, and the rest of the commercial midwives without whom no company can be born.

Napoleon's taunt that the English were a nation of shopkeepers has lost its force. The English are the worst shopkeepers in the world; worse even than the Spanish. The artistic dressing of shop windows, the display of jewels, or lace or china, grouped with a harmonious effect for color and brought into prominence by a background of velvet or silk, which makes a retail street in any large American city a delightful study to a person of refined taste, is practically unknown in England. London's most fashionable shop-windows are "jammed"—the word is used advisedly—with expensive articles of a high order, but these are crowded into a small space, without regard to artistic effect, and as if the sole purpose was to let every passer-by know how large a stock could be found inside. In fact, that is the motive. The Englishman makes his selection from the outside of the shop-window; the American makes his after the shop-

clerk has spread out before him the wares and he has handled them and examined them at close range. But here, again, the method which permits of this ready choice in the United States is unknown in England. If, for instance, you want to buy socks in America, the clerk will place before you half a dozen boxes; you may make your choice with the deliberation befitting such an important occasion; you may turn over dots and stripes, blues and greens, until at last you find the precise color and the exact pattern you desire. In London, the shop-clerk will produce packages, packages done up in paper and tied with string, which he will open with seeming reluctance and only in part, so that the opportunities for examination and selection are restricted and inconvenient. In America, the purchaser of kid gloves expects to have them fitted to his hand, as he has his shoes fitted to his feet. In London, the fitting of gloves is practically unknown, nor is its utility understood. "Suppose a glove doesn't fit quite so neatly as might be wished," says the shopkeeper, "what difference does it make? Americans are entirely too particular."

The small things which so sharply mark the difference between British and American trade, whether in retail transactions or in those of world-wide commerce, are nowhere more accentuated than in the London shops. The American shopkeeper, curious as the assertion may sound, is more liberal and less petty in his dealings with his customer than the Englishman. In any American store, the purchase of a pair of shoes means to have "thrown in" an extra pair of laces; initials are always marked on silver ware without charge; in England they are paid for as "extras."

It may be contended that these are trivial matters, customs merely local and having no bearing on larger results. But that is an erroneous view. They are really the crucial tests. They explain the reasons for British loss of trade and American trade expansion, reasons which, in their concrete form, may be put into a few words: In America there are no commercial traditions; in England commercial traditions stifle enterprise.

A. MAURICE LOW.

AMERICA AND ENGLAND IN THE EAST.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M. P.

I HAVE been asked an interesting series of questions on behalf of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, questions, I may add, which, like many others, are easier to ask than to answer. It is suggested that there may be some doubt as to "how far England can allow America to advance in the Far East, either commercially or territorially," a question to which the flippant answer might be made that Great Britain can hardly prevent the advance in the Far East of the United States, a Power which, if thwarted either in commercial or in territorial projects, in China, for example, could easily make terms with Russia, ever anxious to obtain her support.

It is shown to me, and, of course, there can be no doubt about the fact, that "America has rapidly growing mercantile interests in China," and that at no former time have the moneyed interests of two nations intermingled to such an extent as is the case with those of the United Kingdom and the United States in China—a country foreign to both. I am, however, asked, "can these two nations, however similar in habits and customs, but owing allegiance to dissimilar principles of government, feel sure their interests will not some day clash?"

It is difficult to deal with the indefinite postponement of dangerous questions involved in the phrase "some day." But I think it can be shown that any dissimilarity between the conservative Republicanism of the United States, and the democratic Constitutionalism of the United Kingdom, is not likely in itself to produce conflict, and that there is no reason to suppose that the interests of the United Kingdom and of the United States in China are more likely to clash than is the case with any commercial

interests in the world. Dissimilar principles of government, when the balance is redressed by the intense Toryism of the American republican mind, and the greater openness to socialistic experiment of the mind of the Constitutional Monarchists of the mother country, are not a probable cause of conflict. The question of the treatment of Ireland by Great Britain, and the consequent estrangement from British policy of a vast number of voters in the United States, form a much more practical issue. But it is idle for those of us who desire, in the interest of England, a considerable change in the constitutional relations of the principal parts of the United Kingdom, to shut our eyes to the fact that appeasement of Irish sentiment has rendered this difficulty between us and the United States less formidable for a time than it has been in the past or may possibly be again in the future.

What do we mean by the growing mercantile interests of the United States in the Far East; by the intermingling of those interests with British interests, and by the suggested fear that these interests may one day clash? The producers of the United States, with an unrivalled combination of coal, the metals, invention, and skilled labor at their back, will need to send their produce to customers in other portions of the world. The United States will undoubtedly want to send steel and machinery, as well as many other commodities that might be mentioned, to India and to China, and to receive from India and China and Ceylon tea and silk and other articles which the territory of the United States does not produce, or fails to produce in sufficient quantity for American consumption. Although India and China are beginning to work cotton, yet it is probable that even in some classes of cotton goods the United States will find a market in India and in China, and for these purposes she needs the open door—equality of opportunity for her trade, as we need it for our own. No territorial expansion of the United States which seems probable or even possible would do away with this necessity.

It seems wholly forgotten that the relations of the United Kingdom and of the United States, in matters deeply concerning the trade of the former, were greatly threatened a few years ago in a different quarter of the world from that which is now under consideration. When Mr. Blaine called the Pan-American Congress, it was supposed by the great South American States that his object was to establish the commercial dominance of the United

States over Central and South America. Great Britain sends to these States about twenty-three millions', sterling, worth of her produce every year, and some of them (Venezuela, for example) are, proportionately to their population, much greater consumers of her goods than are her own colonies. British trade appeared to be threatened by the Congress over which Mr. Blaine presided, for, though nothing came of it, that was by no means the expectation entertained in England when the Congress met. Yet no ill-feeling was displayed, no anxiety, no alarm; and the fact that there exists in Great Britain a real friendliness toward the United States, which prevents unpleasant excitement on such occasions, such as would be aroused by similar action on the part of Russia, of Germany, or of France, is a fact which we must not neglect, and which renders not only the discussion but the settlement of such difficulties as we are considering much more easy. Why should matters be worse in Asia than, at a time of far less friendly relations, they proved to be in the Central and South American case?

It is in view of similarities of position, which ought to produce a similarity of policy in China between Great Britain and the United States, that Lord Charles Beresford was led to make speech after speech in the Treaty Ports of China, and in the United States on his way home from a mission which has wrongly been supposed to be official, but which is none the less interesting, in defence of a policy of alliance in China between the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, and Japan. There can be no doubt that any British Minister would be prepared to go forward in an active China policy if he were sure of the company of the three Powers named. If no such action has as yet been taken, it must be because there has been no sign on the part of those Powers of any desire to commit themselves in this direction, but opinion in the United States is no doubt ripening upon Asiatic questions. The expansion feeling, which has caused the United States, instead of setting up a nominal protectorate of the Philippines, to take steps which must lead to a virtual annexation of the islands certainly not contemplated at the beginning of the war, is not the same movement as one which is leading to active interest in the affairs of China, but it is a sign of the development of opinion upon somewhat the same lines. Those who desire that the United States should depart from an attitude of neutrality in China, and who have in view diplomatic co-operation with our-

selves to prevent American commercial interests in China being impaired by the encroachment of other Powers, will be as little annexationist in China as we English are. They will see American advantage, as we see British advantage, in the integrity, if not of China as a whole, at all events of China as a Treaty Power. They will, in the first place, desire to retain trading rights throughout the Chinese Empire, and, even if Germany is forced by her European relations with Russia to maintain an attitude of reserve, a British Minister would be justified in maintaining in concert with the United States and with Japan, or, if Japan were too frightened of her great neighbor to move at all, with the United States alone, an active policy in China. Japan has marked out her sphere opposite to Formosa and south of the Yangtse Valley. She is there a long way from the French, from whom our position at Hong Kong protects her. She is cut off from the Russian sphere by the whole of Central China and the great Valley of the Yangtse. Supposing the open-door policy to fail, is the United States likely to go with us in substituting the policy of spheres of interest or of influence or even of concessions? The feeling in England would support a Minister who in this event would adopt the Central Valley of the Yangtse as the joint Anglo-American sphere, instead of one purely British.

Our policy at the difficult moment of the seizure of a province by Germany and the seizure of Port Arthur by Russia is not defensible as a whole. The Government now, however, seem, in commercial phrase, to have "cut their loss," and to have decided that, although a province is gone to Germany beyond recall, an island to France, and Manchuria to Russia, as regards the rest of China, its integrity for the present can be preserved by agreement with Russia and Germany, and the door left open at all events in the more valuable portions of the country. The promise to ourselves with regard to the Yangtse, which is vague, and means little, will be left to slumber; the promise to the French as to the three southern provinces, which is wholly inadmissible by us, inasmuch as one of those three provinces—Yunnan—concerns us far more than it does the French, and adjoins Burma along a far greater portion of its frontier than it does Tonquin, will slumber along with the Yangtse promise and the promise to the Japanese. The Italian demand will be restricted to a mere coaling station upon a bay. The ministers of the Powers must, however, work

together at Pekin as firmly and as loyally as they did in the days when Mr. Anson Burlingame (formerly Senator for New York, and afterwards first Chinese Ambassador to the European Courts) was American Minister, and arranged with Sir F. Bruce and General Vlangaly the policy of co-operation at Pekin which for some years was perfectly applied in practice by all the Powers.

The particular point to which British policy at Pekin is being specially directed, is that which the Government have called the discouragement of all preferences and exclusive privileges to foreign Powers in China generally; and this is a policy in which the United States as a future exporter of railway iron and of locomotives has an enormous interest.

The questions which were put to me on behalf of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW went on, after those which I have discussed and tried to answer, to suggest that the day must come when the United Kingdom and the United States or Russia must become finally dominant in China. But surely this lies too far ahead for any but the speculative philosopher. The politicians or the statesmen of this country and of the United States have to deal with the matters which will be pressing in their own lives, and all that they can do with the future is not to unnecessarily give up points which may embarrass their successors. Russia must advance in China by mere weight; but the rate of that advance is a very different matter and depends largely upon the prudence of her rulers. In the meantime, great Anglo-American interests may have grown up, entwined together in the heart of China, and may lead ultimately to a partition between Russia in the north, and an English-speaking community in the centre, in which Australia, as well as the United States and the United Kingdom, will be heard, for Australian capital will play a part in the Pacific. When I am asked, as I have been, whether China is not more vital to ourselves, on account of our possession of the Indian Empire, than it ever can be to the United States, I must answer that the connection between China and the Indian Empire is somewhat shadowy and vague. India has her natural frontiers. She is cut off from China by great mountain ranges, and even her extension into Burma is not one which is likely to bring about much land trade between China and the Province of Burma, on account of the difficulty of the intervening country, and the advantage of sea-carriage over that by land. The interest of Russia in Northern

China is to India somewhat of a safety valve, giving Russia an ample feeding ground for her ambitions, and tending to prevent her from undertaking the adventure which would be involved in the gradual absorption of portions of Afghanistan, with a view to the attempt to destroy in India a British Government, which, in the course of time, the British colonies will be interested in helping to defend.

I have tried to view the situation largely through American spectacles. I do not believe that even the new interest of the United States in the Philippines and the foreign trade of that Archipelago, and even the increase of her fleet, will lead to American intervention in Chinese affairs on sentimental grounds, or any grounds except a local American interest in China; but that interest seems to me to be there. I think it identical with our own, and likely to lead, if we do nothing to wound American feeling, to co-operation, which, if it is real, will never need to be otherwise than peaceful between the Powers in the Yangtse Valley and at Pekin.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

THE RESTLESS ENERGY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE—AN IMPRESSION.

BY IAN MACLAREN (THE REV. JOHN WATSON, D.D.).

MANY Americans were good enough to call upon me before I had the pleasure of visiting their country, and many Americans have called since, and no American ever does me this honor without charging the very atmosphere of my study with oxygen, and leaving an impression of activity which quickens my slow pulses and almose reduces me to despair.

It is now several years ago that a tall, thin, alert man followed his card into my study with such rapidity that I had barely time to read it before my visitor was in the room.

"My name is Elijah K. Higgins and I am a busy man. You are also busy and have no time to fool away. Four days is all I can give to the United Kingdom, and I wished to shake hands with you. Good-bye, I am off to Drumtochty."

I calculate that Mr. Higgins spent thirty seconds in my study, and left the room so swiftly that I overtook him only at the front door. When I asked him if he knew where Drumtochty was, "Guess I do!" he said. "Got the route in my pocket, northwest from Perth, N. B.," and in two seconds more he was whirling away in a fast hansom. As I returned to my study and imagined my visitor compassing Great Britain (I think he excluded Ireland, but I am not certain) in four days, I was for a moment roused from the state of comparative lethargy which we, in England, call work, and added six more engagements to my afternoon's programme. For days afterwards, and as often as I was tempted to rest in my chair, the remembrance of that whirlwind gave me a shock of new vigor. Sometimes a reaction would follow, and I humbly thanked Providence, although that was to write

myself a weakling and a sluggard, that I was not born in the country where Mr. Higgins lived and moved and was at home.

A year earlier, I had been dodging among the Greek Islands in an Italian cargo boat, which was good enough to take passengers, but whose bows had been staved in by a collision. We did not go out to the open when the sea was rough, but we called at any port where we could obtain cargo. We took our meals when we pleased, and had no idea when we should reach our destination. It was a calm voyage where there was no commotion either of mind or body, and then our little pool was lashed into a tempest by the arrival of a new passenger. He came when we were ashore, and ere we returned he had already changed the whole aspect of the ship. The crew had ceased to sleep in picturesque attitudes on the deck, and were explaining him to one another with the aid of gesticulations and many a "*per Baccho.*" The captain was listening to him with unaffected interest, and was evidently much impressed by the eloquence of his new passenger, although he did not understand a single word he said. Our steward, the most leisurely of men, who served a meal only when he was hungry himself, had ceased to smoke, and passed us at a swift walk with a couple of dishes. And I began to understand the situation when I heard what the latest arrival was saying to the captain: "Yes, Cap, you had better hustle and keep on schedule time, or else we will miss the connection at Brindisi."

As he found the Italians uninteresting, as well as unenterprising, he gave us the most of his company, and, as the Scotch woman said about the sermon, it was both "edifying and diverting." He was just returning from a visit to the Holy Land, and it had not "filled the bill," so far as I could make out; he had traversed the whole country in fourteen days and eight hours from ship to ship; and I fancy that if any other person required forty days, he really had done it in fourteen, using no doubt a swift dromedary, and travelling both by night and day. He frankly confessed, however, that his visit had been a disappointment and his trouble had been without gain. Palestine, to my American friend, showed an immense want of activity, and cried aloud for the application of American brains and capital. Jerusalem, in especial, had been a painful surprise, for he had expected great things; and he assured me that its condition was beyond belief.

"They may say what they like about Jerusalem, but it is a back number. As I am a white man, there's not a trolley-car nor a daily newspaper in the whole place. What Jerusalem wants is a few hustlers from the West. I guess they would show the old place a razzle-dazzle," and my American friend looked far away, as if he saw already the new companies and industries, and speculations of his compatriots in the city of David.

A year ago I was staying in a villa on the Riviera, and a new guest arrived. He had come from America as rapidly as the swiftest ship and through express could carry him, and he was going back again in a week. Had he come for the voyage, or for the Riviera, or to pay a visit of friendship, or to see a picture? Not at all. A workman in the huge mills of which he was manager had discovered the means of doubling the producing power of a piece of machinery. As soon as the invention had been verified, the manager started for Europe to see his partners, and to arrange to spend £100,000 in applying the invention to new machinery. It would save the labor of, say, 50 men, and yet 100 more men would be needed in the works, because such an invention would enable the firm to secure larger contracts. Never in my life have I met a man who impressed a stranger with such a sense of alert intellect and unwearied activity. He thought of nothing, and read about nothing, and spoke about nothing, and dreamed about nothing, and one might add, with one or two reservations, he cared about nothing, except his article of manufacture, which we shall call for the moment aluminium plates. There was no question about these plates which he had not anticipated and could not answer. The sources of aluminium and its value, its constituents, and its combinations, its methods of treatment, and its practical uses, all this he knew up and down, through and through, past and present, and altogether. He could reason with much acuteness on the burning questions of aluminium, he read extensively, and generally had a book in his hand on aluminium plates; he had a highly trained and exuberant imagination on the future of aluminium. Times there were when he even drifted into sentiment, on the service which aluminium had rendered to the human race. It was a joy to meet a man who knew something thoroughly and believed in something utterly, and one felt that, if one had aluminium works, one would like to have my friend Hartmann for manager. Occasionally, he was good enough

to give me his idea of English manufacturers and machinery (aluminium of course—it is doubtful whether he had heard we manufactured anything else), and he regarded our condition with great concern. He had himself been offered a managership of large English mills and laid down his conditions. The owners must be prepared to put in new machinery every ten years, at the cost of a quarter of a million, and they must clear all union men out of the works. With machinery always up to date and high class workmen, unfettered by any rule of restricted labor, he was of opinion that he could have shown some result that would astonish aluminium circles in England.

"I would have given them," he said, "a good show for their money; but there wasn't sand enough in them to stand the racket; they weakened at the thought of the Unions and the risk of their money."

When I looked at Mr. Hartmann, I was certain he would weaken at nothing, either terror of man or expenditure of money; and I gathered inspiration and something approaching activity from his society. If you were willing to sit with him, he would talk till midnight on his subject, which he invested with a fascinating interest by his wealth of information and brilliant speculations; and if you had looked out at your window at six o'clock next morning you would have seen Mr. Hartmann pacing the grounds with a rapid nervous step. Sometimes, he would stop to write something in his note-book, or he might even sit down to make a calculation in a basket chair intended to shelter invalids from the wind. An idea had entered his mind about the treatment of aluminium, which in nine days he would test in a laboratory at Carthagena, Ill.; or he had seen a way of reducing the terms of a contract. When you saw Mr. Hartmann—who was as impervious to disease as one of his aluminium plates, and to whom every form of invalidism was quite incomprehensible—sitting in a basket chair, you had an agreeable sense of contrast, and a flavor of humor.

Such lively experiences, which I often recall in jaded moments, prepare one for a visit or a re-visit to America, as a tonic gives a sluggish person an appetite for dinner, and it is bare justice to say that one's expectations of American energy in its own home have not been disappointed. If Americans, depressed by our heavy climate and our leisurely life, could yet maintain such a level of

thought and motion, what might not be possible to them in their own country, where the atmosphere is charged with electricity, and every second man is a "hustler from way-back." The stir of the New World affects the visitor and quickens his pulses as he goes up the Hudson and gets his first glimpse of New York. Your steamer had waited four hours at Queenstown for the mails, but the same mails were transferred to the United States tender as the steamer went up the bay. It is said that some day one of the great railway companies whose connections are broken by the Mersey, will utilize the underground tunnel for goods trains; but on the Hudson you see huge ferry-boats conveying across the river the freight trains of the Pennsylvania Railway Company. Little tugs dart about on all sides with feverish speed, and larger steamers pass with their upper machinery indecently exposed, as if there had not been time, or it had not been worth while, to cover it. Buildings of incredible height line the shores, and suggest that the American nation, besides utilizing the ground, proposes also to employ the heavens for commercial purposes. It was, I think, a Texas paper which translated the austere saying, "*Per aspera ad astra*," into "the hustler gets to heaven," and certain New York builders seem now to be on the way. Whetted by this overture on the river, one is ready for the full music of the city; and I wish to pay the compliment with all honesty, that New York, with the possible exception of Chicago, is the activest and noisiest place I have ever seen, or expect to see in this present world. While an English merchant saunters down to his office between nine and ten, a New York man rises at half past six in his suburb and is busy at work at eight o'clock. The Englishman takes off an hour during the day for luncheon at his club, while the American eats his meal in fifteen minutes. The Englishman spends more than another hour at afternoon tea, and gossip with friends, and sauntering about between his club and his office, while the American packs every minute with work. The very walk of an English merchant, slow, dignified, self-satisfied, and that of the American, rapid, eager, anxious—the one looking as if time were of no importance nor circumstances, and the other as if the loss of a minute might mean ruin—are the visible indices to the character of the nations. It is only yesterday that elevators were introduced into English city buildings, and there are many London offices to which you still have to make an Alpine ascent of four

stairs; but a New Yorker regards a stair as a survival of barbarism, and hardly knows how to use it. The higher buildings have several sets of elevators, like the four tracks which railways lay down to work the swift and slow traffic.

"Don't go in there," my friend said, with whom I was going to lunch at a club on the top floor of a many-storied New York building. "That's an accommodation elevator; stops, you know, at every station. This is the express for the top floor."

"Would it have made much difference?" I said.

"Very nearly a minute," as if the loss of the minute would have thrown us back for the rest of the day.

No man goes slow if he has the chance of going fast, no man stops to talk if he can talk walking, no man walks if he can ride in a trolley car, no one goes in a trolley car if he can get a convenient steam car, and by and by no one will go in a steam car if he can be shot through a pneumatic tube. No one writes with his own hand if he can dictate to a stenographer, no one dictates if he can telegraph, no one telegraphs if he can telephone, and by and by when the spirit of American invention has brought wireless telegraphy into thorough condition, a man will simply sit with his mouth at one hole and his ear at another, and do business with the ends of the earth in a few seconds, which the same machine will copy and preserve in letter books and ledgers. It is the American's regret that at present he can do nothing with his feet while he is listening at the telephone, but, doubtless, some employment will be found for them in the coming age.

If a slow-witted and slow-moving Englishman desires a liberal education, let him take a journey of a month on the steam cars in the United States. No train in Europe travels as fast as certain American expresses, and if other trains go slower it is a matter of thankfulness, because they are less likely to kill passengers on level crossings, or in the main streets of the city along which they take their way, and cattle have more time to get off the unprotected tracks. As trains have also a trick of jumping the rails, either through the rails spreading or the eccentricity of the engine, both being instances of exuberant national vitality, it is just as well that every express does not go at the rate of the Empire State Express on the New York Central. Nowhere in Europe can a traveller find stronger or handsomer cars, and they are marvels of adaptability and convenience. There is a dining car, in order

that you may not lose time at a station, and also, which is not unimportant, in order that you may be able to occupy your time with something practical on the train. Of course, there is a smoking compartment, where men can compare notes upon politics and business, and be able to escape from idleness and themselves. The best expresses have a reading car, where the American can pick up such morsels of information from the magazines as he can contain between the interstices of business. There is a desk where he can read his letters, and a typewriter to answer them, for this train is the American's sleeping-place and dining-place, and his home and his office. One thing only he regrets; the train, as it flies along, is not connected with the telegraph and the telephone, so that, as an idea occurs to him or he obtains a hint from a man in the smoking car, he might be able to do business with his correspondents in Chicago or San Francisco. While an Englishman on a railway journey is generally dressed in rough and loosely fitting tweeds, suggestive of a country life and of sport, the coat of his American cousin is of dark material and has not a superfluous inch of cloth. From his collar to his neat little boot the American is prim, spick-and-span, and looks as if he had come out of a band-box and were ready to appear in the principal room of any office. He is dressed in fact for business, and looks like business from the crown of his head to the sole of his feet, while an Englishman's appearance suggests that he is going to see a cricket match or that he has retired to live upon a farm.

My countryman arrives at the station with two and a half minutes to spare, and laden with small baggage. A porter carries his rug and an ulster, very likely also a hat-box and a bag with books, papers, and such like in it, to say nothing of an umbrella and a mackintosh, and he secures his seat at the last moment. He fastens his hat above his head, puts on a travelling cap, changes into an ulster, if it be winter time, and throws a rug over his knee; he puts on travelling gloves, and gets out the *Times*, and he will sit without budging and read his *Times* without intermission for fifty minutes. Besides these trifles with him in the carriage, he has a portmanteau in the van, which he hopes has been addressed, and which the porter promised to see put in, and he will scramble for it at his terminus along with a hundred other passengers, who are all trying to identify and extricate their luggage from a huge heap on the platform.

The American reaches the depot by a trolley car fifteen minutes at least before the hour of departure, having sent his heavy luggage, if he has any—which is not likely—by baggage express. His only personal equipment is a slim and compact valise, which, in regard to opening and shutting, is a marvel of convenience. This he carries in his hand, and places beneath or beside the seat which he has secured two days before. He does not carry a rug because the cars are heated, nor an umbrella because it is not the rainy season. His top coat he hangs up beside his seat, as if he were in his own house; and his hat if he so please. He does not wear a travelling cap any more than in his own drawing-room, nor gloves in the train any more than in his own office. Should his hands be soiled, he goes to the lavatory where there are large basins and an ample supply of water, and if his coat be dusty, there is a negro porter in every car to brush it. The immense repose of the English traveller is quite impossible for this mercurial man, whose blood and whose brain are ever on a stir. Very rarely will you see him reading a book, because he is not accustomed to read, and the demands of a book would lessen his time for business meditation. Boys with newspapers circulate through the cars, and he buys each new paper as it appears at the different towns. Whether it be Republican, or Democratic, or a family paper or a yellow journal, does not matter to him; he glances at the startling headings, takes an accident or a political scandal at a mouthful, skims over the business news, sees whether anything has happened at the Philippines, notes that the canard of the morning has been contradicted in the afternoon, and flings paper after paper on the floor. Three minutes or, in cases of extreme interest, five minutes suffice for each paper, and by and by this omnivorous reader, who consumes a paper even more quickly than his food, is knee deep in printed information or sensation. For two minutes, he is almost quiet, and seems to be digesting some piece of commercial information. He then rises hurriedly, as if he had been called on the telephone, and makes for the smoking car, where he will discuss "Expansion" with vivid, picturesque speech, and get through a cigar with incredible celerity. Within fifteen minutes he is in the sleeper again; and, a little afterwards, wearying of idleness, he is chewing the end of a cigar, which is a substitute for smoking and saves him from being wearied with his own company. Half an hour before the train is due at his station, he is being

brushed, and getting ready to alight. Before the train has reached the outskirts of the town, he has secured his place in a procession which stands in single file in the narrow exit passage from the sleeper. Each man is ready dressed for business and has his valise in his hand; he is counting the minutes before he can alight, and is envying the man at the head of the procession, who will have a start of about two seconds. This will give him a great advantage in business, and he may never be overtaken by his competitors till evening.

Suppose he lands at 6 a. m., he will find breakfast ready in a hotel, and half a dozen men eating as if their lives depended upon finishing by 6.15 a. m. Before seven he will have disposed of a pile of letters, dictating answers to a typist attached to the hotel, he will have telegraphed in all directions, and made half a dozen appointments in the town by telephone. Within the forenoon he will finish his business and depart for some neighboring town, lunching on the cars. The second town he will dispose of in the afternoon, and that evening go on board the sleeper to travel 400 miles to a third town, where he is going to negotiate a contract at 8 o'clock next morning. If you sympathize with him, and wonder how flesh and blood can stand the speed, he accepts your sympathy as a compliment, and assures you that he never sleeps so well as on the cars. He never seems to be out of sorts or out of temper: he is always thoroughly alive and quite good-natured. Sometimes he may seem for a moment annoyed, when he cannot telegraph as often as he wants along the line, or when the train is not on time, that he may make a connection. Nothing would wound him so deeply as to "get left," and he can only affect to be unconscious when someone declares that he is "no slouch, and that there are no flies on him." If he is obliged to spend two hours doing nothing in a hotel, when business is over, then he rocks himself and smokes, and it is a wonderful spectacle for an indolent Englishman to look down from the gallery that commands the hall of the hotel, and to see fifty able-bodied fellow men who have worked already twelve hours, at least, and put eighteen hours' work into the time, all in motion. (One wonders why this motion is not utilized to drive something.) He discovers how unlike cousins may be, for he never moves unless he is obliged to or unless he wants to shoot something, and these remarkable men never rest unless when they are asleep. About that even, I

am not sure, and I was often tempted to draw aside the curtain from a berth in a sleeping car, and, had I done so, I should not have been at all surprised to find our friend wide awake with a cold cigar in his cheek, and rocking his knees for want of more extensive accommodation. He has always rebelled against the ancient custom of sleep, which he regards as a loss of time and an anachronism. All that he can do is to spend the night in a sleeping car, which, as he will tell you, annihilates time and space.

Foreigners travelling in the States in their innocence are amazed that a delicate-minded nation, like the Americans, should be willing to sleep after the fashion of the Pullman cars, and should not insist upon the Continental cabin-car. The reason for the Arcadian simplicity of the sections is not really economy, for no American would ever think twice of spending a dollar; it is simply their abounding and dominant energy. If you sleep in cabins at night, you must sit in cabins by day; and this would mean a seclusion and repose which are very distasteful to the high-strung American temperament. It would be like bottling up a volatile gas; and one might almost think it might lead to an explosion, which some day would break down the partitions and break up the car from end to end. The American must see everything in his car and hear everything, for which he depends upon the peculiar quality of the local voice; and he must be at liberty to prowl about his car, and to sit with his friends here and there. The car is his little world for the time, and he is not going to live in a backwater.

There seems no doubt that an American workman will do from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent. more than an Englishman in the same time, and that the higher wages of the American have their compensation for the capitalist in a workman's quickness of mind and sleight of hand. Everything goes at an accelerated speed, with wonderful inventions in labor saving machinery and devices to economize time. If the great end of a nation be to do as much as possible in as short a time as possible, then the American climate has been practically arranged for that end. An Englishwoman living in the States becomes effervescent, and the native American is the brightest woman on the face of the earth. While the English atmosphere is heavy and soothing, and lends itself to thought and quietness, the American climate is exciting

and exhilarating, and quickens both mind and body to the highest activity. It is an electric climate, and the electricity has passed into the people, who are simply vessels charged up to a certain number of volts. These vessels as sources of motive power can then be attached to pulpits, or offices, or workshops or politics. Of course, a day will come when the vessels will have been completely discharged, and that day arrives very frequently without warning. A little confusion in the head, and a slight numbness in the limbs, and the man has to go away a year to Colorado Springs or to Los Angeles. If he is fortunate, he can be recharged and run for another five or ten years; then nature does not give any warning, but simply stops the heart or darkens the brain, and you must get another man.

No one, unless he leaves the country or becomes a crank, can escape from this despotism of activity; he is part of the regiment and must march with his fellows. The idea of making a competency and then retiring, say, into the country, never crosses a man's mind. When you urge economy upon a man for this end, you have injured your case, and are pleading on the other side. With such a prospect before him, he is more than ever resolved to be a spendthrift. To seclude an active American in an old-fashioned country house, with ivy climbing round its Tudor windows, even although there should be a library of black oak inside and a rose garden outside, would be cruelty; it would be to imprison a squirrel in a golden cage. What greatly impresses the traveller in the United States is that the rich men work as hard and as long as the poor, and that they cannot even give attention to the affairs of their country, but are willing to leave them to the very doubtful management of the "Boss," because it would not pay them to leave their business and go into politics. If the end of life be riches, then clever American is a successful man, for in no country does a respectable man become so very rich, or rich so soon, and if not respectable he still may do fairly well. You cannot have everything, however, and one notes that the average rich man has paid a price for his dollars. He has read very little —his wife reads for him; he has travelled very little—his daughters travel for him. He has no voice in the State—professional politicians speak for him; he has no amusements, unless you include speculation; and he has no pleasant periods of rest, unless you accept as an equivalent comparatively early and sudden death,

which often arises from acute indigestion. He has not time to stop and realize himself, unless, but this is a large exception, when he has dyspepsia. One reason, perhaps, why Americans do not rest is that given to me by a bright woman: "We are all so tired," and the American is the victim of his own qualities.

One, of course, acknowledges the advantages of this amazing energy, and there are times when a stolid Englishman grows envious. A university in America is created in ten years and endowed to the extent of millions sterling, and equipped with chairs of which a European never dreamt, and laboratories which border upon palaces. Libraries and picture galleries are rising in every city, for which the treasuries of Europe have been ransacked; and, were it not for the restriction of governments, the Old Masters would have to be sought, not in Italy and England, but in New York and Chicago. New towns are designed upon a scale of magnificence, as if each were to be the capital of an empire, and are at least outlined in building within a few years. Should it be necessary, an army can be created within a few months, and in a couple of years a new trade can be established which will kill its European rivals. An English farmer with fifteen hundred acres is a considerable man, but an American can have fifteen thousand acres and his different farm buildings will be connected by telephone. A self-made man in England marries his daughter to a baronet and is much lifted; but the daughter of a self-made man in America will marry an English duke, and consider she has conferred a benefit. When you go to a Western town, you may be taken to see a university; if not, you are taken to a dry-goods store; each, in its own way, is the largest of its kind. Certainly, there are stores in America which have no rival in the Old World, and which you are expected to visit with the same appreciation as the Duomo of Florence.

There is almost nothing that the United States does not possess, except political purity, and nothing which an American cannot do, except rest; and in the conflict with foreign competition, he has almost discounted victory. Whether he be able, that is, patient and thorough in the discovery of principles, may be a question; that he is clever, by which one means bright and ingenious in turning principles to account, is beyond all question. If America has not yet had time to produce a Lord Kelvin, it has given us telephones; and if Professor Dewar has astonished the

world with his liquid air, an American trust is, it is said, being formed to handle it for commercial purposes. If we are thought to be dull and slow, as we travel among the most stimulating and hospitable people on the face of the earth, let some excuse be made for us and let our hosts share the blame. An Englishman in the United States is half dazed, like one moving amid the ceaseless din and whirling wheels of a huge manufactory, where the voice has to be raised to a shriek, and a sentence compressed into a single word. He goes home greatly humbled in his estimation of himself, and in low spirits about the commercial future of his country. He has no bitterness, however, within his heart, for are not these people of his own blood, and are not their triumphs his, even if they threaten to outrun his own nation in the race of productive commerce? And when he comes back to England, has he not his compensations, Stratford-on-Avon, and Westminster Abbey, and the greenery of the Home Counties, and the lights and shadows of the Scots Lochs, and the musical voices of the English women, and the quiet, contented, cultured English homes?

IAN MACLAREN.

THE FRENCH PRESS AND THE DREYFUS CASE.*

BY M. DE BLOWITZ, PARIS CORRESPONDENT OF THE LONDON "*TIMES*."

THIS is not the first time I have attempted to define, for foreign readers, the social and political action of the French press. But the attempt can be renewed; for this press, wavering and complex as it is, is constantly changing its form and spirit, and, with each fresh episode of the national life, offers the observer a new field for study and investigation. The Empire was able to exist only because it muzzled the press. The Government saddled it with laws of commercial pledges, stamp regulations and warnings. The third restriction was mortal. Commercial pledges presupposed capital; the Stamp Act prevented the publication of journals at a cheap price, while the warnings were like the bowstring which Justinian sent to his wife that she might kill herself. At the same time, the tribune was suppressed; the Senators, provided with large annual remunerations, were simply charged with registering the Imperial decisions, which the Chamber had accepted after a semblance of discussion. This organization was the only one that enabled the Empire to live, as it is the only one that allows any autocratic and irresponsible Government to exist. We must add that Paris and France, relieved of the discussion of their own affairs, consoled themselves with amusements; and it is from this moment that female purveyors of pleasure became the pivot of public opinion, and the whole world acquired the habit of seeing in Paris simply a great public house open. Universal corruption was in the midst of this intellectual apathy, and in their hubbub of debauch the war with Italy broke out. Then came the expedition against Mexico, and, finally, the terrible awakening of the war of 1870.

*It is due to M. de Blowitz to state that this article was printed from cabled copy instead of from manuscript.—ED. N. A. R.

But we must not forget that even during the Empire, tired of a *régime* that disgraced her, France had, through the medium of some of her writers, sought to evade the laws. She had forced those who wielded the laws to mitigate their application, and, with clever audacity that amounted almost to genius, she had criticised and attacked the Government. By slipping through the meshes of the law, under the pressure aroused by these men of great talent and firm courage, the absolute Empire gave way to the liberal Empire. This was the finest moment of French journalism. The talent of Thiers, Jules Simon and Prévost-Paradol shone with brilliant splendor on this new horizon, and forced absolutism to recede before their liberal influence. These journalists succeeded in sending five opposition deputies to Parliament; and, as it was more difficult to govern with liberty than without it, the Emperor, who had allowed the opportunity of 1866 to escape without strengthening his power by the seizure of the Rhenish frontier, found himself, in spite of all warnings and supplications, drawn into the war of 1870 to retard the success of the liberal ideas, against which he no longer dared to govern and with which he could not govern.

The fall of the Empire rapidly changed the manners and the spirit of the press. Newspapers remained for some time under certain restrictions; but, except in very rare cases, the magistrates no longer applied the press laws, until the moment arrived when, under the pressure of the journals and to win their support and suffrages, deputies voted the law of 1885—a law which was the death-blow to tranquillity and bound, sooner or later, to be fatal even to the very existence of any country, for it was tantamount to the veritable organization of printed license, and surrendered, as it were, bound hand and foot, the honor of all citizens to the base caprice of any one inclined to be insulting. In the country which is pre-eminently in the enjoyment of liberty of the press—in England—the jury remedies the danger of such license by heavy fines and strong penalties for libel upon the honor and consideration of citizens. In France there is nothing of this kind. For the last twenty-five years, one single journal has been punished by a fine of four hundred pounds. It was the journal that had accused M. Challemel Lacour, who died while President of the Senate, of having cheated at cards. Gambetta, who was then all powerful, pleaded for his friend and obtained

this condemnation, which has remained celebrated. But, in general, malicious journalism can hold you up, I repeat, as a spectacle, bound hand and foot, to the scorn of mankind. Men, women, children, even one's ancestors, are all placed with absolute impunity in its hands, and there is no sufficient redress. M. Henri Rochefort repeated a hundred times that M. Constans, to-day French Ambassador at Constantinople, had been bought up, that he had sold the monopoly of game, that he had had an enemy drowned, and that he had poisoned a little girl. During the whole period of the Dreyfus affair, M. Rochefort announced that the Court of Cassation, paid by a syndicate, was obeying the orders of William II. and betraying France to him in betraying the French army. At the same time, he proposed that every member of the Criminal Chamber should have his eyes covered with walnut-shells containing ravenous spiders, and that, when their eyes had been put out, the hollows should be filled with glutinous substance and the magistrates exposed to the sun. I believe it was this, or something still more inhuman, that he proposed. Other journals clamored for the death of Joseph Reinach; others, still, maintained that the attempt to murder Labori was a joke arranged by the partisans of Dreyfus, and that the revolver, the ball of which had penetrated the flesh to a depth of five centimetres, was charged with bread-crumbs; others—but why prolong these citations, which prove, since she has resisted them all, that France, notwithstanding all her errors, all the crimes committed in her name, all the indignation which from time to time bursts forth around her, is under God's protection, and that the frightful gulf that her disappearance would create will never yawn open under the foundations of the universe.

But what is certain is that the press now has absolute impunity, and that nothing can henceforth deprive it of this impunity. Whoever endeavors to escape from it, in the tempest it raises, is sure to perish, body and soul. It is before the assizes that a person defamed is obliged to cite the journal that attacks him. Nearly always, those who have no profession obliging them to undertake the struggle hesitate at the idea of appearing at the assizes. Several days before the trial begins, the journal that is prosecuted publishes the list of jurymen; and, when its adversary, already terrified by the solemn surroundings, appears in court, it

terrifies the jury that is to pronounce the verdict. It is very rare for a private person to undertake such a combat, still more rare to see a judge who dares brave a journal to protect a citizen, so that the latter, condemned by the acquittal of the journal, leaves the court room slandered and insulted, first of all, by the journalist, and, secondly, dishonored by the verdict of the jury. During the Zola trial, the unfortunate jury had to deliberate amidst the shock of overheated passions, and under the menaces of papers which accused it of betraying the Fatherland. It yielded and pronounced the maximum penalty, while, a few months later, it was proved that Zola had been merely a seer and almost a prophet. So I say, and I repeat, that there is no country in the world which, suddenly exposed to such an unbridled license of speech and expression, so brusquely confronted with such complete anarchy of utterance, both at the tribune and in the press, would not have succumbed after the fifteen years which France has just traversed in these conditions; and none which would not have seen its national honor clouded thereby. Yet—and this I am bound to say to the honor of a portion of the French press—there are still journals which have managed to maintain their dignity, their self-respect and the respect of others, although this, to be sure, is almost a miracle.

Yet, the entire press, it must be admitted, is often unjust towards, and even mistrustful of, the foreigner. This is due, however, to an immense misunderstanding between France and the rest of Europe—a misunderstanding which has existed now for thirty years. After the fatal Franco-German war, France was irritated by, and indignant because of, what it called the abandonment of Europe. She had beheld the whole of Europe taking part in her pleasures, living her life, sharing her joys, and acclaiming her pacific victories. She was aware that a trap had been laid for her to drive her into hostilities, and that her Government, to escape the growing success of the opposition, had willingly fallen into the trap. She remained convinced that Europe had known of these manœuvres, and that, in presence of the preliminary results of the war, Europe had understood that the war had been desired and provoked by Germany, and that France was playing therein the rôle both of dupe and of victim. She expected to see Europe rise up in her defence and stop the relentless advance of the invader. When, therefore, she had been

worsted without a finger having been raised on her behalf, she conceived a profound irritation, and, as always happens, tried to console herself for her misfortunes and for this abandonment by scorn inspired in her by the attitude of the foreigner—scorn which burst forth bitterly now in unmistakable and growing expressions of her wrath.

It is perfectly true that she had been abandoned; but the reasons were numerous, and many persons, both in France and abroad, failed to seize their real nature. In the first place, it was not France which Europe had abandoned, but the Empire. The Empire, by a policy the mediocrity of which was hidden behind the dazzling curtain of its magnificent exterior, had irritated almost the whole of Europe, which had scarcely been able to tolerate its haughty and overbearing manner. It had exasperated Austria in making war for Italy, but the precipitate peace of Villefranche imposed upon Italy and leaving Venice in the hands of Austria and Rome in those of the Papacy, had displeased Italy almost as much as Magenta and Solferino had displeased Austria, and Italy found Nice, Savoy and one hundred millions of francs a large price to pay an ally who consulted merely herself as to the question of putting an end to the war. The case was the same as to the Crimea, where Russia, irritated against France, beheld England disappointed, owing to the end of the war and the treaty of peace. Prussia was too well aware what France coveted and Belgium could have no illusions as to the fate in store for her, so that the shadow of the Empire loomed over them both. Holland itself, troubled by the prospect of possessing France as a menacing near neighbor, cherished, as it were, a feeling of security when it knew that that danger had been conjured away. Thus Europe, as a whole—which, moreover, was at the outset convinced that France would ultimately be victorious, and which was frightened at the prospect of her absolute domination—assumed, at first, an anxious attitude of reserve. Furthermore, after the very first victory, Prince Bismarck took care to convince Europe that he was negotiating with the Empire; and, by cultivating a belief in its restoration, prevented Europe from thinking itself rid of the Empire and from manifesting any effective sympathy for France in distinction from the Empire. But this distinction was one France herself could not comprehend. She believed herself abandoned, almost betrayed; and, from this time

forward, a real antipathy against everything foreign—a feeling of disdain almost amounting to scorn—grew up and became strikingly and painfully conspicuous. The press opened its columns to the first comer, and any one who took up the pen therein was sure of success if he adopted as his theme distrust of the foreigner, or exposed the foreigner to the animosity of his readers.

But Russia, it should be said, no longer having the Empire to block the way, understood thoroughly how matters stood; and, as early as 1875, Prince Gortchakoff and the Czar, pre-occupied by the grandeur of Germany, and not by any means reassured by the *Dreikaiserbund*, laid the foundations of that Franco-Russian alliance which was intended to afford them the security they desired, but which was definitely carried through only after a prolonged effort of fifteen years. Unfortunately, from this moment, the French press, liberated at last from all necessity of taking any precaution, was easily led, in its long resentment for the abandonment of 1870, into displaying towards Europe, Russia alone excepted, a haughtiness which, in turn, irritated the other Powers. Thus it was that, finally, the fatal Dreyfus affair became possible, in which the whole world found frightful opportunity to join in a sort of violent, moral coalition against the violation of human justice of which France was the theatre.

Such was the exact situation when, two years ago, France was startled by the denunciation of Matthieu Dreyfus, following the splendidly courageous initiative of Scheurer-Kestner. The thunderbolt hurled by Zola made of the Dreyfus case a political affair; and immediately the cry of *Vive l'Armée* having given anti-Republican and anti-Liberal opposition a formidable watchword, France fell asunder into two camps—one, attached to the republican form of government and to the ideas of justice and truth, supporting the efforts of those who demanded the reparation of a monstrous injustice; the other indifferent to injustice, and seeing in the defence of the armed judges who had condemned an innocent man merely a means of obtaining the support of the army, in order to secure the upper hand in the State. Naturally, this struggle between the two parties became tangible in the press, and immediately a current was established there in which the idea of justice and reparation played a secondary rôle, and in which, little by little, each paper, in order to justify its attitude, had no difficulty in marshalling arguments consonant with its interests.

I must note immediately that, whatever the original motive, the papers which defended Dreyfus were and were bound to be the most respectable, and they stand forth to-day before humanity as a whole as the defenders, in all conscience and truth, of what was just; and naturally, too, as the whole world feels and proclaims, those which fought against Dreyfus were, necessarily, organs less worthy of confidence, since, defending an iniquitous condemnation as they did, they were unable to justify their attitude, save by silencing their consciences and by putting at the service of the crime which they defended arguments which universal reason and universal conscience had rejected.

After what precedes, I have now merely to draw up in battle array the various forces which this contest, known as the Dreyfus affair, has brought face to face.

By a coincidence, which would appear odd without the explanations which I have given, the attitude of the newspapers in this affair corresponds, almost mathematically, to their habitual attitude; and it will thereby appear evident that it was not concern for justice and truth which actuated them, but concern for their own interests, which had nothing in common with persecuted innocence or the revelation of truth. The majority of the papers which accuse Dreyfus are Clerical, Royalist, Bonapartist, Nationalist, anti-Semite, or merely topsy-turvyist. The papers which defend him, on the contrary, from the Socialist journals to the conservative republican papers, are organs of liberal opinion. I, of course, do not undertake to enumerate or analyze the hundreds of papers which sprang up here so suddenly, in the interests of one or the other party, and disappeared as rapidly as they had come to maturity. I leave out of account, too, the more or less official organs of Parisian *galanterie*, which serve as a vehicle for a vice rich enough to offer itself the luxury of more or less regular advertisement, in which foreigners count on finding authentic information concerning matters which have nothing to do with science or politics, and which, nevertheless, in order to provide a complete bazaar stock, admit to their columns, now and then, arid articles that have fallen from some serious pen which is provisionally on the retired list. I shall merely refer to those papers whose opinion, in times of peace, interests the public and is even more or less capable of modifying their readers' views. It is these, and these only, whose general tendencies and special

tendencies, as manifested in recent events, I shall try to analyze in justification of the verdict which I have just passed upon them.

The *Figaro*, the *Siècle*, the *Aurore*, the *Radical*, the *Rappel*, the *Fronde*, the *Petit Bleu*, and the *Petite République*, have been resolutely on the side of revision and believers in the innocence of Dreyfus. The *Temps*, the *Débats*, the *Matin* and the *Petit Parisien* have defended his cause fitfully. The *Petit Journal*, the *Écho de Paris*, the *Croix*, the *Univers*, the *Gazette de France*, the *Moniteur Universel*, the *Éclair*, the *République Française*, the *Libre Parole*, the *Intransigeant*, the *Gaulois* and the *Patrie*, have been resolutely and absolutely against Dreyfus. The *Autorité*, the *Soleil* and the *Liberté* have mitigated by certain fits of justice (the *Soleil*, however, to its honor, early came out valiantly in favor of revision) their hostility to the cause of Dreyfus. I will not dwell on the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the clerical tendencies of which, and in general the disconcerting oddity of the management of which, place it in a situation for which I despair of finding a name. Nor need I insist upon the attitude of the *Revue de Paris*, which has been that of a man prudently picking his way across quicksands; nor upon that of the *Grande Revue*, edited by Labori, which carefully avoided confounding its own cause with that of the noble defence offered by its editor to the higher interests of law.

As will be seen, the opposed forces, if reckoned merely numerically, are far from equal. Eight newspapers are for Dreyfus and twelve against him. Those of the former class which are intermittent in their devotion to the cause, are four in number; those of the second class, also spasmodic, are three in number. And to sum up, out of twenty-seven papers engaged in the battle, there are, speaking generally, twelve for Dreyfus and fifteen against him.

But the really curious side of the inquiry upon which I am engaged, is the question of the intrinsic force of what Major Carrière calls the "unities of the combat." The *Siècle*, the *Aurore*, the *Radical*, the *Rappel*, the *Fronde*, the *Petit Bleu*, the *Petite République*, the *Temps*, the *Débats*, the *Matin*, the *Petit Parisien* advance over an extent of territory reaching from the left wing of socialism to the republican Left Centre under the flag of the Republic. The *Figaro*, conservative in its tendencies, is on the high road, as a consequence of its recent evolutions, to becoming

a Liberal organ; and, as is bound to happen when one is already on the march, it will most likely now accelerate this tendency in proportion as, with the perspicacious instinct which characterizes it, it comes to understand that, in spite of the most desperate efforts, the hour for the revival of the reactionary *régime* is not likely to strike just yet. In the opposite camp classification becomes more difficult and complex. The *Petit Journal,* the *Éclair* and the *République Française* are republican; the *Gazette de France,* the *Soleil,* the *Gaulois,* the *Moniteur Universel* are Royalist; the *Univers* and the *Croix* are Clerical; the *Autorité* and the *Liberté* are Bonapartist; the *Écho de Paris,* the *Libre Parole,* the *Intransigeant* and the *Patrie* are Nationalist and anti-Semite. Thus, out of twelve papers, partisans of Dreyfus, eleven are Republican with various shades; the *Figaro* is a Liberal organ which is separated by a pure fiction from the Republic, as the Republic can be accepted as, in a word I have often defined it, the Republic which reassures, in contradistinction with the other forms of government, which, owing to the present violent thirst for revenge of their partisans, are far from being reassuring.

The representatives, accordingly, of the two opposing parties may be divided up as follows: Eleven Republican papers and one Liberal paper are for Dreyfus; and against him there are three Republican papers, four Royalist papers, two Clerical papers, three Bonapartist papers and three Nationalist and anti-Semitic organs. So that leaving out the *Éclair,* the *République Française,* the *Petit Journal,* which is likewise of doubtful republicanism, twelve papers out of fifteen, among those hostile to Dreyfus, are also hostile to the Republic, and we have thus, instantly, a clue to the predominant motives behind the Dreyfusist and anti-Dreyfusist contest. Rightly or wrongly, the enemies of the cause of Dreyfus attached to its defeat the idea of a rebuff for the Republic and of a triumph of reaction over the liberal spirit; and it is extraordinary —incomprehensible even—to find among papers which did their utmost to combat the ideas of justice demanded by the partisans of Dreyfus three Republican organs, since it is incontestable that the campaign directed against Dreyfus was directed against the Republic.

As to the *Petit Journal,* there is no reason to feel any assurance that this organ is Republican. It is a paper which began thirty or forty years ago as a popular non-political sheet; and,

consequently, not being obliged to pay the stamp tax, it could be sold for a half-penny. This gave it a rapid and far-reaching vogue, which it put at the service of the Empire, but which it also put, unfortunately, at the service of the war which brought about the fall of the Empire. When liberty of the press was obtained, the *Petit Journal* became political; but its popularity had already been secured, and it lost nothing of its influence. In the remoter departments it has done immense injury to the cause of Dreyfus, but its attitude was largely determined by its ardent antagonism towards Clemenceau, against whom it had waged a bitter war by methods which all self-respecting journals disapproved. But these are methods which it likes, and, once again, this paper, in going to the length of making of the dead body of a father a weapon of battle against the son, has distinguished itself for having lost, in the ardor of the struggle, the sense of everything which makes the grandeur and honor of contemporary journalism.

The *Éclair* under the management of Alphonse Humbert, an ex-Deputy of the Commune, had passed for being rather extravagant in its republicanism. Its surprising attitude in the Dreyfus affair must have been determined, in the first place, by the fact of the confidences of which it was the object on the part of the General Staff, and, secondly, by the desire to extend its circulation. Moreover, it thus entered into direct rivalry with the *Matin*, which, at the outset, had assumed an attitude rather favorable to the cause of Dreyfus. The *Éclair* then, as was but natural, became heated in the fight, and continued to put forward arguments which it thought incisive in favor of its patrons—a course which in reality was bad, for it did not justify, far from it, the defence which the *Éclair* pretended to offer for the General Staff.

The *République Française* is M. Meline's organ; that is to say, the journal of the ex-Prime-Minister who declared while in office that there was no Dreyfus affair, and that it was necessary to acquiesce in *chose jugée*. The M. Meline fallen from power defends to-day the whilom Meline in office, as formerly he defended General Mercier accused of having violated the law. He remains republican, for I do not believe he could possibly be anything else; but the Dreyfus affair has become for him an instrument ever since the Ministry, in company with the whole world, has seemed ready to acquiesce in the patent facts of the case and to admit that Dreyfus could not be declared guilty.

Such are the causes of this singular fact of the presence of three Republican papers in the ranks of the party opposed to Dreyfus and to the Republic. All the others which I have mentioned and almost all those I have passed over in silence, and which are opposed to Dreyfus, are, as I have said, papers hostile also to the Republic, and this fact, of itself, throws sufficient light for foreigners on this aspect of the question.

Before analyzing the rôle of the journals which have remained alone in the forefront of the battle, it is worth while to point out that, in certain cases, writers of conspicuous worth, drawn to the struggle quite apart from the action of their journals, themselves having noble convictions, have given to it a sort of epic grandeur, which has brought it to the attention of the civilized world.

The *Aurore* had been founded only just before the beginning of the campaign. It was established as a counterpart of the *Intransigeant*, and had the good fortune to arrive just at the right moment to take up the defence of Dreyfus—that is to say, to fight a good fight for truth. *La Justice*, Clemenceau's organ, had just disappeared, or was about to disappear. M. Clemenceau, happily for himself removed for the moment from polemical controversy, has rapidly attained the reputation of being a remarkable writer, who placed at the service of lofty character and ripe reason a pen destined in the ardor of battle soon to become that of a master. He entered the lists as leader-writer on the *Aurore*, and there displayed in the service of the Dreyfus cause a wealth of eloquence and knowledge which immediately attracted the attention of the thinking public, and gained vogue even among the general readers who followed his articles regularly. Unfortunately, the presence in the same journal of another remarkable writer, who professed, however, violent hatred against everything military, played into the hands of unscrupulous enemies, who attributed to Clemenceau himself the candid aggressions of Urbain Gohier, allowing the productions of the one to be the butt of attacks meant for the other, who seemed to be aiming at the armed forces of France.

In the *Siècle*, which had already for some time been nearly forgotten by the public, Yves Guyot and Joseph Reinach defended ardently, a cause destined to become that of humanity itself; but the *Siècle* was a long time in recovering its old prosperity, and the prose of these two distinguished writers appealed for the most part merely to a chosen set of readers already convinced.

François de Pressensé, the exceedingly well-informed and indispensable editor of the foreign department of the *Temps*, was thereupon, little by little, carried away by the ardor of his growing convictions, and, with visor up, abandoning anonymity, he rushed into the fray, not counting his blows, and confronting unhesitatingly all those who challenged him. It was a little later in the day that he ventured into the columns of the *Aurore*, held back hitherto by a natural scruple of not compromising the measured tone of the *Temps* in the violent engagements where he always figured in the front rank of the battle. The *Temps*, in fact, incontestably favorable to the cause of Dreyfus, defended it, however, with a certain procrastination, assuming more often than otherwise the rôle of a mere spectator of the battle, rather than that of a combatant. Yet, at those moments when there was really a doubt, its serious, weighty and reflecting utterances usually placed sincere persons who were not too much swayed by their passions in that frame of mind which it wished to induce.

The *Matin*, essentially a newspaper, and even sensational at that, while wishing to be the counterpart of the *Éclair*, endeavored not to take sides too affirmatively, and readily enough flung out ballast to lighten the balloon, when it seemed to it likely to catch on this or that obstacle in its path; and, on the morrow of the day when it had been prominently on the side of Dreyfus, published defiant articles by General Lambert changing utterly its tone, and its attitude indicated indifference rather than the impartiality at which it was aiming. As for the *Libre Parole*, it was so manifestly pursuing its well-known sectarian end of causing hatred, that it added little to convictions one way or other. The *Intransigeant* plunged along the fatal route which it has marked out for itself, insulting every one on its way, fulfilling the only rôle of which it is capable, for, when Henri Rochefort ceases to insult, he will cease to be read.

I would willingly have finished this article without speaking of the *Journal des Débats*, if my silence would not have appeared affectation. The *Débats*, like the *République Française*, is a newspaper the political policy of which is guided by personal preoccupations, that hinder the freedom of its movements by putting prudent obstacles in its way. In the Dreyfus affair, as in many others, the indispensable prudence of the *Débats* prevented it from taking a resolute stand and enlightening public opinion by

giving it information and appreciation which it imperiously and almost anxiously demanded. This attitude of the *Débats* has not surprised any one who has followed its evolutions. The *Débats* struggles, first of all and *pro domo*, against the progress of Radicalism, which it all the more readily confounds with Socialism, as this is a clever means of casting absolute suspicion over the entire movement. The *Débats* thus saw in the Dreyfus affair the harm that would result to the policy of the Left Centre, or Progressists, by the intervention of Radicalism, which was devoting itself to the defence of Dreyfus. The cause would fatally become attached to a very considerable portion of the Republican party. Hence the reserve and fluctuations of the *Débats*, which are difficult to explain in an affair that has excited passions to such an extraordinary extent. Moreover, by the phenomenon I have explained, the general political policy of the *Débats* is the same as that followed in the Dreyfus affair. I long ago said that the *Débats* is one of the rare French newspapers that have avoided coarse language and personalities in its discussions, and that, without ceasing to be caustic, it is among those with which it is still possible to discuss fairly. I have the very great and sincere regret to declare that I cannot honestly repeat these words. At the present time, like Charlemagne, the brilliant pleiad that formerly gave the *Débats* the glory upon which it still lives, has left no heirs, and, as in the gutter press, personalities and sometimes denunciation are now not infrequently to be seen. This is why the *Débats* has remained without action or influence, one way or other, on the public mind in the protracted struggle that has recently agitated France.

In reality, the two journals that have conducted this long and terrible battle, are *Figaro* and the *Écho de Paris*, and yet *Figaro*, for some time and for unexpected reasons, and owing to strange circumstances, interrupted the struggle and took refuge in a sort of abstention that astonished and troubled the partisans of truth and justice. *Figaro*, which has become a serious and reflecting journal, no longer resembles, in any way, the *Figaro* of early days, and it may now be left upon drawing-room tables. But *Figaro* continues to be a newspaper, to have the latest news before any competitors, and to present its information effectively. *Figaro*, therefore, accepted the first reports upon the projected and partially realized enterprise of the revision of the Dreyfus case. It

soon went further, and, after the denunciation of Esterhazy by Matthieu Dreyfus, published the scandalous letters written by that officer to Madame de Boulancy. By them the start was given, but immediately there was a falling off in the subscriptions and daily sales. The *Gaulois* cleverly seized the opportunity, pitted its anti-Dreyfusist policy against that of *Figaro*, accentuated its royalism, ardently defended the army, and, in a word, sought to obtain subscribers and readers that were deserting *Figaro*. The chief editor of *Figaro*, frightened by all these symptoms, published a contrite letter and announced his withdrawal from active duty for a while. This was a significant and dangerous lull in the progress of the Dreyfus cause. *Figaro* tried to save its position by engaging a military writer very popular in the army, and soon afterwards Cornely, one of the editors of the *Gaulois*, who was stifling in that journal, came to *Figaro*, where it was believed he was going to cause the three lilies to flower once more. But the curious thing is that, in the meanwhile, the *Figaro* public had changed, without becoming less numerous. M. de Rodays, the chief editor, was encouraged by these new marks of sympathy, and Cornely, in whom the fire of Dreyfusism was secretly burning, began, by admirable gradations, the campaign now known to every one, which will remain one of the most brilliant memories in the history of modern French journalism. From this moment, the *Figaro* became the leader of the Dreyfus army, and it then fell to the lot of this journal to perform the duty of disclosing to the world the infamous campaign threats against the over-scrupulous Criminal Chamber, and at the same time of denouncing to the universe, by the publication of the inquiry made by the Court of Cassation, completed by the report of M. Ballot Beaupré and the decree of the full chamber, the monstrous iniquity of the verdict of 1894. Finally, the *Figaro* performed the remarkable feat of publishing each day a complete stenographic report of the Rennes trial; and, if it has been impossible to extricate the judges of 1899 from the slavery of discipline, at least the world is now lifting up against them its powerful voice denouncing the flagrant injustice of their verdict, and proclaiming before history the innocence of their victim, Captain Dreyfus.

On the other side of the battlefield, the French journal that has led this campaign is the *Écho de Paris*. Of comparatively recent foundation, this journal remained a long while in ob-

security; and, at one time, there were vague whispers—the reasons for which I ignore—that it was about to disappear. However, it suddenly obtained resources, said to be considerable, enlarged its pages, and entered upon a new career. Its military information, emanating, according to report, from high sources, had always been carefully followed by those attracted by this sort of news. When the *Écho de Paris* made its recent changes, it engaged a group of popular writers, some of whom had begun their journalistic career in the *Figaro* columns, and who drew to the *Écho de Paris* a host of readers, who until then had paid no attention to their articles. As the military readers remained faithful to the *Écho de Paris*, it was natural that this journal should be the one to take the lead in the defence of the General Staff and in violent opposition to the revision of the Dreyfus case. The chiefs of the various leagues made their communications in its columns, and, as a large number of French journals had ceased to give way before personal attacks, insults and threats, the *Écho de Paris* became the vehicle of every one who found bitter pleasure in spreading broadcast their villanous sentiments. It was in the *Écho de Paris* that so triumphantly established himself the master of the art of denunciation, that ex-magistrate who had quitted the Court of Cassation to hold up his former colleagues to public scorn. No one has escaped this fatal emulation, and, to close with an example which proves that the humblest as well as the highest have had to pay their tribute to this aggressive madness, here is what one of my friends has just said to me, as I am writing these lines: "You know, some days ago, the gentleman whom the University discharged has attacked and denounced you in the *Écho de Paris.*" "Really, my dear friend," I replied, "this gentleman is lucky in having a chance to earn money in attacking and denouncing me. If I wished to do as he is doing, and had no other resource than to offer English journals a few columns of insults and menaces against him, I should run a great risk of dying of hunger."

Not from forgetfulness, but intentionally, I have not spoken of certain journals the obligatory tendencies of which, so to speak, elude discussion. The *Univers*, like all journals of its class, has had and will always have an equivocal attitude. It has not been too flagrantly inquisitorial, nor has it obeyed the orders of justice in turning its back to the vested interests, or what it

considers as such, that it defends. The indelible royalism of the *Gazette de France* spares us, so to speak, the necessity of analyzing its articles. Being reactionary by nature, it could not and cannot take any other attitude than the one it assumed. Its old readers remain inflexibly attached to the throne and the altar, and this does not admit of an indulgence in new dreams. This journal is bright, keen, bitter and perfidious. It amuses those who read it, and I am of the number; but these qualities will not hasten, by even an hour, the return of the government it prefers. Besides, its habits of opposition are so inveterate, that it would be quite out of its element if it were obliged to approve everything, instead of criticising.

I have left, by repugnance rather than by oversight, for the end of this study, the most abnominable, not of French journals, but of all the journals published in the French language—I mean that poisoned vaseline which is called *La Croix*, and which softly slips under the skin and there deposits the virus of hypocrisy, deadly insinuations and denunciations. *La Croix* has, at the top of its first page, the image of Christ crucified; and in each number, in fact, it crucifies anew, on its very threshhold, by its abominable prose, the gentle Saviour who chased the money changers from the Temple. Each day it stirred up hatred against the unfortunate prisoner at Devil's Island, and rendered suspicious even the pity which it preached in his favor, when the revolt of all hearts had shown the horror of the new condemnation. It is an abominable journal, trying to supplant all other popular publications, and to dry up the pure blood of the French nation. It is an abominable journal, and the Catholic Church must be powerfully rooted in French hearts to resist such an ally.

H. G. DE BLOWITZ.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXVI.

NOVEMBER, 1899.

HAWTHORN AND LAVENDER:

SONGS AND MADRIGALS.

BY W. E. HENLEY.

ENVOY.

My songs were once of the sunrise:
They shouted it over the bar;
First-footing the dawns, they flourished,
And flamed with the morning star.

My songs are now of the sunset:
Their brows are touched with light,
But their feet are lost in the shadows
And wet with the dews of night.

Yet for the joy in their making
Take them, O fond and true,
And for his sake who made them
Let them be dear to You.

I.

A sigh sent wrong,
A kiss that goes astray,
A sorrow the years endlong—
So they say.

Copyright, 1899, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

So let it be—
Come the sorrow, the kiss, the sigh!
They are life, dear life, all three,
And we die.

II.

It came with the year's first crocus
In a world of winds and snows;
Because it would, because it must,
Because of life and time and lust;
And the year's first crocus served my turn
As well as the year's first rose.

The March rack scurries and hectors,
The March dust heaps and blows;
But the primrose flouts the daffodil,
And here's the patient violet still;
And the year's first crocus brought me luck,
So hey for the year's first rose!

III.

The good Southwest, on wreck-worn wings,
Comes shepherding the good rain;
The brave sea breaks, and glooms, and swings,
A wavering, gleaming plain.

Sound, sea of England, sound and shine,
Blow, English wind, amain,
Till in this old, gray heart of mine
The spring need wake again!

IV.

In the red April dawn,
In the wild April weather,
From brake and thicket and lawn
The birds sing altogether.

The look of the hoyden Spring
Is pinched and shrewish and cold;
But altogether they sing
Of a world that can never be old:

Of a world still young—still young!—
Whose last word won't be said,
Nor her last song dreamed and sung,
Till her last true lover's dead!

V.

Shadow and gleam on the downland
Under the low, spring sky,
Shadow and gleam in my spirit—
Why?

A bird, in his nest rejoicing,
Cheers and flatters and woos,
A rich voice flutters my fancy—
Whose?

And the humor of April frolics
And bickers in blade and bough—
O, to meet for the primal kindness
Now!

VI.

The April sky sags low and drear,
The April winds blow cold,
The April rains fall gray and sheer,
And yeanlings keep the fold.

But the rook has built, and the thrushes throng,
And over the faded lea
The sky-lark scatters his rocketing song;
And he is the bird for me!

For he sings as if, from his watchman's height,
He saw, this blighting day,
The far vales break into color and light
From the banners and arms of May.

VII.

Deep in my gathering garden
A gallant thrush has built;
And his quaverings on the stillness
Like light made song are spilt.

They gleam, they glint, they sparkle,
They glitter along the air,
Like the song of a sunbeam hiding
In a tangle of red-gold hair.

And I long, as I laugh and listen,
For the angel-hour that shall bring
My part, preordained and appointed,
In the miracle of spring.

VIII.

I talked one mid-night with the jolly ghost
Of a gray ancestor, Tom Heywood hight;
And, "Here's," says he, his old heart liquor-lifted—
"Here's how we did when Gloriana shone."

All in a garden green
Thrushes were singing;
Red rose and white between,
Lilies were springing;
It was the merry May;
Yet sang my Lady:—
"Nay, Sweet, now nay, now nay!
I am not ready."

Then to a pleasant shade
I did invite her;
All things a concert made,
For to delight her;
Under, the grass was gay;
Yet sang my Lady:—
"Nay, Sweet, now nay, now nay!
I am not ready."

IX.

The west a glory of green and red and gold,
The magical drifts to north and eastward rolled,
The shining sands, the still, transfigured sea,
The wind so light it scarce begins to be,
As these long days unfold a flower, unfold
Life's rose in me.

Life's rose—life's rose! Red at my heart it glows—
Glows and is glad, as in some quiet close
The sun's spoiled darlings their gay life renew!
Only, the clement rain, the mothering dew,
Daytide and night, all things that make the rose,
Are you, dear, you!

X.

After the grim Daylight,
Night—
Night and the stars and the sea!
Only the sea and the stars
And the star-shown sails and spars—
Naught else in the night for me!

Over the northern height,
Light—
Light and the dawn of a day
With nothing for me but a breast
Labored with love's unrest,
And the irk of an idle May!

XI.

Love, which is lust, is the lamp in the tomb.
Love, which is lust, is the call from the gloom.

Love, which is lust, is the main of desire.
Love, which is lust, is the centric fire.

So man and woman will keep their trust,
Till the very Springs of the Sea run dust.

Yea, each with the other will lose and win,
Till the very Sides of the Grave fall in.

For the strife of love's the abysmal strife,
And the word of love is the Word of Life.

And they that go with the Word unsaid,
Though they seem of the living, are damned and dead.

XII.

I took a hansom on to-day
For a round that I used to know—
That I used to take for a woman's sake
In a fever of to-and-fro.

There were the landmarks one and all—
What did they stand to show?
Street and square and river were there—
Where was the antient woe?

Never a hint of a challenging hope,
Nor a hope laid sick and low,
And a longing dead as its kindred sped
A thousand years ago!

XIII.

Why do you linger and loiter, O most sweet?
Why do you falter and delay,
Now that the insolent, high-blooded May
Comes greeting and to greet?
Comes with her instant summonings to stray
Down the green, antient way—
The leafy, still, rose-haunted, eye-proof street!—
Where true lovers each other may entreat,
Ere the gold hair turn gray?
Entreat, and fleet
Life gaudily, and so play out their play,
Even with the triumphing May—
The young-eyed, smiling, irresistible May!

Why do you loiter and linger, O most dear?
Why do you dream and palter and stay,
When every dawn, that rushes up the bay,
Brings nearer, and more near,
The Terror, the Discomforter, whose prey,
Beloved, we must be? Nor prayer nor tear
Lets his arraignment; but we disappear,
What time the gold turns gray,
Into the sheer,
Blind gulfs unglutted of mere Yesterday,
With the unlingering May—
The good, fulfilling, irresponsible May!

XIV.

Look down, dear eyes, look down,
Lest you betray her gladness.
Dear brows, do naught but frown,
Lest men miscall my madness.

Come not, dear hands, so near,
Lest all besides come nearer.
Dear heart, hold me less dear,
Lest time hold nothing dearer.

Keep me, dear lips, O keep
The great last word unspoken,
Lest other eyes go weep,
And other lives lie broken!

XV.

Hither, this solemn eventide,
All flushed and mystical and blue,
When the late bird sings
And sweet-breathed garden-ghosts walk sudden and wide,
Hesper, that bringeth all good things,
Brings me a dream of you.
And in my heart, dear heart, it comes and goes,
Even as the south wind lingers and falls and blows,

Even as the south wind sighs and tarries and streams,
Among the living leaves about and round;
With a still, soothing sound,
As of a multitude of dreams,
Of love, and the longing of love, and love's delight,
Thronging, ten thousand deep,
Into the uncreating night,
With semblances and shadows to fulfil,
Amaze, and thrill
The strange, dispeopled silences of sleep.

XVI.

Poplar and lime and chestnut
Meet in a living screen;
And there the winds and the sunbeams keep
A revel of gold and green.

O, the green dreams and the golden,
The golden thoughts and green,
This green and golden end of May
My lover and me between!

XVII.

This is the moon of roses,
The lovely and flowerful time;
And, as white roses climb the wall,
Your dreams about me climb.

This is the moon of roses,
Glad and golden and blue;
And, as red roses drink of the sun,
My dreams they drink of you.

This is the moon of roses!
The cherishing southwest blows,
And life, dear heart, for me and you,
O, life's a rejoicing rose.

XVIII.

The downs, like uplands in Eden,
Gleam in an afterglow,
Like a rose-world ruining earthwards—
Mystical, wistful, slow!

Near and afar in the leafage,
That last glad call to the nest!
And the thought of you hangs and triumphs
With Hesper deep in the west!

Till the song and the light and the color,
The passion of earth and sky,
Are blent in a rapture of boding
Of the death we should one day die.

XIX.

Your feet as glad
And light as a love's homing wings, you came—
Came with your sweets to fill my hands,
My sense with your perfume.

We closed with lips
Grown weary and fain with longing from afar,
The while your grave, enamored eyes
Drank down the dream in mine.

Till the great need
So lovely and so instant grew, it seemed
The embodied Spirit of the Spring
Hung at me, heart on heart.

XX.

A world of leafage murmurous and a-twinkle;
The green, delicious plenitude of June;
Love and laughter and song,
The blue day long,
Going to the same glad, golden tune—
The same glad tune!

Clouds on the dim, delighting skies a-sprinkle;
Poplars black in the wake of a setting moon;
Love and langor and sleep
And the star-sown deep
Going to the same good, golden tune—
The same good tune!

XXI.

These glad, these great, these goodly days
Bewildering hope, outrunning praise,
The Earth, renewed by the great Sun's longing,
Utters her joy in a million ways!

What is there left, dear heart and true—
What, for us and our love to do?
What but to take this mighty summer
As it were made for me and you?

Take it and live it beam by beam,
Motes of light on a gleaming stream,
Glare by glare and glory on glory
Through to the ash of this flaming dream!

XXII.

Come by my bed,
What time the gray ghost shrieks and flies;
Take in your hands my head,
And look, O look, into my failing eyes;
And, by God's grace,
Even as He sunders body and breath,

The shadow of your face
Shall pass with me into the run
Of the Beyond, and I shall keep and save
Your beauty, as it used to be,
An absolute part of me,
Lying there, dead and done,
Far from the sovran bounty of the sun,
Down in the grisly colonies of the Grave.

XXIII.

Since those we love and those we hate,
With all things mean and all things great,
Pass in a desperate disarray
Over the hills and far away:

It must be, dear, that, late or soon,
Out of the ken of the visiting moon,
We shall abscond with Yesterday
Over the hills and far away.

What does it matter? As I deem,
We shall but follow as brave a dream
As ever smiled a wanton May
Over the hills and far away.

We shall remember, and, in pride,
Fare forth, fulfilled and satisfied,
Into the land of Ever-and-Aye,
Over the hills and far away.

XXIV.

The time of the silence
Of birds is upon us:
Rust in the chestnut's leaf,
Dust in the stubble,
The turn of the year
And the call to decay.

Stately and splendid,
The Summer passes:
Sad with satiety,
Sick with fulfilment;
Spent and consumed,
But august 'till the end.

By wilting hedgerows
And white-hot highways,
Bearing its memories
Even as a burden,
The tired heart plods
For a place of rest.

W. E. HENLEY.

February-August, 1899.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.*

BY F. DE MARTENS, DELEGATE FROM RUSSIA TO THE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.

THE Peace Conference, called by the generous invitation of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, has provoked most divergent opinions as to its aim and as to its definite results.

Two opinions are particularly prominent: on the one hand, the opinion of Utopians; on the other hand, the opinion of practical statesmen. The Utopians, the most dangerous enemies of the progress of international law, expected from this Conference a general disarmament of all the Powers, eternal peace and the abolition of war. Practical statesmen, on the contrary, were convinced that this Conference would be productive of no practical result whatever, since the purpose pursued was too lofty, too complicated, and beyond the limits of the real life of states.

It seems to me that neither of these opinions is in accord with the fundamental idea which brought about the meeting of this Conference.

The Conference at The Hague had, as its practical aim, not the general disarmament of nations nor the abolition of war, but rather the examination and study of the conditions under which the great Powers of Europe and of the entire world live, so far as military force is concerned. The aim of this Conference was to call the attention of the Governments to the heavy burdens to which all military nations are subjected in anticipation of an international conflict. The Peace Conference was to examine whether, in the conditions under which the nations of the

* The author of this essay was one of the Delegates from Russia to the Conference at The Hague. For his services as arbitrator, for which he has been several times chosen by civilized states in cases of litigation, there has been conferred upon him the most honorable title, "Lord Chief Justice of Christendom."

civilized world now actually live, it is possible to limit armaments and the preparations for war, which in some cases absorb half of the ordinary budgets of the states. This Conference had not and could not have as its aim either the disbandment of armies or of fleets, or interference with the sovereignty of nations in the defense of their national and political interests.

The Conference at The Hague was thus in a position to propose either measures looking toward a limitation of the armed forces of the nations, or other measures preparing the way for the attainment of this important purpose. In other words, the Conference at The Hague could either propose the limitation of armed forces, with a view to securing arbitration as the most practical means of regulating international conflicts, or it could propose arbitration, in the first place, and leave the solution of the larger question of disarmament to the future. In the first case, the effort would be through disarmament to reach arbitration as the legal means for regulating international conflicts; in the second case, by proclaiming arbitration first, disarmament, perhaps in the distant future, might be reached.

That was the alternative submitted to the Conference at The Hague: and the Conference chose the second way. That is to say, it studied international arbitration as the regular means for adjusting conflicts between nations, reserving for the future the question of the limitation of armaments in different countries.

From the very earliest sessions of the Conference it was decided that three great problems should be examined:

(1.) The question of disarmament.

(2.) The declaration of Brussels (1874) concerning the laws and customs of war, and the application of the Convention of Geneva (1864) to naval warfare.

(3.) The question of peaceful means of regulating conflicts between nations; friendly offices, mediation and arbitration.

The Conference appointed three different commissions to study these three problems.

The first commission, whose task it was to examine the question of the limitation of armed forces, was under the presidency of M. Beernaert, the eminent Belgian statesman.

The second commission, which was to examine the declaration of Brussels (1874), and the Red Cross in time of naval war, was under the presidency of the author of this article.

The third commission, charged with the examination of the question of arbitration, had for its president M. Léon Bourgeois, first Plenipotentiary of France.

These three commissions finished their labors towards the end of the month of July.

The first commission demonstrated, by its labors and its very serious discussions, that the time had not yet come for limiting the military forces of the nations on land and sea by an international compact, and that this question should be left to the future, which must needs give attention to it. The first commission, in the name of all the members of the Conference, formulated two resolutions, which bear excellent testimony that the question of limitation of armaments, as raised by Russia, was unanimously considered to be a question of the day, a subject for serious examination and careful reflection, but that the time has not come to solve it.

The second commission accomplished its task in full. It revised the declaration of Brussels (1874) concerning the laws and customs of war on land, and the whole Conference expressed its approbation of the project of a new Convention. The ten articles, also, concerning the Red Cross in time of naval war were adopted by the Conference and have been signed, at the present date, by sixteen Powers.

The third commission, whose task it was to examine all questions concerning friendly offices, mediation and arbitration, drew up a document of fifty-six articles, which presents a complete *résumé* of all questions in reference to arbitration as a legal and regular means of adjusting conflicts between nations. Without a doubt, this agreement concerning international arbitration is an eminently practical result. It gives to those Powers which seriously desire to avoid war between nations a means of attaining that object by the method devised for them by the Conference at The Hague.

I.

In conformity with the message of the Emperor of Russia, by which the states were invited to unite their efforts towards the maintenance of a general peace, the Powers represented at the Conference at The Hague were to investigate all the means whereby this exalted object might be attained.

To give a fair idea of the way in which the Conference at

The Hague decided to enter upon the solution of the question raised by Russia, it is necessary to present, in a few words, a historic review of the labors of the Conference, so far as concerns international arbitration.

Since it was Russia that called the Conference, it was natural that she should also suggest a basis for the discussions.

In the sessions of the Conference of May 26th, in the name of the Imperial Government, the Russian delegation communicated to the Conference a draft of an agreement in regard to friendly offices, mediation, international commissions of inquiry and arbitration. The plan of the Russian delegation comprised fifty-two articles. It did not constitute a definite agreement, but presented "the elements" of such an agreement.

At the same session the first Plenipotentiary of England, Sir Julian Pauncefote, in a remarkable *mémoire,* squarely proposed the question of the creation of a permanent tribunal of arbitration. The delegation from the United States of America submitted a similar proposition, expressing the desire that arbitration might become a normal method of settling international conflicts.

In examining these propositions, all the members of the Conference must have been convinced that there was absolutely no fundamental difference between the propositions. The Russian, English and American propositions were permeated by the same ideas upon the one point relating to the permanent court of arbitration; they had the same object in view and indicated the same way to the attainment of this object. But, since the Russian propositions were presented in the name of the Government which had taken the initial steps towards this Conference, and since these propositions made up a complete *ensemble* in the form of a document of fifty-two articles, it was most natural for the Conference to decide that they should serve as a basis for discussion. On the other hand, an examination of these different propositions by a gathering of more than a hundred delegates from the Powers was evidently impracticable. For this reason the third commission decided to nominate a committee, composed of a few members only, and these the most competent in such matters, for the purpose of amalgamating the different propositions that had been made, and of preparing for the commission and for the Conference a complete report on all the questions referring to international arbitration.

In this committee, upon which all the labor of the third commission was concentrated, the different propositions made were submitted to a most conscientious examination. The draft of agreement, elaborated by this committee of investigation, was presented to the third commission at a full meeting, and later on to the Conference itself. M. le Chevalier Decamp presented the report of the committee of investigation and of the third commission, which was unanimously approved by the Conference at The Hague.

Before entering upon the examination of the arbitration convention adopted by the Conference at The Hague, it will be useful to explain in a few words the purpose and object of the propositions made by the Government of Russia, which were adopted as a basis for the labors of the Commission. These Russian propositions comprised four different parts.

In the first place, their object was to regulate the question of friendly offices and mediation.

The fundamental idea of this chapter on friendly offices and mediation was this: the Powers represented at the Conference at The Hague are to recognize the moral and practical necessity of not resorting to force in cases of conflict except in cases where neither friendly offices nor mediation nor arbitration could settle the difficulty.

According to the first article of the Russian project, it was said "that for the purpose of preventing resort to force as far as possible in international affairs, the signatory Powers agree to direct all their efforts towards bringing about, by peaceful means, the adjustment of conflicts which may arise between them." From this point of view, in case of grave differences or of conflict, "before appealing to arms, the signatory Powers should have recourse, as far as circumstances permit, to the friendly offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers."

In a case where the situation of Powers in conflict does not allow them to agree upon the choice of a mediating Power, neutral Powers may offer mediation of their own accord.

So far as concerns arbitration the Russian propositions, as was also the case with the question of friendly offices and mediation, maintained an attitude of due respect for the national sovereignty of states.

Russia proposed international arbitration in questions of legal

aspect, and, in the first place, in questions concerning the interpretation and application of treaties in force. The Powers in conflict are to be entirely free to resort to arbitration, to establish tribunals of arbitration in all questions in which "neither national interests nor national honor" are involved.

These principles of voluntary, spontaneous arbitration were not violated by the tenth and eleventh articles of the Russian propositions, in virtue of which arbitration was recognized as obligatory in some exceptional cases.

In order that arbitration might become a regular means, organized to meet the requirements of conflicts between nations, Russia proposed the creation of a permanent tribunal of arbitration, during the session of May 26th. It was not the object of this tribunal of international arbitration in any way to interfere with the full liberty of Governments, in cases where these Governments desired to create special tribunals.

In order that these permanent or special tribunals of arbitration might act according to the same rules of procedure, the Government of Russia proposed a code of arbitration in twenty-six articles. This code was elaborated on the basis of the practice of several recent tribunals of arbitration.

It should be added that this code of arbitration was proposed by the author of this article to the international tribunal of arbitration which met at Paris to adjust the conflict between Great Britain and the United States of Venezuela, of which the author of this article was president, and it was imposed by that tribunal upon the two Powers in litigation as an obligatory regulation.

The Russian propositions also contained a chapter which produced considerable misunderstanding and discussion at the Conference at The Hague a little later on. It was the chapter on International Commissions of Inquiry.

The object of these International Commissions of Inquiry is to prevent the development of a conflict between nations by an examination *in loco* of the circumstances which brought about the conflict. These Commissions of Inquiry may be considered as a sort of safety-valve, designed to set bounds to the discussions of the press, of the public and of representative bodies.

Such were the propositions submitted by Russia to the Conference at The Hague, and in the second place to the third commission.

II.

Without going into the details of all the discussions which took place at the Conference at The Hague in reference to arbitration, it seems necessary to give a brief summary of the definite results obtained.

After very conscientious work on the part of the Committee of Investigation and of the third commission, the Conference at The Hague finally approved of the plan of agreement for the peaceful adjustment of international conflicts presented to it by the third commission.

I consider it useful to give a general survey of the substance of that agreement, bringing out only such stipulations as aroused difficulties or more or less heated discussions.

The work of the Conference, so far as international arbitration is concerned, consists of an agreement of sixty-one articles, which agreement has at the present date been signed by fifteen Powers; and which will be definitively approved, it is to be hoped, by all the Powers represented at the Conference at The Hague.

Let us summarize this agreement and stop to note, in the first place, the first chapter, the object of which is to regulate friendly offices and mediation as means of giving a peaceful solution to international conflicts.

The principles adopted by the Conference concerning friendly offices and mediation emphasize the moral duty, so to speak, of the signatory Powers to resort, so far as circumstances permit, to the friendly offices or to the mediation of one or more of the Powers. Like the Russian project, the Conference at The Hague directs that Powers not involved in the conflict may offer, of their own free will, their friendly offices and their mediation to the states in litigation. It is recognized, also, that the right to offer friendly offices or mediation belongs to the states not involved in the quarrel, even during the course of hostilities.

The exercise of this right shall never be considered as an unfriendly act by either of the parties in litigation.

What constitutes the rôle of a mediator? The mediator ought to reconcile opposing claims, pacify resentment, and frame a compromise for Powers which find themselves at variance.

If these principles be compared with international practice it may be confidently said that the difference between them and the practice in these matters, is not very great. For a long time,

especially since the Congress of Paris (1856), the Powers have declared it to be a duty, in case of conflict, to have recourse to friendly offices and mediation. Yet it must not be forgotten that the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris (1856) had in view only certain particular cases, especially the entanglements within the domain of the Eastern Question; neither friendly offices nor mediation had been enunciated as general and normal means to avoid conflicts between nations. It is only at the Conference at The Hague that this general and almost morally obligatory character of friendly offices and mediation was recognized, for the first time, by all the Powers represented at the Conference.

There is another point in which the Convention of The Hague is fundamentally distinguished from other international stipulations on that subject. To the United States of America and to the delegation from that country to the Conference at The Hague belongs the honor of having extended the very narrow limits within which mediation has been hitherto practised. On motion of the representative of the United States of America, Mr. Holls, the Conference at The Hague adopted in the eighth article a "special mediation" in the following form:

> "In case of grave differences endangering peace, the states in conflict may respectively choose a Power to which they may intrust the mission of entering into direct communication with the Power chosen by the other side for the purpose of preventing the rupture of pacific relations.
>
> "During the existence of this mandate, the term of which, unless otherwise ordered, shall not exceed thirty days, the states in litigation shall cease from all direct communication on the subject of the conflict, which shall be considered as submitted exclusively to the mediating Powers. These shall direct all their efforts towards adjusting the difficulty.
>
> "In case of an actual interruption of pacific relations, these Powers shall remain charged with the common mission of profiting by every opportunity to re-establish peace."

The idea of this "special mediation," as well explained by its author at the meeting of the Committee of Investigation, is the same as the idea of a duel between individuals: in the same manner as, upon the eve of an encounter regarded as fatal, instead of leaving the quarrel open to the principals, it is preferable to yield the discussion of controverted points for the moment to witnesses or seconds, possessing respectively the confidence of each party and less subject to the sway of passion. "Special

mediation" on the part of such witnesses or seconds affords the great advantage of avoiding the necessity of a perfect understanding, so difficult in the choice of a single or common mediator.

Conformably to this "special mediation," the Powers in conflict must cease from all direct communication with each other in reference to the object in dispute, and leave it to the witnesses or seconds to enter into direct communication one with the other, to investigate the circumstances under which the quarrel came about and to propose to the Powers in conflict a peaceful solution in the name of the two mediators.

These mediators are not, properly speaking, arbitrators; they are Powers, which, for the sake of peace and friendly relations among nations, take it upon themselves to clear away misunderstandings which menace the peace of the world.

Finally, in regard to this chapter on mediation, it should be noted that the acceptance of such mediation shall not have the effect, unless otherwise prescribed, of interrupting, retarding or impeding mobilization and other measures preparatory to war.

The second subject under consideration at the Conference at The Hague was the question of International Commissions of Inquiry.

The author of this essay was enabled to explain to the Conference at The Hague the practical value of this proposition. He recalled cases—like that of Schnoebelé—where a quarrel arises between two states, in connection with some frontier incident, or with a criminal act, such as the blowing up of the American warship, the "Maine," in the port of Havana. The facts relative to frontier incidents are not always clear; it is not practicable to decide whether they have taken place on this side of the frontier or on that; it is doubtful upon which authorities the blame should be placed in cases of violation of territorial sovereignty of neighboring states. In such cases public opinion becomes heated, the more so since such an incident is usually unexpected; public opinion is ill-informed; it does not know the origin and the true causes of the conflict; it is at the mercy of the impressions of the moment; the chances are much in favor of such ignorance acting as an irritant upon the spirit of the two contesting nations; and thus the conflict may become a reason for breaking off diplomatic relations and even a cause of war.

In such cases it is absolutely necessary that the truth in

reference to the causes of the incident should be known; and for this purpose it becomes the duty of the Powers, between whom the difficulty has arisen, to send to the spot a commission composed of members chosen by the two parties. This commission should have but one object: to establish the facts and to make a report to the Governments interested. It rests with these Governments to take further steps after considering the report.

From this point of view, International Commissions of Inquiry are not innovations, for the Powers have availed themselves of them on various occasions, for example in the Orient; but for such Commissions of Inquiry a stable and legitimate organization should be secured.

These propositions met with a very sympathetic reception at the hands of the Committee of Investigation and of the Conference at The Hague, although there was some misunderstanding as to the method of procedure, and even as to the objects of these Commissions of Inquiry.

It was said—especially did the representatives of the small states of the Balkan Peninsula, Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria and Greece, raise the objection—that these Commissions of Inquiry would have but one object, namely, to attack the sovereignty of these small states; that the great Powers would be constantly imposing these Commissions of Inquiry upon them; that the results obtained by the Commissions of Inquiry would always be unfavorable to the smaller Powers and favorable to the great Powers, etc. On the other hand, it was said that these Commissions of Inquiry would be, so to speak, arbitration, since the report which they would present would amount to a decree of arbitration.

The delegation from Russia sought to prove that these Commissions of Inquiry would be of enormous importance to the smaller Powers especially; for to the small Powers the right would be given, in all cases of conflict, to demand that such Commissions of Inquiry should be instituted. A great Power could always utilize its strength and the means at its disposition to take such measures as seemed necessary from the incipiency of the conflict; but if the great Powers were under moral obligation to establish Commissions of Inquiry before taking such steps, a guarantee would be given to the small Powers, which they do not now possess.

On the other hand, the report of such a Commission has not

the character of a judgment by arbitration; the Powers in litigation, which have established such a Commission, would, nevertheless, remain free to follow up the report presented by this Commission, as they saw fit; the object of the Commissioners is not to judge of the affair, but simply to present the results of a conscientious study of the circumstances under which the quarrel arose.

These considerations met with unanimous acceptance on the part of the members of the Conference, in which acceptance the delegates of the small states of the Balkan Peninsula joined; and in its Articles of Agreement the Conference at The Hague adopted the Russian proposition, with a few changes which in no wise alter the practical character of this new international institution.

According to the original propositions, the Russian propositions, the Powers are under obligation to institute such Commissions. At the request of the small Powers, the Conference at The Hague changed this obligatory form of the sentence in such a way as to read that the signatory Powers "consider it useful" that parties which have been unable to agree by the diplomatic way, shall, "as far as circumstances permit," institute an International Commission of Inquiry, whose task it shall be to facilitate the settlement of differences by bringing out the facts of the case, by means of an impartial and careful investigation. The Commissions of Inquiry shall be instituted by the Powers in litigation, who shall name two members of this Commission; a neutral Power may be invited to nominate the president of the Commission, who, by his vote, shall give the final solution to the questions raised.

These Commissions of Inquiry should proceed according to the rules adopted in all cases of investigation—that is to say, by hearing testimony on both sides. After the Commission has finished its investigation with the assistance of the Powers in litigation, it shall render a report to the parties who made the appointments. "The report is limited to a statement of fact and is not in the nature of a decree of arbitration."

We now pass on to the examination of the decisions of the Conference at The Hague as to arbitration itself.

The general principles by which the Conference at The Hague was guided are as follows:

International arbitration is recognized and legalized. Its

object is to adjust difficulties which may arise between two states on questions of a judiciary order, and, in the first place, on questions of interpretation or application of international treaties or agreements. The signatory Powers have recognized this as the most efficacious and at the same time the most equitable means of adjusting international difficulties.

All the Powers, even those which have signed the treaty, remain free to conclude special treaties for developing international arbitration as the most just and equitable means of regulating conflicts between them.

Under these conditions the sovereignty of even the signatory Powers was respected in every way by the Conference at The Hague.

But, as we said above, these general principles differ on one point from the original propositions made by Russia.

In the Russian propositions, arbitration was recommended in two forms: optional arbitration and obligatory arbitration. Optional arbitration depends entirely on the good will of the Powers; obligatory arbitration was recommended by Russia for some special cases which are at present more or less provided for by different international treaties.

Russia proposed to recognize the obligation of the signatory Powers, to resort to arbitration in cases of differences having reference to pecuniary damages sustained by a state or the territory under its jurisdiction as a consequence of illicit action or of negligence on the part of another state or the territory under its jurisdiction; in cases of disagreements referring to the application of postal, telegraph or railroad treaties; of disagreements referring to the protection of literary, artistic or industrial property, to treaties on successions, etc. In such cases, according to the Russian proposition, the signatory Powers would have been obliged to resort to arbitration, and this obligation should have been confirmed by the Conference at The Hague.

At the beginning of the labors of the Conference at The Hague, the idea of obligatory arbitration met with a sympathetic reception, and was generally approved and considered to be the first step along the way already entered by several Powers by means of special treaties. But Germany thought it necessary to oppose the proposition energetically, and the Conference at The Hague, influenced by the spirit of conciliation and with a view

to unanimous agreement, rallied about the German idea: obligatory arbitration was completely set aside by the Conference.

Having approved of the general principles of arbitration, the Conference had to place itself on record as regards the Russian, English and American proposition concerning a permanent tribunal of arbitration. The idea of a permanent tribunal of arbitration is not new; all the advocates and friends of arbitration, as a pacific means of avoiding conflict between nations, have always had in mind the necessity of organizing arbitration as a universal and judiciary procedure for cases of litigation between nations.

In the session of May 26th, Russia had expressed this idea in its principles. But the honor of having put the question in a categorical and detailed manner belongs to the first delegate of England, Sir Julian Pauncefote, who submitted to the Conference a project for instituting a permanent tribunal of arbitration, the basic thought of which is as follows:

Every signatory Power should designate an equal number of arbitrators; the names of these arbitrators shall be inscribed upon a general list, as members of the permanent tribunal of arbitration. This permanent tribunal shall be called together in every case of conflict between the signatory Powers, if they manifest a desire for such a call. At The Hague an "international bureau," a sort of secretary's office, shall be established, to serve as a registry office for the international tribunal; this office shall be furnished for administrative services. Finally, a "permanent council of administration" shall be created at The Hague to control the workings of the international bureau.

When the English delegation had submitted this project to the Conference, the delegation from the United States of America made a proposition in virtue of which a permanent bureau was to be established at The Hague, and it was proposed that the Court of Justice of each state nominate one member of the international tribunal. According to the American proposition, this tribunal of arbitration should be organized when nine Powers shall have signed the treaty.

The Russian proposition rested upon the same basis, as above mentioned.

Consequently the Conference at The Hague had before it three different propositions on the tribunal of arbitration; proposi-

tions emanating from the three greatest Powers of the world. It was, of course, necessary to make a choice from these three propositions. The members of the Committee of Investigation decided unanimously that the basis for discussion on the organization of a permanent tribunal of arbitration should be, exclusively, the English proposition, which emanated from Sir Julian Pauncefote, the eminent English statesman, who, during all his life and his brilliant diplomatic career, had been a confirmed advocate of a permanent tribunal of arbitration.

We shall not here enter upon all the details of the discussions on this question. But it is necessary to note that the opposition made by Germany to the permanent tribunal naturally brought about a change, in some respects, in the disposition originally predominating in the Committee of Investigation and the Conference. The particular ideas of the German Empire being stated, it became necessary to make some sacrifices. But if the provisions of the treaty of The Hague on the permanent tribunal of arbitration (which provisions had been adopted by Germany in principle) be examined, it would hardly be affirmed that the German ideas had completely changed the fundamental idea of a permanent tribunal; on the contrary, all the Powers, Germany included, have adopted and organized a permanent tribunal of arbitration under the name of the "Permanent Court of Arbitration."

The signatory Powers reserve the right, in case of conflict, to constitute among themselves a tribunal or court of arbitration. In case they consider it expedient to appeal to the "Permanent Court of Arbitration," they may do so on condition that they then submit to the provisions of the Arbitration-Treaty of The Hague.

The Permanent Court of Arbitration was organized in the following manner:

"Every signatory Power shall designate, within the three months following the ratification by them of the present act, four persons or more, of recognized competency in questions of international law, highly respected on the ground of morals, and disposed to accept the functions of arbitrators.

"The persons thus designated shall be entered, as members of the Court, upon a list to be sent to all the signatory Powers through the agency of the Bureau.

"Every change of the list of arbitrators shall, through the agency of the Bureau, be brought to the notice of the signatory Powers.

"The same person may be designated by different Powers.

"The members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration are elected for a period of six years. They may be re-elected."

Besides this Court, an "International Bureau" is to be established at The Hague. This Bureau serves as a recording-office for the Court, and is the intermediary for all communications relative to all meetings of the Court. The Bureau preserves the archives and has the management of all the administrative affairs. The Governments bind themselves to communicate to the Bureau such laws, decrees and documents as may serve as a basis for the decisions rendered by the Court.

Lastly, there shall be constituted at The Hague a "Permanent Administrative Council," composed of the diplomatic representatives of the signatory Powers accredited at The Hague, and of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, who shall hold the office of President.

This "Administrative Council" shall have charge of the establishment and organization of the International Bureau, which shall remain under its direction and control. Furthermore, the Permanent Administrative Council shall notify the Powers of the manner in which the Court is constituted and shall provide offices for it.

To understand the full import of this organization, it must be added that Powers in conflict, which decide to appeal to the Permanent Court of Arbitration to adjust a difficulty, will choose the arbitrators, to be called to form a Tribunal of Arbitration, which shall be competent to pass upon the differences which have arisen between them. In other words, the Powers in litigation not desiring to constitute a special tribunal of arbitration shall take the list of the arbitrators, constituting the "Permanent Court of Arbitration," and shall select from that list. When the Tribunal of Arbitration is made up, the Bureau is notified of the fact by the parties concerned, and the Tribunal meets upon the date set by these parties and enters upon the consideration of the matters submitted.

Before leaving this subject, it is absolutely essential to say a few words of a proposition made by Baron d'Estournelles, delegate from France, a proposition which took shape in the twenty-seventh article of the Treaty of The Hague, which says that "the signatory Powers consider it their duty, in case of serious con-

flict arising between two or more among them, to recall to these that the 'Permanent Court' is open to them. The fact of thus recalling to the Powers in litigation the provisions of the present treaty and the counsel given—to appeal to the 'Permanent Court of Arbitration' in the highest interests of peace—shall be considered in no other light than as an act of friendly offices."

Despite the sympathetic purpose of this proposition, it caused considerable misunderstanding. The duty of the signatory Powers to recall to the conflicting Powers the existence of the "Permanent Court of Arbitration," and the fact of its being open to them, seemed to some to have the force of unwarranted interference and thus of a vexation to the Powers.

Finally, after a very animated discussion, all the members of the Conference recognized that the French proposition was not only sympathetically conceived, but also that it encroached in no wise upon the sovereign rights or the national independence of the states, and the article was adopted by the sixteen Powers which, up to the present time, have signed the Treaty.

A few words remain to be said on the provisions adopted by the Conference at The Hague as to the procedure in cases of arbitration. Hitherto the Powers in litigation have always confined themselves to determining, in their mutual agreement, the object in litigation, organizing a tribunal of arbitration, determining its competency and the obligatory force of its decision; but all points of procedure were the vaguest of the vague. No tribunal of arbitration (such as that on the Alabama Claim in 1873, or the tribunal in Paris in 1892, *à propos* of the Behring Sea Fisheries) had any code of procedure. The total lack of such a code proved very inconvenient. Questions were brought up before these tribunals of arbitration for the solution of which these tribunals possessed no rule, no basic principles; and the questions thus raised not only provoked misunderstandings, but occupied much of the time of these tribunals.

This great inconvenience was recognized as a flaw in international arbitration as early as 1874 by the "Institute of International Laws." This society, composed of the most prominent writers on this branch of jurisprudence, had made a code of rules for tribunals of arbitration; but, despite its great scientific merits, this code of rules did not always provide means of meeting the difficulties presented by practical arbitration.

The fundamental provisions of the code of procedure adopted by the Conference at The Hague are as follows: The Powers having recourse to arbitration shall sign an international act or compromise, in which shall be clearly set forth the objects of contention and the extent of the powers vested in the arbitrators. The Powers, at their option, may designate the arbitrators; may make a choice from the Permanent Court of Arbitration; may apply directly to that court, or may establish a special tribunal. In case the contending Powers do not come to a special agreement as to the constitution of a tribunal of arbitration, it is recommended that each side name two arbitrators and let these choose one additional. In case of a tie vote, the choice of the additional arbitrator is left to a neutral Power, to be designated by the Powers in contention. If the choice of a neutral Power cannot be agreed upon by the contending Powers, each side shall name a Power and the choice of the additional arbitrator shall be left to these two Powers.

The place of meeting for the Tribunal of Arbitration thus constituted shall be designated by the parties in contention; in the absence of a definite appointment, the special Tribunal of Arbitration meets at The Hague.

Procedure in arbitration involves two distinct phases: one, instruction; the other, debate.

Instruction consists of communications made by the respective agents of the contending Powers to the members of the tribunal and to the opposing party; of all printed and written records and all documents referring to the case.

Debates before the tribunal of arbitration shall consist of verbal elaborations of the contentions held.

When instructions have closed, the tribunal has the right to exclude from debate all new records or documents which one side may wish to submit without the consent of the other. The tribunal may require that the agents of the parties contending shall produce all records and may demand all necessary explanations. The agents or counsels of the parties are authorized to present to the tribunal orally all materials which they consider useful in the defense of their cause. The members of the tribunal have the right to put questions to the agents or counsels of the parties and to demand elucidation of doubtful points. Neither the questions so put nor the remarks made by members of the

tribunal during the course of the debate shall be regarded as the expression of an opinion on the part of the tribunal in general or of the interrupting member in particular.

Furthermore, the code of arbitration has settled one question of great importance, and that is the question as to who shall have the right to decide upon the competency of the tribunal itself. It will be remembered that it was on this point that the Geneva Arbitration on the Alabama Claim failed. But this question is solved in the forty-eighth article of the treaty, in which it is stated that the tribunal is authorized to determine its competency by interpreting the compromise along the line of such precedents as can be applied, and by applying the principles of international law.

The decree in arbitration determined by a majority vote is to be acknowledged and signed by each member of the tribunal, and, being binding upon the contending Powers, it shall be read in open session of the tribunal. By this decree in arbitration the quarrel is adjusted definitely and without appeal.

The delegation from the United States, however, through Mr. Holls, proposed that a decree of arbitration should be subject to revision, if, within three months after the announcement of the decree, there should be discovered a new fact which, in the judgment of the tribunal, was of a nature to exercise a decisive influence upon the decree. But, under these conditions, the decree in arbitration would not really exist during the three months which follow its promulgation, and it is quite certain that the Power which lost its case would do its utmost to discover such a new fact for the purpose of securing the revision. The passions which were running high before the constitution of the Tribunal of Arbitration would grow to unexpected proportions after the decree in arbitration had been made public.

The Conference at The Hague united upon the opinion of the author of this essay, and adopted the proposition made by the delegate from the Netherlands, and accepted by the delegation from Russia, on the strength of which parties desiring to have a decree in arbitration revised have the right to do so by means of a particular compromise between themselves. But, on general principles, the decree in arbitration once announced closes the case for the parties in dispute.

It is an incontestable fact that no international conference

has ever aroused so many hopes and so much opposition as the Conference at The Hague. At the very outset, when this Conference was first called, this opposition was almost legitimate, for the problems placed before it were, indeed, of a difficult nature: but it seems singular that now, when the Conference has finished its labors and the results of its labors are more or less accessible to all the world, the attacks continue.

It may be useful, therefore, to compare the Conference at The Hague with other international conferences or congresses which are notable in the history of the nineteenth century.

Take, for example, the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The highest hopes were centred upon that Congress; the nations expected the greatest benefits from it. It lasted nearly a year, and closed with a great demonstration; but if it be asked what this Congress has left to posterity and to us, the reply must be, next to nothing. All its leading provisions concerning political interests and the territorial rights of nations have either changed or been reversed. The only provisions of that Congress which are actually in force and which secure for it a prominent and honorable place in the history of international law, are a few provisions which concern navigation of international streams and the declaration that the slave-trade is abolished forever.

Turning to the Congress of Paris of 1856, by which the Crimean War was closed, we see that the exclusive object of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris was to rearrange the *status quo* in Turkey. If that Congress has hitherto held a conspicuous place in the history of the progress of international relations, it is due to the famous declaration on maritime law.

If we pass on to the Congress of Berlin in 1878, we note that it was presided over by the most practical politician of the nineteenth century, Prince Bismarck, and that the Treaty of Berlin altered the condition of things created by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, so far as the Balkan Peninsula was concerned. It has left nothing behind which tends to the pacific and progressive development of international relations. It had in view nothing but the political interests of the nations, and political interests change and develop under the influence of circumstances, of time and the prejudices of the nations.

If now we ask ourselves what place is occupied among the various congresses and conferences which have taken place dur-

ing the century by the Conference at The Hague, it will incontestably appear that all the international actions taken by it will ever remain the foundation, the corner-stone, of every useful attempt made towards the establishment of normal and peaceful relations between the nations, and of creating an order of things more in conformity with the permanent and legitimate interest of the nations independent of the transitory aspirations of statesmen. No conference, no congress, no meeting in the future, whose aim and task it shall be to occupy itself with matters pertaining to the progressive development of international life in peace and in war, can ignore the labors of this Conference at The Hague or take the least step along this pathway, without reverting to the *procès-verbeaux* of the Peace Conference of 1899.

This conclusion is the result of the state of things actually existing among the nations of the civilized world. The Treaty of Arbitration, of which we have above explained the principal propositions, will ever be the basis of all new propositions adopted in the future by the Powers for the purpose of developing and securing peaceful solutions of disputes.

The treaty on the laws and customs of war will certainly be as notable as the treaty on arbitration. By reason of this treaty the peaceful and unarmed inhabitants of the territory of belligerents will have the right to demand that their lives, their religious convictions and their private property shall be respected. Through it prisoners of war will be treated not as enemies, but as disarmed and honorable adversaries, worthy of respect. Through it social institutions, beneficiary establishments, religious, scientific and otherwise, which find themselves on disputed territory, shall have the right to demand and to exact of the enemy respect for the inviolability of their property and their interests.

Finally, the Red Cross treaty for times of naval warfare, signed by the Conference at The Hague, is the happy solution of the question which the Powers of Europe have been studying for thirty years. Since 1868 the "Additional Articles" to the Treaty of Geneva have existed, whereby the beneficent influence of the Treaty of Geneva on wounded and sick soldiers was also extended to sea combats. For thirty-one years diplomatic negotiations have been carried on on this question; all the Red Cross conferences which have taken place in the last twenty years have proclaimed the necessity of recognizing the Red Cross treaty for

the sick and wounded in naval warfare. But nothing effectual was accomplished up to the Conference at The Hague. It was this Conference that caused the final adoption by sixteen Powers of Europe of the principle whereby the wounded in times of naval warfare shall have the same right to have their person, their life, their health and their property respected, as the wounded in case of warfare on land.

In conclusion we ought to make one further observation of indisputable interest.

None of the congresses and conferences hitherto held can be compared with the Conference at The Hague with respect to ethnic structure. In all other congresses and conferences of the century only a limited number of states were represented. In almost all cases the great Powers actually decided the questions for the nations. But at the Conference at The Hague, twenty-six Powers were represented! There were more than one hundred and ten delegates there from these Powers. The delegates represented not only the Powers of Europe, not only the Great Power of America, but also Turkey, Persia, China, Japan.

The session-hall of the Conference at The Hague, in the royal palace of the Huis ten Bosch, cannot be compared with the session-hall of the Congress of Paris, of Berlin or of Vienna. In this session-hall the delegates of the twenty-six Powers were not seated about a table; there could have been no such table. They were separately grouped in a great hall, which represented, as has been said of it, a sort of "International Parliament." The consultations were not secret negotiations, "behind the scenes." But great questions were elucidated by discourses and study, by reciprocal exchange of ideas in open session, before the representatives of three parts of the world.

Finally, and it is a happy token to note, the longer the labors of the Conference at The Hague lasted, the more fully views were exchanged among the representatives of the different Powers, the more pronounced grew the mutual respect, the more friendly grew the personal relations, the more palpable became the desire to do something for the future.

This is a most encouraging fact which explains much in the past and is full of high promise for the future.

F. DE MARTENS.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PEACE.*

BY SETH LOW, LL.D., PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, AND UNITED STATES DELEGATE TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.

THE origin of the Conference is well known. Proposed by the Czar of Russia, and summoned, at his instance, by the Queen of the Netherlands, the Conference met in the city of The Hague, on the 18th of May of the current year, and remained in session until it adjourned *sine die* on the 29th of July. It was attended by delegates from twenty-six Powers. Of these, twenty were European, two American and four Asiatic. It is interesting to compare this with the membership of the International Marine Conference, the first world Conference ever held for purposes of *quasi* legislation, which met in Washington at the call of the United States Government in 1889. At that Conference, twenty-eight Powers were represented, fourteen European, eleven American (including Hawaii), and three Asiatic.

At the Conference of Peace, the European Powers were Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain and Ireland, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Montenegro, Holland, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, and Bulgaria. The American Powers were the United States of America, and Mexico. The Asiatic Powers were China, Japan, Persia and Siam. Each Power had one vote, but was represented by as many delegates as it chose.

*The writer, having been a member of the Commission representing the United States at the International Conference at The Hague, has endeavored to state accurately not only the action of the Conference, but also the attitude of the American delegation. He has done this, however, in his own words, and from his own point of view; so that he alone, and not any of his colleagues, is responsible for the statements contained in this paper. The purpose of the paper is to give to the ordinary reader, as distinguished from the student, a general idea of the Conference and its work. The student should turn to the official reports of the American Commission, which alone can speak with authority on behalf of the Commission.

The first thing to be observed about the membership of the Conference is that, like its predecessor the International Marine Conference, it included nations from America and Asia, as well as from Europe; and the second is that the representation of Europe and of Asia was much more complete than that of America. It is striking that the entire Continent of Africa, once the seat of power of the Pharaohs and of Carthage, contains to-day no nation that was invited. It is not known to the writer why the nations of Central and South America were not represented. The notable sub-division of Europe into separate and independent Powers, as compared with the other continents represented, is strikingly evident from the composition of the Conference. When one recalls that a similar list of the European Powers made a century ago would have shown a still greater sub-division, one cannot help wondering whether the process of amalgamation is yet complete. On the one side is the astonishing persistence of national types, even when limited to small areas, affecting language, customs, and, until very recently, also dress; but, upon the other side, are all the tendencies of the age, as illustrated, as forcibly as anywhere, in the industrial and commercial world. The practical inconveniences arising from custom-houses at short intervals, from changing currencies during every long journey, and from change of language, are also exceedingly great in an age when travel and commercial intercourse are easy and are bringing about the unification of the world in so many ways. This is an interesting problem suggested by the Conference of Peace, though not discussed by it.

The unique character of the Conference appeared in other ways. While French was the language of the Conference, one could hear among the delegates almost every civilized tongue. Reports were transmitted to the home governments in the perpendicular writing of the Orient, and in the right to left writing of the Middle East, as well as in the characteristic script of European speech. At the reception given to the Conference by the Queen, which every one attended in gala costume, the spectacle was very brilliant, because the representatives of every nation wore the uniform and orders of their rank. It led one of the delegates to remark that there had been no such gathering of the nations since the Congress of Vienna early in the century. But, indeed, except at Washington in 1889, there has been at no time any such

meeting; for the presence of Asia and America in conference with Europe is a thing still new in the world's history.

China, true to its conservative instincts, wore here as everywhere its characteristic dress. Japan and Siam, on the other hand, wore the dress of Europe, as if to emphasize their formal entry among the world's family of nations. The Turk with his red fez and the Persian with his black, while otherwise dressed as Europeans, seemed to illustrate how hard it is for the East wholly to assimilate itself to the West. The Americans in their evening dress were happily conspicuous for their simplicity. But, whatever the variety, there, as in everything relating to the Conference, was the predominating fact of unity. It was a gathering of the world's Powers on the basis of equality, each having one vote, and on the basis of recognized independence.

It will be observed, also, that among the nations represented there were all the great Powers of the world and many of the small ones; Powers that control great areas of the world's surface and influence great multitudes of the world's people, and Powers content to preserve and guard their own individuality in the small domains that are theirs; Powers also that are aggressive factors in the world's life, and Powers that find the forces of modern civilization in conflict with all that has been characteristic of their national history.

Under these circumstances, it might well have been imagined that some line of cleavage would show itself among the Powers in relation to the various questions to come before the Conference. Nothing of the sort occurred. Only at two points was there the slightest suggestion of differences between classes of Powers, as to questions of interest or point of view. When the plan for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes was under consideration, the Balkan States showed great sensitiveness as to certain features of the plan, lest these should enable their powerful neighbors to interfere with their autonomy. These features were immediately modified or explained in such a way as to meet the views of the Balkan States. Again, on the question of forbidding the use of asphyxiating shells and of bullets that expand or flatten easily on entering the human body, the record reads as if it were the Anglo-Saxon against the world, for England and the United States were the only two Powers who voted against this prohibition.

It is worth while to go at some length into this subject, in order that the attitude of the American Delegation may be perfectly understood. Before doing so, however, it may tend to clearness to summarize the completed action of the Conference, as embodied in its final act. This document sets forth that the Conference has prepared, for submission to the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers, (1) three Conventions, (2) three Declarations; that it has adopted with unanimity a resolution to the effect that "the limitation of the military charges which at present so oppress the world is greatly to be desired, for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind"; and that it has passed six other resolutions, with differing degrees of unanimity, referring various questions for other and later consideration.

The questions referred for other consideration need only be briefly stated. The Conference expressed the hope that the Swiss Government would call an early meeting of a special Conference, to revise the Geneva Convention in relation to the Red Cross; that the Governments would make a special study of questions relating to muskets and marine artillery, with a view of reaching an understanding as to the adoption of new types and calibres; also, that the Governments would consider the possibility of reaching an understanding concerning the limitation of armed forces on land and sea, and of war budgets; and that some future Conference should consider all questions relating to the rights and duties of neutral States, the question of the immunity of private property in war on the high seas, and the question of the bombardment of ports, cities, and villages by a naval force.

The three Conventions embody the constructive work of the Conference. It suits best the scheme of this paper, however, to discuss first the three Declarations, for it was upon two of these that America and England were arrayed against the world.

The three Declarations were as follows:

1. A Declaration prohibiting the throwing of projectiles and explosives from balloons or by other new analogous means, such prohibition to be effective for five years.

2. A Declaration prohibiting the use of projectiles having as their sole object the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases.

3. A Declaration prohibiting the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, as illustrated by certain given details of construction.

The action of the Conference in relation to asphyxiating shells is embodied in the Declaration which forbids "the use of projectiles having as their sole object the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases." In other words, if a shell in bursting asphyxiates incidentally it is permissible; but if it is not intended to burst but only to asphyxiate, it is forbidden. It may be remarked that no such shells exist as those which are thus forbidden. What may be the effect of such shells, therefore, if any such are ever made, is purely hypothetical. To forbid their use under such circumstances seems like paraphrasing Lord Dundreary's famous question, "If you had a brother, would he like cheese?" Neither is it clear why shells which asphyxiate only should be forbidden, while shells which both explode and asphyxiate should be permitted.

The second question, as to bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, is more technical, but the objection to the action taken by the Conference can be made not less clear. The exact text of the Declaration adopted by the Conference reads as follows: "The contracting Powers forbid the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, such as jacketed bullets of which the jacket does not entirely cover the core or has incisions in it."

The United States Delegation was at one with the representatives of the other Powers in willingness to forbid unnecessarily cruel bullets, and, in order to show this, the Delegation twice offered, once in Committee and once in the full Conference, a carefully drawn resolution forbidding all bullets of an unnecessarily cruel character. It is one of the curiosities of the parliamentary procedure in use at the Conference that, on neither occasion, could this resolution be brought to a vote. In Committee, the Chairman merely swept it aside, as being too vague; and, in the Conference, in order to avoid a hopeless tangle as to the status of the question as between the Declaration recommended by the committee and the resolution proposed on behalf of the United States, the Conference itself voted to give precedence to the Declaration coming from the committee, and, this being adopted, the Conference left the American resolution in the air. In other words, the United States wished to declare a principle; the Conference preferred to forbid a certain kind of bullet. The technical objections to the Declaration lie precisely in its details. It was forcibly

maintained by the United States ordnance expert, Capt. William Crozier, of the American Delegation, that it is quite conceivable that a ball should be invented for a smaller-calibre musket than any now in use, which, by expanding evenly, would be as effective as bullets of larger size without being in any way more cruel. It was also pointed out that inventors, in trying to avoid the details of construction prohibited by the Declaration, might easily be driven to the invention of bullets much more cruel as to the character of wounds that they would make, but which would yet be permissible because the Declaration hinges on details and not upon a principle. Incidentally, it came out in the discussion that the Declaration was aimed at a certain kind of bullet actually in use in the army of one of the Powers represented at the Conference. With this aspect of the question the Delegation from the United States naturally had no concern; but it showed its willingness, by the resolution which it offered, to join in the condemnation of this or any other bullet that might be shown to be unnecessarily cruel.

In view of the attitude of the United States Delegation towards these two proposals arbitrarily to limit the progress of invention in relation to weapons of war, it may be asked why, on the other hand, the Delegation joined in the Declaration of the Conference prohibiting "for five years, the throwing of projectiles and explosives from balloons or by other new analogous means." This Declaration, it will be observed, differs from the others materially in being limited to the term of five years. But, apart from that, there is a reason why, for the time being, this prohibition rests upon a recognizable principle. Up to the present moment, balloons are uncontrollable; they are the sport of the winds. Projectiles thrown from them, therefore, are as likely to injure non-combatants as combatants. They may also do merely useless damage; that is to say, damage that does not advance at all the military object of the fighting. Under these circumstances, the United States Delegation was glad to join in the Declaration of the Conference upon this subject, limited as it is to five years.

From these statements, it will be clear that the Delegation from the United States was not less willing than others to forbid useless cruelty in war. Perhaps it is also evident that the Delegation was not ready to encourage any mere limitations on invention in relation to warfare. This attitude is strictly in accord, not only with

the spirit of the instructions received by the Delegation, but also with the historic attitude of the United States. Wars are much less frequent in these days than they used to be; they are also much shorter in duration. Although more destructive while they last, it cannot be questioned that, by reason of their infrequency and their shorter duration, the sum of human misery which war inflicts is much less great in recent than in earlier times. As the engines of war increase in destructiveness, they usually become more costly; that is to say, both more expensive to make and more expensive to use. The fearful costliness of modern war is one very great restraint upon a resort to it. This is, probably, one of the reasons why, in America, it has never been thought wise to try to prevent the free application of invention to the improvement of the weapons and engines of war.

The famous circular of the Russian Government proposing the Conference emphasized especially the need of the nations for disarmament. Because nothing definite was done in this direction, there is an impression in many quarters that the Conference accomplished very little. If the Conference had been originally called to promote arbitration, the opinion would probably be general that it had accomplished a great deal. The detailed proposals submitted by the Russians under the head of disarmament were so incomplete that the subject, in all its details, was referred, almost without debate, to the further study of the Powers. On the other hand, the Conference adopted unanimously the following resolution: "The Conference believes that the limitation of the military charges which at present so oppress the world is greatly to be desired for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind." Undoubtedly, this is only an opinion and it has no binding force; but, clearly, it strengthens the hands of all who object to an increase of military burdens where they press heavily, and it places upon the Governments the necessity of justifying, not only to their own people but also to the public opinion of mankind, every increase in armaments.

It may properly be said that, apart from every other aspect of the question, the Conference was not well composed for action in this regard. The Powers of America and Asia were called upon to consider, so far as this question is concerned, what is, in many of its aspects, a purely European question. Nowhere else in the world is the whole male population trained to arms; and nowhere

else does militarism withdraw from the ranks of productive industry vast numbers of men, while at the same time making their support a charge upon industry. The American Delegation, in order to make clear its own conception of the situation, at the proper time placed on the records of the Conference the following declaration:

"The Delegation of the United States of America have concurred in the conclusions upon the first clause of the Russian letter of December 30th, 1898, presented to the Conference by the First Commission, namely: that the proposals of the Russian representatives, for fixing the amounts of effective forces and of budgets, military and naval, for periods of five and three years, cannot now be accepted, and that a more profound study upon the part of each State concerned is to be desired. But, while thus supporting what seemed to be the only practicable solution of a question submitted to the Conference by the Russian letter, the Delegation wishes to place upon the record that the United States, in so doing, does not express any opinion as to the course to be taken by the States of Europe. This declaration is not meant to indicate mere indifference to a difficult problem, because it does not affect the United States immediately, but expresses a determination to refrain from enunciating opinions upon matters into which, as concerning Europe alone, the United States has no claim to enter. The words drawn up by M. Bourgeois, and adopted by the First Commission,* received also the hearty concurrence of this Delegation, because in so doing it expresses the cordial interest and sympathy with which the United States, while carefully abstaining from anything that might resemble interference, regards all movements that are thought to tend to the welfare of Europe. The military and naval armaments of the United States are at present so small, relatively to the extent of territory and to the number of the population, as well as in comparison with those of other nations, that their size can entail no additional burden of expense upon the latter, nor can even form a subject for profitable mutual discussion."

The Conventions prepared by the Conference are entitled:

(1.) A Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes;

(2.) A Convention concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land;

(3.) A Convention for the Adaptation to Maritime Warfare of the Principles of the Geneva Conference of August 22, 1864.

It will be convenient to deal with the first Convention last. The Convention concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land is a development of the laws and customs of war proposed by the Brussels Conference of 1874, as those proposed regulations in turn, though perhaps less consciously, were a development of the

*The resolution already quoted in regard to disarmament.

laws of war formulated at the request of President Lincoln, during the American Civil War, by Prof. Francis Lieber of Columbia University in the City of New York. The general tendency of the rules embodied in this Convention is to lessen the suffering of individuals at the hands of armies, in time of war, and to place some limitations upon the action of invading armies. The United States Delegation left this Convention unsigned, in order that it may be carefully examined by the proper authorities, inasmuch as it will call for legislation by Congress if it be accepted; but the Delegation heartily recommends its acceptance.

The Convention for the Adaptation to Maritime Warfare of the Principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864, consists, in substance, of ten articles. So far as these articles relate to hospital ships carrying the flag of a belligerent, they mark an unquestionable advance in the direction of more humane conduct of naval war. Unfortunately, in providing for the use of hospital ships under neutral flags, and in referring to the picking up of men in the water by other vessels under neutral flags, the articles do not, in the opinion of the American Delegation, sufficiently determine the status of the men who may thus be rescued. Capt. Mahan proposed three additional articles to cover these points beyond a peradventure; but, when it became apparent that these additional articles could not be adopted, but would only lead to discussions that might imperil the ten articles already agreed to, Capt. Mahan, with the approval of the American Delegation, withdrew his proposed articles. The Delegation did not wish to embarrass the Conference with reference to the articles of the Convention as it now stands. At the same time, the American representatives did not sign this Convention, but referred it to their Government, without recommendation. The precise question to be determined is, whether the gain resident in the articles as they stand offsets the disadvantage of introducing new and doubtful questions with reference to neutral vessels near the scene of a naval battle.

The Convention for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes is, undoubtedly, the most important work of the Conference. As the name implies, it is much more than a scheme for arbitration, though arbitration is a vital part of it.

The Convention consists of four Titles:

Title 1. Concerning the Maintenance of the General Peace.

Title 2. Concerning Good Offices and Mediation.

Title 3. Concerning International Commissions of Inquiry.

Title 4. Concerning International Arbitration.

Title 4 is sub-divided into Chapters, as follows:

Chapter 1 relates to the general subject of Arbitration, defines its object, and the like.

Chapter 2 relates to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, and provides for its establishment.

Chapter 3 relates to procedure in cases of arbitration, especially before the Permanent Court.

Title 1 of the Convention consists of only one article, but it explains the purpose of the whole Convention. This article reads as follows: "With the view of preventing, as often as possible, the resort to force between nations, the signatory Powers agree to employ all their efforts to assure the peaceful settlement of international differences."

By Title 2, the signatory Powers engage, in case of grave differences of opinion or of dispute, to have recourse, whenever circumstances permit, to Good Offices or Mediation. The Powers drifting towards war may themselves ask for such good offices from a friendly Power; or, neutral Powers may, at their discretion, tender such good offices. Such tender may be made even after a conflict has broken out, and in no case is it to be considered otherwise than as a friendly act. Each Power involved in the controversy retains, on the other hand, full liberty of action, both as regards the acceptance of good offices and as regards the result in the event of acceptance. A special form of mediation proposed by Mr. Holls, Secretary of the American Commission, was accepted unanimously by the Conference. It contemplates the appointment of a friendly nation to act as mediator by each one of the Powers involved in the dispute. These seconds, so to speak, are to endeavor together to find some basis of settlement which will avoid war, and failing in that, they remain charged with the duty of restoring peace at as early a day as possible.

By Title 3, the signatory Powers say, only, that "they judge it useful," in controversies of an international order, engaging neither honor nor essential interests, and involving a difference of opinion on questions of fact as to which the parties concerned have not been able to come into accord by the ordinary diplomatic methods, that these Powers should establish, whenever circum-

stances will permit, an International Commission of Inquiry, charged to facilitate a solution of the difficulty by throwing light upon the questions of fact, by means of an impartial and conscientious examination. The Powers concerned retain the right to give what force they please to the reports of such Commissions.

The propriety of such a provision, where the nations concerned are left free, can hardly be questioned. In the Venezuela Boundary dispute, the United States Government instituted an inquiry of its own as to a controversy between two other nations. It thus recognized the necessity, at times, for outside inquiry as to questions directly affecting other nations. In the case of the destruction of the "Maine," an international inquiry was proposed by Spain and declined by the United States. The latter instance shows that the proposed Convention adopted by the Conference of Peace simply regulates and defines the scope and significance of action already recognized in diplomacy. Every nation is left free to accept or decline such an inquiry, and also to accept or decline to accept the findings resulting from the inquiry.

By placing Title 4 concerning Arbitration in connection with the foregoing proposals, the Convention at once gives to arbitration a place among the recognized means of preserving the peace of the world. It is hoped, and it is expected, that it will more and more serve this high function. For this reason, among others, the resort to Arbitration, like the resort to Good Offices and Mediation and to International Commissions of Inquiry, is left wholly voluntary. This, in the judgment of the writer, is the strength and not the weakness of the plan. Obligatory arbitration, stretched to its utmost limit as a general obligation, could only cover unimportant matters. Such questions will always be settled, without any such obligation, either in the usual diplomatic way or by arbitration. But arbitration that is voluntary may, by mutual consent, be applied to the whole field of international controversy. It has already settled many grave and threatening international disputes, and in the future, it will doubtless settle many more. The question may be asked, if this is so, in what way has the Conference furthered the cause of arbitration? The writer would reply, (1) by giving to arbitration this recognized place among the means of preserving the world's peace; (2) by making notable provision for it through the establishment of a Permanent Court; and (3) by making a resort to arbitration easy.

At one point in the Convention there is a seeming departure from the voluntary character of the methods proposed for preserving the world's peace. Article 27 of this Convention reads: "The signatory Powers consider it a duty, in the case when an acute dispute threatens to break out between two or more of them, to remind these Powers that the Permanent Court is open to them. Consequently, they declare that the fact of calling the attention of the Parties to the provisions of the present Convention, and the advice given, in the higher interest of peace, to address themselves to the Permanent Court, cannot be considered otherwise than as acts of Good Offices."

When this section was literally read, it seemed to the American Delegation to confront the United States with a proposal to enter into an obligation to intervene, in the manner proposed, in every controversy that might arise between any of the signatory Powers; and to invite a similar course on their part towards the United States. Such an obligation and such an invitation, without any modification, might well be thought, as it appeared to the Delegation, to be in direct conflict with the historic policy of the United States in both directions. The American Delegation endeavored, therefore, to secure an amendment of Article 27 which would limit the duty accepted by the signatory Powers to the cases where circumstances would permit, thus making it clear, upon the face of the Article, that each nation was to judge for itself when the duty could properly be discharged. At an earlier stage of the Conference, such an amendment could probably have been made; for there was no hesitation, on the part of any one, in saying that the obligation created by the article was a moral duty, as to the performance of which each nation, in the nature of things, must be its own judge. On the other hand, it was pointed out that, at the end of the Conference, an attempt to amend the terms of the Article as agreed upon in Committee might lead to very serious results. Accordingly, the American Delegation contented itself by placing on the minutes of the Conference, when the Convention was about to be adopted, the following Declaration: "The Delegation of the United States of America, in signing the Convention regulating the peaceable settlement of international conflicts, as proposed by the International Peace Conference, make the following declaration: 'Nothing contained in this Convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart

from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in, the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in the said Convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.' "

This Declaration having been read in full Conference, the Convention was immediately adopted by the Conference without dissent. The Convention was subsequently signed by the American Delegation subject to the reserve of this Declaration. The foregoing explanation will have made it clear that the Convention to which this Declaration applies is much more than a convention providing for a Permanent Court of Arbitration. The Convention cannot fail to be useful in promoting the peaceful settlement of international disputes, wherever such a settlement is possible; but, on the other hand, it appeared to be essential that the United States, in becoming a party to the Convention, should not, by the very act, appear to abandon policies that have become part of the nation's life. No such embarrassment confronted any other Power.

It is not proposed, in this article, to discuss the details of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Briefly, each of the signatory Powers files in a Bureau at The Hague a list of not more than four names of men deemed by it to be well equipped to serve as arbitrators. This Bureau is administered by the Representatives of the signatory Powers accredited to The Hague, with the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs as Chairman. This Administrative Council conducts the central Bureau, appoints the Clerk of the Court, provides offices, and, in a word, attends to all the details. When an arbitration is desired, the Powers concerned agree upon its terms and indicate their arbitrators. While nations desiring to arbitrate are not confined in their choice to men whose names are upon the list, it is expected that the choice of arbitrators will ordinarily be made from this number. Indeed, the provision of these names is one of the ways in which arbitration has been made easy, as it is hoped by this means to avoid one of the difficulties, always felt in arranging for arbitrations hitherto; that is to say, the difficulty of finding suitable arbitrators. Up to this time it has been necessary, with great effort and delay, to construct every detail of the tribunal that is called into being to conduct such an arbitration. The Conference of Peace has constructed

all the standing parts, so to speak, of such a tribunal. It still remains necessary for the Powers concerned to agree upon the terms of the arbitration and upon the arbitrators; but, all that it is now necessary to do is to put together the parts of the machine that are, as it were, already assembled, instead of, as heretofore, being obliged to construct the parts as well as to put them together. The permanency of the Court and of the records is also a factor of the greatest importance; for permanency of court and of record takes for granted the gradual growth of a system of international jurisprudence, and such a system necessarily involves and must rest upon the idea of international justice. When these considerations are fully appreciated, it will be evident that the International Conference of Peace has justified its being.

The broad significance of the Convention for the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes may be stated in a single word. The Powers that give their adhesion to this Convention, when drifting toward war, may be called upon, by their own consent, to take the responsibility of declining to accept good offices, of declining to accept mediation, of declining to accept an international inquiry, and of declining to accept arbitration. This Convention proceeds upon the theory that a nation ought to be willing to accept these responsibilities, before resorting to arms, precisely as President McKinley, when the Spanish-American War was coming on, declined to accept an international inquiry in regard to the destruction of the "Maine," and told the representatives of the Powers, when they waited upon him, that a situation had grown up which was no longer tolerable to the American people. No one supposes that this Convention, even if universally signed, will prevent all war; but it will compel the nations, in a new way, to justify war to the public opinion of mankind.

All that a body of the nature of the Conference could do, has been done. It remains for other forces, and notably for public opinion in all the nations, to make effective what the Conference has proposed. In the opinion of the writer, there is no greater evidence of the wisdom of the Conference than that it has, thus fearlessly and confidently, left to public opinion the vitalization of its work. It is a happy augury that, before the Conference adjourned, the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes was signed by the Plenipotentiaries of sixteen out of twenty-six of the Powers represented at the Conference, namely

by Belgium, Denmark, Spain, The United States of America, Mexico, France, Greece, Montenegro, Holland, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, and Bulgaria. There seemed to be no reason to doubt, at the time of adjournment, that the other Powers would sign before the 31st of December. The question of ratification remains to be determined in every case, and it is impossible to predict by what date action on that point may be looked for in any of the nations. The public opinion of the United States may well address itself to securing the ratification of this Convention by the Senate when the Convention is submitted by the President.

SETH LOW.

FRANCE AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

BY BERNARD LAZARE.

On the 7th of August, the proceedings in the Dreyfus trial were opened before the court-martial at Rennes. If this case had not disclosed the fact that, unhappily for France, every idea of law had disappeared and that the very first principles of jurisprudence were no longer understood, there would have been a few sessions devoted to the statement of the case and of the principal facts involved, and to a simple ratification of the decree of the Court of Cassation, which explicitly proclaimed the innocence of the man condemned in 1894 and legally attributed the *bordereau*, upon which the entire accusation was based, to Major Esterhazy. All this was voluntarily overlooked by both sides, by the prosecution as well as the defense. They desired a great trial; they seemed to imply that the case had not been fully pleaded before the Court of Cassation and that it was expedient to do it anew. The prosecution produced experts, notwithstanding that the handwriting of the incriminating document had been decided not to be that of Dreyfus. The defense summoned Captain Lebrun-Renaud although the court had rejected the legend of the confession. The Government could not, and did not dare to, uphold the decisions of the supreme tribunal. No one recognized that a dangerous precedent was being established, which was a menace to all, and that thenceforth a decision of the Court of Cassation, pronounced after investigation, and setting forth the reasons on which it was based, could no longer protect a citizen, not merely from suspicion, but even from the illegal proceedings of the lower courts, which, by the precedent of the Dreyfus case, have become free to contest the acts and the judgments of the higher tribunals. Such is the actual situation; and it has arisen, it must be said, not only through the mistakes of the parties involved, not only through

the indecision of the executive, but also through the cowardice of the Court of Cassation, which did not dare to render a final judgment, when its duty was to reverse the former verdict without appeal.

If, however, in consequence of this conflict between the civil authority and the old and barbarous military jurisdiction, the ignorance of all rules of jurisprudence might be expected in a tribunal of soldiers, it is none the less true that this trial could have taken place only because of the ignorance of these soldiers, who are unacquainted with the very commonplaces of law, and who substitute for the articles of the code the antiquated notions of their peculiar honor. The mere examination of the facts should have sufficed, before any pleadings were made, to convince the judges. Their conviction should have been confirmed by Major Esterhazy's reiterated confession, a spontaneous confession, written in the presence of witnesses, corroborated by the visible, undeniable identity of this handwriting and that of the *bordereau,* which any one could recognize without the aid of experts. It was decided, however, to go on with the case—and to ignore all preceding verification, all evidence. It was decreed, every Frenchman approving, that Dreyfus could not be cleared of the accusations hanging over him except by the judgment of his peers. Even the lawyers who defended the unfortunate man petitioned the Court of Cassation to remand him to the jurisdiction of his peers, and the court acquiesced without perceiving that by thus acknowledging the jurisdiction of his peers it denied its own. No one pointed out that this conception was only a remnant of barbarism, and that the most unsafe tribunal for a man was one composed of individuals belonging to his own class, that is to say, possessing its peculiar prejudices in addition to general prejudices, and having to uphold not only justice but also such interests of the corps as are in conflict with those of the man subject to their verdict; and not only these professional interests but also the personal interests of competitors or rivals.

In reality, it was the function of the Court of Cassation to say these things, and the only effective way of saying them was to reverse the former verdict definitely, to set Dreyfus free and to absolve him by a decree which every one would have honored. It did not do so. The majority of its members held that in such a case right and true justice should give way before legal subleties.

Dreyfus remanded to a court-martial was Dreyfus again delivered up to the military oligarchy which had opposed revision for three years with all its power, because that would mean its own condemnation. Although it had received a blow in the person of some of its members, notwithstanding Henry's death, notwithstanding du Paty de Clam's defection, notwithstanding the fact that Majors Lauth and Cuignet, the archivist Gribelin, and Generals Gonse and Boisdeffre had been removed and disciplined, the old General Staff still retained all its power. Its influence exerted its full sway over the tribunal before which Dreyfus had been sent, and the fact that a few men firmly resolved to defend the Republic were in power did not suffice to destroy a state of things which dated back many long years. A close corporation, specially recruited from officers drawn from religious schools, educated by the Jesuits and priests and raised in ideas of hostility to the existing form of government, the General Staff had very long since placed its creatures everywhere and extended its ramifications into all the military sub-divisions, promoting everywhere a lively and selfish solidarity, to which it had only to appeal as soon as the decree of revision had gone forth.

It was a necessity for the General Staff that the Dreyfus trial should take place, and it was an equal necessity for the factions that had drawn up in line behind these criminal soldiers in the hope of seeing the Republic go down. Anti-revisionists of note said and wrote—and that, moreover, after promising to submit to the decree of the united chambers—that the innocence or the guilt of Dreyfus was of little moment; that the real question at issue was that special honor of the army which they had taken for their principle, honor which consisted in departing as far as possible from every tradition of humanity, from every idea of right and justice, to bow down before a fetish whose intangibility was proclaimed as a dogma which did not admit of heretics. This case was to be not the trial of a man, but the rehabilitation of a caste, a trial to defend the General Staff, to establish in an indisputable manner the infallibility of the ministers of war and of the decisions of military justice. It was not so much a tribunal that assembled as a council, whose purpose it was to indicate to the civil courts that their power ceased where its own commenced.

Given these intentions, what must be done? All those who were in any way concerned in the campaign for revision must be

arraigned. Their unworthiness must be demonstrated, for so their efforts would be laid open to suspicion, the vigorousness of these efforts attributed to unmentionable sentiments, to base motives, and the prestige of the enemies of revision would grow in proportion to the disgrace of the revisionists. Who were those that were selected for targets? They were, first, the writers and publicists who had fought most vigorously; these were not named, they were not arraigned individually, but the suspicion was cast upon them that they were the tools of a mysterious syndicate, formed for the special purpose of ruining and dishonoring France. Persons were summoned as witnesses by whom it was proposed to establish with much plausibility the existence of such an organization. The military witnesses, moreover, took care to make insinuations which could not be verified and which were so vague that no one could reply to them. Thus was summoned M. Penot, who was to affirm the reality of the attempts at corruption made in 1894 by M. Matthieu Dreyfus on Colonel Sandherr, at that time chief of the Information Bureau; thus was summoned M. de Grandmaison, a monarchist deputy, who was to appear as the responsible editor of remarks attributed by the Marquis of Maussabré, the deputy of the Deux-Sèvres, to Baron Edouard de Rothschild. We shall presently see how General Mercier and General Roget were to support these witnesses.

All this was to establish the existence of a general plan and of a vast coalition, but they also needed to show particular combinations, to reveal the divers centres of inspiration; and for this purpose a few men had to be singled out and attacked. The first of all was Colonel Picquart, who reminded the military inquisitors of one of the checks they had suffered. Colonel Picquart must be arraigned and his testimony, which was so convincingly in favor of Dreyfus, must be discredited. At the time when the party of the General Staff was still all-powerful, at the time when M. Cavaignac, the Minister of War, was preparing to post the Henry forgery on the walls of the thirty-six thousand communes of France, a preliminary examination had been set on foot against Colonel Picquart. He was accused of having entered into a criminal conspiracy with the lawyer Leblois, Senator Scheurer-Kestner and myself to substitute Esterhazy for Dreyfus. They accused him of secret machinations; they accused him of having prepared the campaign for revision; they accused him even of

having furnished me with the necessary information for writing my first pamphlet in 1896; they accused him, finally, of having forged the famous "*petit bleu,*" which incriminated Esterhazy, or at least of having used it against him knowing it to be false. Although Colonel Picquart was cleared of all suspicion by the decisions of examining Magistrate Fabre, of the Chamber of Indictment, and of Captain Tavernier, that there was no evidence, it was still found important to accuse him again; and, for this purpose, Captain Junck, Archivist Gribelin, Major Lauth, General Gonse and Savignaud, who was formerly an officer's servant, were summoned as witnesses.

It was not enough to accuse Colonel Picquart, the memory of Colonel Henry must also be cleared. After having travestied his crime of forgery into a patriotic aberration, they had to remove at all costs the terrible suspicion, the all but certainty, that he had been at a certain time in a position to be the accomplice of Major Esterhazy and the habitual purveyor of information to that miscreant. That was a terrible supposition for the generals who accused Dreyfus, for, if it had been verified, it would have ruined the whole laborious system which they had been at so much pains to contrive. To defend Henry, it was necessary to blacken the man whose testimony was strongest against him, namely, the examining magistrate Bertulus, a witness of the collapse of the wretched man, of his terror and anguish, when in the course of his examination respecting Major Esterhazy he had come upon the track of his questionable relations with Colonel Henry. To dishonor M. Bertulus, it was thought that General Roget, Major Cuignet and Captain Junck would be all that was required. They also summoned Henry's widow, and skilfully prepared her for a melodramatic scene which they hoped would produce a great effect. Thus, then, were organized the prosecution of the partisans of revision, the prosecution of Colonel Picquart, the rehabilitation of Colonel Henry; but they had also to consider the prosecution of Dreyfus himself. How did the General Staff plan that? They knew that none of the judges of the court-martial at Rennes had any knowledge of the investigation made by the criminal chamber of the Court of Cassation; nay more, that their minds were poisoned against it in advance and that they looked upon it with suspicion. It was thought, therefore, that the method which had availed before the civil magistrates might, perhaps, be a good

one before soldiers. It was hoped that for them the statements of their chiefs or their comrades in arms, even when unsupported by proofs, would have a weight which it had not had elsewhere. So they ignored both the investigation with its attendant results and the decision which was its logical and inevitable outcome. They hoped to establish triumphantly that Dreyfus was guilty of the crime of high treason, first, because the incriminating *bordereau* was written by him; secondly, because the documents enumerated in it could have been delivered only by an officer of the General Staff, and, thirdly, because the captain had at one time confessed his crime.

To establish the first point was a difficult task. It had not only been proved, by the most diverse and the most authoritative evidence, that the handwriting of the *bordereau* did not resemble Dreyfus's handwriting and was not his, but its startling resemblance to Esterhazy's had also been pointed out. When driven to the wall, Esterhazy had acknowledged that he had written the *bordereau,* but they hoped to discredit this confession by establishing his falsehood when he pretended that he wrote it because he was ordered to do so, and in his capacity as an agent of the counter-spy system specially charged to furnish evidence against Dreyfus. All their hopes rested upon M. Alphonse Bertillon, the director of the Paris judicial identification service, who had taken upon himself to prove that Dreyfus had written the *bordereau,* not in his natural handwriting, but according to a safety system having a key-word for its basis, namely, the word *intérêt,* taken from a letter of M. Matthieu Dreyfus, his brother, and developed according to a mathematical rhythm. A second witness, the artillery captain Valerio, was summoned in support of the Bertillon theory to confirm it and explain any obscurities that might arise.

The duty of establishing that the documents enumerated in the *bordereau* could come only from an officer of the General Staff fell to the lot of the five ministers of war, and especially to General Mercier, who was to be supported by General Roget. The method employed for this demonstration was simple; it was based upon the fact that nobody knew the contents of the documents which had been delivered. Before any tribunal this fact ought to have prevented the prosecution from indulging in any hypothesis, and confined it to the only positive affirmation possible under the cir-

cumstances, namely, that unknown documents had been delivered, which was an act in itself sufficiently felonious, criminal and punishable. The court-martial permitted a different course. The nature of the information delivered being unknown, it was supposed to be extremely important, an ultra-secret and confidential character was attributed to it and the capital importance of the documents was demonstrated theoretically, after which it was deemed that their reality was established. Their delivery, as well as their character, being thus assumed, they deduced the indisputable result of their demonstration, that only an officer belonging to the General Staff could have delivered them.

It is certain, however, that the very witnesses who were to undertake and defend such a demonstration before the court-martial must have been secretly conscious of its fragility. Perhaps they also feared that M. Bertillon's system was not proof against attack and refutation. At any rate, they expected that both systems would be attacked. It is a dangerous operation in a criminal trial to replace facts and evidence by hypothetical fabrications, by reasoning without real foundation, by deductions devoid of logic from premises that are not rigorously established. The fact that no dissertation is as good as a proof is so true that even those who have for years been marching blindly behind the white plumes of the generals of the Staff, required from them a decisive proof of Dreyfus's guilt, a proof that would end all discussion, that would convince and satisfy the judges. The entire anti-revisionist press affirmed the existence of such proof on the very eve of the trial. It was kept back by General Mercier, they said; patriotic scruples alone had hitherto prevented him from making use of it, but he now perceived that his duty was to lay aside these scruples and to strike the decisive blow which none could resist. Now, General Mercier had no such proof any more than the other generals, he possessed none whatever; and the only positive fact which he hoped to lay before the judges was Dreyfus's confession. To substantiate this confession, they had not summoned the man who boasted that it had been made to him; they feared the vagueness of his testimony, they preferred to bring in corroborative testimony and to fall back on the deposition of a dead man (Major d'Attel), in order to support that of Captain Lebrun-Renaud whom they preferred to keep away, but who was summoned by the defense.

The confession was to be the supreme fortress, the impregnable rampart, and nothing shows better the theological character, so to speak, of this trial than the capital rôle which they assigned to the pretended confession of Captain Dreyfus. To rest satisfied with a confession, in order to save the trouble of discussion, is one form of accepting the principle of authority as the sole guide of one's thinking. To declare one's self content with a confession is to save the trouble of all examination, to substitute for one's reason a mere statement without studying its value, its scope or its quality, and without ascertaining whether it does not clash with the facts. A thousand and one motives may induce a man to confess a crime which he has not committed. To admit a confession *a priori* and base a conviction upon it is the height of absurdity. The Catholic mind is adapted to the acceptance of such a belief. It is a clerical principle that a confession is better than a proof. All inquisitorial jurisprudence, all the ancient jurisprudence of Catholic countries, as in barbarous times, is founded upon obtaining a confession and not on finding proofs. The Church has always opposed the latter; it will not admit scientific demonstration, but prefers an authoritative and hierarchical affirmation, which does not permit the development of rational examination and free criticism. It transports into the domain of law its doctrines concerning the research of the truth in scientific matters, and, when the accused is brought before it, it demands not proofs of guilt in order to confound and condemn him, but a dogma of culpability. It is in this way that the treason of Dreyfus became a dogma for the great majority of Frenchmen, not only for those of little or no culture, but even more for those who until then belonged to the intellectual *élite*. "Dreyfus is guilty," said M. Jules Lemaître, M. Maurice Barrès and M. François Coppée, because a court-martial said so, because seven ministers of war proclaimed it; these assertions ought to render all examination unnecessary; they must be accepted as an act of faith, and whoever refuses to do so is a bad Frenchman, as he would be a bad Catholic who should reject the decisions of a council or the word of a Pope. This explains the necessity under which the accusers of Dreyfus were placed, of attaching so much importance to the pseudo-confession to Captain Lebrun-Renaud, and of making it the *ultima ratio* of their resistance when they were driven into the last ditch.

Such was the way in which the trial was planned in advance, such were the tactics adopted; and it was these tactics that the General Staff had the power to impose upon the court-martial, and on the man whose function it was to summon the witnesses, namely Major Carrière, the Government commissioner, who deliberately ignored the decree of the Court of Cassation, which above all it was his duty to carry out.

But the trial was planned not only in its grand outlines, but even in its smallest details. Each of the depositions of the incriminating witnesses was minutely ordered and arranged by a legal director accustomed to the trickeries of the practice and the resources of chicanery, by one of the regular counsellors of the General Staff, either by Maître Ployer, ex-president of the barristers, or by Maître Auffray, a militant royalist and former secretary of M. de Mackau. The rôles had been distributed to each of the witnesses; according to predetermined order they were each to unfold the reasons for their convictions. What this order was has been explained: the handwriting of the *bordereau*, its ascription to an officer of the General Staff and Dreyfus's confession. In addition they were each to contribute certain special information, which they all doubtless had, but which they had divided up among themselves. Their testimony was given according to a sort of prescribed method. Its preparation was perfectly apparent; bearing upon the general thesis, each witness spoke with the intention of supporting the one who preceded him, and of preparing the way for the one who followed. Never was there a trial more radically vitiated by criminal conspiracy among the witnesses! It was not simply an understanding but a coalition against right and justice for the purpose of defeating them, if necessary even by falsehood and perjury. Never before, in any trial or before any tribunal, have witnesses been allowed to appear without adducing a single fact, without their having been in any way connected with the case, but merely to make speeches for the prosecution. This will be a unique fact in the history of jurisprudence, that men could thus assume the rôle of prosecutors without authority, and that a court accepted them as witnesses.

But the very arrangement of this trial by schemers constituted its weakness. The depositions, so laboriously prepared, were suitable for being written and read in a parlor or before a public already prepared who had the same passions as the reader. They

could not bear discussion, nor criticism, nor contradiction. They would have been admissible only in the mouth of a public prosecutor who was not to be followed by a reply. The truth of my assertions will appear on an examination of the way in which the trial unfolded itself. First, however, I must mention a fact which dominates it: the existence of a secret collection of documents (called the secret *dossier*) now admitted to discussion and examined behind closed doors, this time in presence of the accused and his counsel. It had already been examined by the Court of Cassation, and it had not appeared to that court to contain any sort of evidence against Captain Dreyfus. By some inexcusable weakness, the Minister of War decided that he ought to lay it before the court-martial, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs followed his example. The former delegated General Chamoin, and the latter M. Paléologue, to explain the documents. It is known that, according to Major Cuignet's celebrated classification, they consisted of three portions. The first contained the papers which the General Staff believed to have reference to Dreyfus; the second, those which did not concern him; and the third, the forgeries. The tribunal examined this *dossier* for four days before the opening of the proceedings, and after the preliminary examination of Dreyfus. Afterwards a portion of the documents it contained were read and discussed in public session. Already, at this point, it was perceived that one forgery had remained in Major Cuignet's first division. It had no doubt escaped his vigilance. I mean the false report attributed, with the date of November, 1897, to Colonel Schneider, the military attaché of Austria-Hungary. But there was still another forgery in the same collection, namely, an alleged report by Colonel Panizzardi to his ambassador, M. Ressmann. As soon as these two reports were published, they were disowned as forgeries by those who were said to be their authors. On the remaining documents, the five ministers of war and General Roget pretended to base their conviction that the author of the *bordereau* was an officer of the General Staff, and that the said officer could be none other than Dreyfus. As a matter of fact, they succeeded only in showing that these documents could not be laid to Dreyfus's charge, unless it were previously demonstrated that Dreyfus had written the *bordereau* and that the papers delivered were really important. Now, there is henceforth no question that the handwriting of the *bordereau* is Esterhazy's; and, according to

M. Picot's testimony, which was not contradicted by Colonel Schneider, the documents were delivered by Major Esterhazy, the writer of the *bordereau*; and these documents are of no importance. The prosecution undoubtedly discovered that the secret *dossier* scarecrow had failed to produce any effect on the judges, for, at the last moment, they submitted ultra-secret *dossiers* which were examined with closed doors on the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth sessions of the trial; but these ultra-secret *dossiers* completed the confusion of those who pretended that they incriminated Captain Dreyfus.

Now, what has been the outcome of the trial? What have been the facts brought out and demonstrated? I said that one of the first cares of its organizers was the rehabilitation of the General Staff. Well, it was plainly established that General Gonse, Colonel du Paty de Clam, Major Lauth, Captain Junck and Archivist Gribelin had aided Esterhazy, by underhanded manœuvres, to deceive the military judges before whom he appeared at the end of December, 1898. It was proved, by the depositions of M. Hadamard and M. Painlevé, that General Gonse had falsified and distorted certain remarks of the latter, and that these remarks, which were in favor of Dreyfus, had been transformed into testimony against him, and introduced into the secret *dossier,* where it was thought M. Painlevé would never discover them. Who will forget the memorable scene when General Gonse, with a wild look, trembling legs and stammering lips, was obliged to lie and lie again to back up his first falsehood; when he failed to make it good and took his seat amidst the hooting of the audience? Finally, it was proved, and this is the gravest fact of all, that not only had an innocent man been condemned in 1894, on the strength of secret papers which neither he nor his counsel, M. Demange, had known, but also that a forgery figured among these papers. Hence, while the belief might have been entertained before this trial that Captain Dreyfus was the victim of a frightful and lamentable error in his first trial, it is now proved that he was the victim of the most odious of crimes.

On November 2d, 1894, when Colonel Panizzardi, the military attaché of the Italian embassy, had learned from the newspapers that Captain Dreyfus had been arrested, he telegraphed to his Government that he personally had never had any relations with Dreyfus, and, if the same thing could be said at Rome, that it

would be well to make a declaration to that effect to avoid comment. This despatch was in cipher. The cipher bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs first sent, as a semi-official and friendly act, an approximate translation to Colonel Sandherr, the chief of the Bureau of Information, giving the last words with all reserve, and then, a few days afterwards, the official text was given. I have just analyzed it; it superseded, of course, the first attempt at translation in which the last two words *"emissaire prévenu"* might have given rise to incriminating interpretations against the accused officer. It was clear that this despatch exonerated Captain Dreyfus. On the very first day of the trial at Rennes, General Mercier cynically confessed that he had cunningly caused a man to be stabbed in the back whom, as the head of the army, he was in duty bound to defend, and so laid himself open to the criminal charge of not having turned over into the *dossier* this telegram which established the fact that Captain Dreyfus had never had any relations with Italy nor her agents in France or elsewhere. Thus the position publicly taken by General Mercier was that of a supreme judge destroying the proofs of innocence. Moreover, it became plain to everybody that his atrocious crime had been more abominable still, since he had dared to change this proof of innocence into a proof of guilt, since he had communicated to the court-martial of 1894, when it had withdrawn for deliberation, a false text of the despatch of November 2d, 1894.

The facts of this crime were brought out by the testimony of a man who had been the witness of it—who had been its victim! Involuntarily, he had sanctioned it, the abused and mutilated document, and had used it against the Jew, whom formidable passions had conspired to hand over to a tribunal which was assailed and importuned by the hatred of his enemies. This man had been one of the judges of that first court. It is consoling that, of those seven soldiers, one was found who had the heroism to confess his fault and the manliness to come forward to repair it; but it is sad to think that he was the only one, that Captain Freystaetter was the only one who came to Rennes to declare his remorse and his new convictions, and to bow his head before the man whom he had contributed to bury alive. As he stood up before the consciences of the new judges, they must have felt a cold shiver, their inmost being must have been swept by the terrifying breath spoken of by the prophet, insensible though they may have

appeared, when their comrade in arms came before them with head erect gravely to make his confession, and when they looked upon the bilious face of General Mercier and the frowning countenance of Colonel Maurel, the president of the court-martial of 1894, who had just told a lie. Then they must have felt how fearful was their responsibility and what a burden they had assumed, when they undertook to judge according to justice and according to truth. These proceedings revealed the crime which lay at the origin of the Dreyfus affair, the initial crime which begot all the other crimes. By their efforts for the rehabilitation of the General Staff, the generals only demonstrated that it was even more criminal than any one had dared to suppose.

What did they bring forward in support of the hypothesis of that legendary syndicate, that dangerous weapon in the hands of the banditti and *condottieri* of an unclean press, that poisoned shaft by which all those were struck down who rushed into the battle to save the innocent and uphold the honor of their country in the eyes of the world? Until then they had proceeded with vague insinuations and perfidious allusions, following that anti-Semitic method according to which it is pretended, in the name of the true interests of the country, that everything is bought and sold in France, from her humblest citizen to her Parliament and her Supreme Court. No actual, precise facts had yet been given; but the rumor was circulated, by defaming and blackmailing sheets, that the prefects of frontier departments had often observed the passage of foreign gold. No doubt, according to the naïve conception of the few newspaper pirates who spread these reports, the subsidies of these modern Cobourgs and Pitts must have been distributed in full weight, in hard cash. General Mercier brought these things before the court-martial, or rather he made himself the responsible editor of an alleged remark of M. de Freycinet to General Jamont. When M. de Freycinet was summoned, he declared that he had never thought that the campaign conducted in France by the defenders of Dreyfus had been inspired by interested motives, and that there was no fact that justified such accusations against honorable citizens. A more sharply defined protest would have been desirable from the ex-Minister of War, but the prudent old man still thinks, upon the very threshold of the grave, that it is better to smoothe the path of senile ambition than to serve justice and right boldly and without reserve. Senator

Trarieux manifested more manhood and civic courage when he reminded the judges that law was superior to the honor of caste; when he branded the shame and condemned the crimes of that small cabal of officers, those felons and forgers who pretended to represent the mass of the army; when he showed that those who had rushed into the fight to rescue the martyr from the galleys had done so at the risk of their honor and their lives, unmindful of self-interest. Knowing that it would not suffice to spurn certain accusations before those seven men who were perhaps misled by prejudices, he called for the testimony of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, M. Barthou and M. Dupuy, who discredited forever that fable of a syndicate of treason and foreign money.

Did these proceedings at least justify the accusations brought against Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart? Quite the contrary. They disposed of the absurd tale which represented him as placed in the Ministry of War to liberate Dreyfus and put in his place another traitor selected by him. It was said that he had attempted at first to put in his place two officers named Dorval and Donin de Rosières. The Rennes trial has shown that Picquart was not concerned in the surveillance under which these two officers had been placed, and that the first of them had been marked out and persecuted by his own cousin, Colonel du Paty de Clam. It has cleared him of the infamous accusation, which, by the way, no man of honor in France believed, that he had tried to ruin Esterhazy by fabricating the *petit bleu* sent by Colonel Von Schwarzkoppen. Indeed, it has vindicated him of this charge in the most brilliant manner, M. Paléologue having testified that Count Munster, the German Ambassador, had thought it his duty to inform M. Delcassé, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the German military attaché had addressed several of these telegram-cards called *"petits bleus"* to Major Esterhazy, and very probably the one which had fallen into the hands of Colonel Picquart. What the trial has shown, however, is just the reverse of what its promoters had hoped for. It has shown the culpable and criminal plots carried out by Colonels Henry and du Paty de Clam, by Major Lauth, by Captain Junck and by Archivist Gribelin, the forged letters, the forged despatches and, finally, the erasure in the *petit bleu* laid to Colonel Picquart's charge in order to dishonor him. It is all clear now; it is clear enough to be an indictment of the guilty parties and the hand of justice may yet seize them.

Did these proceedings establish that M. Bertulus had lied when he related the faltering, the confusion, the *quasi* confession of Colonel Henry? Two witnesses corroborated the testimony of this magistrate, who proved, at a time when it seemed as though there were no judges left in France, that there was at least one who was resolved to do his duty, and to resist everything that interfered with his duty. André, the clerk of the court, and Doctor Peyrot, a member of the Academy of Medicine, testified to the fact of Colonel Henry's statements. From that moment it became impossible to vindicate the memory of this man. It was certain that he was a forger, and it became probable that he was a traitor and Esterhazy's accomplice. If it was proved before the judges at Rennes that Picquart never made use of fraudulent means to substitute Esterhazy for Dreyfus, it is also proved that Colonel Henry had made every effort in his power to shield this same Esterhazy. It was he who, as early as 1894, helped to spread the belief that the traitor they wished to catch was in the offices of the General Staff; it was he who made a solemn declaration to that effect before the court-martial of 1894; it was he who again accused the unfortunate man whom he had helped to imprison, in a note which was filed in the secret *dossier,* as du Paty de Clam confessed in his deposition. It was he who, when Esterhazy's name was revealed to Colonel Picquart in 1896 by the discovery of the *petit bleu,* was the organizer of the machinations against his chief. And the confession, the reticences of his accomplice Lauth, show that he went to Bâle in 1896 and terrorized the international agent, Richard Cuers, to prevent him from denouncing Esterhazy, that is to say himself, whom he hoped to save by perpetrating the famous forgery which brought him to Mont Valérien and to the little cot where he cut his throat, a coward to his last hour, and dying without having the courage to save the innocent man whom he had ruined. And the secret *dossiers* have still further revealed to us that, to save Henry's memory and to keep Dreyfus in prison, the General Staff was paying for the silence of a certain Lajoux, a companion of Richard Cuers.

Being thus powerless to rehabilitate the General Staff, powerless to prove the existence of a syndicate, powerless to dishonor Picquart and Bertulus, powerless to vindicate Henry, have the proceedings of the court-martial fulfilled the hopes of those who thought that Dreyfus's guilt would be demonstrated?

As regards the *bordereau*, the prosecution took refuge, as I said before, in the pretended scientific discoveries of M. Bertillon; in him was placed their last hope of proving, notwithstanding Esterhazy's confession, that the *bordereau* could have been written only by Dreyfus. The theory of a natural, running handwriting had been abandoned for the foolish hypothesis of a complicated cryptographic writing, designed to enable the accused to make use of a line of defense in 1894 which he never employed.

At the close of the proceedings, M. Bertillon's theory had to be abandoned by those who had put their trust in it, proclaimed its excellence and supported it. The testimony of M. Paraf-Javal, as well as that of the engineer Bernard, and the authoritative statement of M. Henri Poincarré, a member of the Institute and a Sarbonne professor, one of the first mathematicians in France, have established the fact that M. Bertillon's system is based upon the grossest errors and could only have been worked out by an ignorant or a crazy man. If M. Bertillon had had the least regard for scientific truth, he would have abandoned his system after such manifest evidence of its worthlessness, confessed his error and made his apology to the unfortunate man whom he had tried once more to send to prison.

Notwithstanding the testimony of M. Teyssonnières, the only one of the experts of 1894—as M. Bertillon does not consider himself an expert—who again declared that the *bordereau* was in Dreyfus's natural handwriting, with the exception of a few words artificially introduced, the *bordereau* must henceforth be regarded as Esterhazy's work, as he himself has confessed it to be. The subleties of Messrs. Varinard, Couard and Belhomme cannot affect this conclusion. So true is this that General Billot, by a manœuvre, which was abandoned, however, as soon as it was attempted, tried to insinuate before the court-martial that Esterhazy might have been in communication with Dreyfus by means of a go-between, whom he did not and could not name, since no such person exists or has existed, and since there has never been any direct or indirect relation between Captain Dreyfus and Major Esterhazy.

This hypothesis was necessary to uphold the statement of the accusing generals, that only an officer of the General Staff could have delivered the documents of the *bordereau*. But have the proceedings justified this hypothesis? Whatever may have been

the specious skill with which General Mercier or General Roget discussed papers about which they knew nothing, which they had never seen and which they called important because they imagined them so, all their statements were proved erroneous and incorrect by the special testimony of Captain Carvalho, of General Sebert and Major Hartmann. The jesuitical skill of General Deloye, who was sent, as he himself said, as an expert by the Ministry of War, and who betrayed his commission by unlawfully turning prosecutor, could not detract from the cogency of General Sebert's and Major Hartmann's evidence. Notwithstanding General Deloye's insinuations, when he attempted to refute Major Hartmann's convincing argument, the latter was able to say with justice, in addressing his chief, that they had acknowledged the correctness of all the points he had brought forward, but denied their correctness when they were all taken together. This ironical reply discomfited General Deloye.

Beaten at all these points, the accusers had to fall back upon their last resource, the alleged confession of Dreyfus obtained by Captain Lebrun-Renaud.

Captain Lebrun-Renaud came to the bar, and tried to report the remarks which the condemned man was alleged to have made, on that day of horrible degradation, in part to the witness and in part in speaking to himself. If there was anything luminous and clear after Captain Lebrun-Renaud's testimony, it was that Captain Dreyfus had never made any confession. When questioned by the court, when questioned by the defense, when questioned by Dreyfus himself, Captain Lebrun-Renaud never once dared to say that the words heard by him and distorted by him had ever been considered by him as a confession.

Moreover, if they had been such, there is ample evidence—and the embarrassed explanations of General Mercier are not proofs to the contrary—that they had the deepest interest in the Ministry of War, in that month of January, 1895, in securing confessions, if the condemned man had made any. From the very first examination, everything had been set in motion to obtain a confession: threats by Colonel du Paty de Clam, promises to mitigate the punishment if Captain Dreyfus would confess by allowing him the company of his wife and even of his children in his exile; but they all failed before the unalterable serenity of the innocent man. If he had, at any time, uttered a sentence, a word, that could

have enabled those who sent him to the court-martial, and who were about to have him transported, to affirm plainly and solemnly before the whole excited country that there had been no mistake, that they had justly prosecuted a traitor, that they had justly struck down a criminal, no doubt they would have done so! It was futile to invoke the testimony of a dead man, of Major d'Attel, who, they said, had also been present at the time Dreyfus made his confession. No explanation was given why a precise, circumstantial report was not obtained from Captain d'Attel, any more than from Captain Lebrun-Renaud, on that morning of the 6th of January, when they were looking for witnesses of the scene of degradation in order to obtain from them a confirmation of the fabled confession which had been invented the preceding day; nor was it explained why that report, if there had been one, had not been taken to Dreyfus for a confirmation of its terms.

The truth is, and everybody understood it and felt it, that the man who during his five years' martyrdom had never ceased to protest his innocence, never faltered for a moment, as they pretended; for he could not have done so, since he had not committed the crime of which he was accused.

This, then, is what the proceedings of the court-martial have established. Those who directed them had hoped for a very different result, a result which they could not bring about, in spite of the kind of means they employed to effect their purpose.

To bolster up their hypotheses, they tried to accumulate all sorts of evidence of vices or immorality against the unhappy man for whom none of them, not even those who were not directly concerned in the crime of 1894, ever felt the least pity in their souls. As it was impossible to recur to the reports of 1894, those slanderous reports worked up by the detective Guénée, which were so odious and so evidently false that Besson d'Ormescheville, the judge-advocate of those days, rejected them, an appeal was made to Dreyfus's former comrades in arms to testify, to those who for years had associated with him, and they offered to the world the humiliating and lamentable spectacle of human beings making themselves, without reasons, without motives and, above all, without proofs, the accusers of a man whom all their chiefs had already fallen upon! They brought forward the vaguest charges, the most indefinite statements and allegations incapable of verification. The slightest words he had spoken in their presence were turned into

wrongs by them after they had distorted them and changed their sense. Not one of these men seemed to be conscious of the infamy of his conduct, of the villainy of his act; and not one of those who had worked by the side of Dreyfus felt sufficiently outraged to come forward and protest against such a course of action.

The result of the proceedings of the Rennes court-martial will be found to have been the dishonor, not only of the great chiefs of the General Staff, but also of the whole clique of officers who were their toadies, and who did not hesitate to strike a helpless man in order to flatter their superiors in the hope of receiving distinction or promotion.

But the accusers did not confine themselves to the collection of such testimony; they did not confine themselves to making an appeal to base military passions or base ambitions. They recruited and marshalled false witnesses by brigades, and showed their perfect skill in not having them summoned before the opening of the proceedings, thus enabling them to lie without risk, because they could then testify without making oath to tell the truth, and consequently without incurring the penalty for perjury.

They were gathered together, summoned and called up in the course of the testimony taken by the court-martial. It was General Mercier, General Roget and General Billot who informed the court of the names of Mertian de Muller, Germain, the groom, Villon, M. du Breuil, and, finally, at the last hour, as an attempt to confuse the minds of the judges who were possibly felt to lean towards the side of justice, a pretended Servian refugee named Czernuski Lazarovitch.

This is not the proper place to study the psychology of all these men, but it would be a curious study to classify the witnesses who appeared before the Rennes court-martial: those who defended their own persons, like Generals Mercier, Gonse and Boisdeffre, Major Lauth, Archivist Gribelin—that is to say, those whom an acquittal would have ruined, and who are now reserved for punishment, and even for the prison to which they tried to send their victim; those others who satisfied their resentment produced by disappointed ambition and wounded vanity, like General Roget and Major Cuignet; the witnesses malevolent by nature, like Captains Junck and Lemonnier or like Colonels Gendron and Fleur; the false military witnesses, of whom Captain Lebrun-Renaud and Major Lauth will remain the types; the false civilian witnesses

whom I have mentioned; the skilful witnesses, like M. de Freycinet; and, finally, those who simply told the truth, and who were the heroes, like Captain Freystaetter, Captain Carvalho, Major Hartmann and, above all, Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart.

I think I have shown how the Rennes trial was begun, and how it was conducted before the court-martial. It was argued before the whole nation, before the whole civilized world, before history which to-morrow will brand the accusers and the judges, and will stamp on the forehead of France a villainous stain which nothing can remove, as nothing would wash out the bloody marks on the hands of Lady Macbeth. Everything was known, except a few documents of the secret *dossier,* and these will be known to-morrow. Then the consternation of all those who think will be still greater, when they perceive that these very documents contained the evident and undeniable proof of the innocence of Dreyfus. I will only mention here the correspondence which took place in January, 1898, between M. de Bonin, Under Secretary of State in the Italian Foreign Office, and Count Tornielli, Italian Ambassador in Paris. These letters confirmed in a decisive manner the eloquent, noble and superb evidence of Senator Trarieux. This exchange of letters has to do with the situation in which the Italian Government was placed by the declaration of Herr von Bülow, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, before the Reichstag. M. de Bonin, after the speech of Herr von Bülow, asked the Italian Ambassador at Paris if he could make the same statement before the Parliament at Rome, and declare that the Italian Embasssy had never entertained any relations with Dreyfus. He requested the Ambassador to make an inquiry on this subject. This was done. Count Tornielli wrote to the minister that he could say in the Tribune that never had Dreyfus had any direct or indirect relations with the Ambassador, or with the military attaché; but, at the same time, he advised M. de Bonin not to make a similar statement concerning Esterhazy.

But all this was in vain. The court refused to accept the evidence of foreigners—of honorable foreigners I ought to say. By so doing, it placed the French Government in the most humiliating position *vis à vis* of the neighboring Governments, and seemed to say that France wished to retire from the world and live in a proud and haughty isolation; not the isolation of strength, but that which the sick and dying yearn for.

The court-martial refused to see the evidence brought before them, and yet its meaning was plain enough, even to the most prejudiced mind. Never before in any nation has such a thing happened. Here was a court which knew that the real culprit had confessed his guilt, which had in its possession evidence to show that those for whom the crime had been committed acknowledged the fact, and yet this same court condemned another man instead of the true criminal, smiting so as to protect a culprit and to save a band of criminals from condign punishment. Nor was this all. This same court constantly, throughout the proceedings, took the side of this culprit, and the representative of the Government was actually his apologist.

The verdict of the court produced a stupor in the minds of all men, which, however, will be dissipated to-morrow. The majority of Frenchmen have lived in the belief that the army, as it existed in our country, was reconcilable with democracy. But we are now awakened to the fact that it is not even reconcilable with reason, with justice, with even the most conservative institutions; that is to say, with the Court of Cassation, to take but one example. Now the question is brought squarely before the French people and must be solved—either the clerico-military oligarchy called the army will continue, and then France will gradually fall into the abyss; or the army and the clerical influences which inspire and support it will disappear. Unless the spirit of the army be changed, there will be a deadly conflict between that spirit and the spirit of free inquiry and research. Justice is the life of a nation in things economic, political and moral. If it is to continue to be represented by a caste which tramples under its feet all this in order to follow its instincts, its passions and its prejudices, France is lost. It may be that the verdict of the Rennes court-martial will open a new vista to France. The nation must choose; it must decide whom it will follow, whether the bandits who have just accomplished the most infamous of crimes, or those who, for the past two years, have been struggling every day to preserve the honor of their country. Whichever it does, it is by the example of the latter that France should be judged.

BERNARD LAZARE.

THE "OPEN DOOR" POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINES.*

BY FRANK D. PAVEY.

THE policy of "an open door to the world's commerce" in the Philippines has been the subject of much discussion during the past year. This policy received formal enunciation at the hands of the Government of the United States, in the course of the negotiation of the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States. The American Commissioners, in reply to a memorandum presented by the Spanish Commissioners, made these statements:

"The Government of the United States is unable to modify the proposal heretofore made for the cession of the entire archipelago of the Philippines, but the American Commissioners are authorized to offer to Spain, in case the cession should be agreed to, the sum of twenty million dollars ($20,000,000), to be paid in accordance with the terms to be fixed in the treaty of peace.

"*And it being the policy of the United States to maintain in the Philippines an open door to the world's commerce,* the American Commissioners are prepared to insert in the treaty now in contemplation a stipulation to the effect that, for a term of years, Spanish ships and merchandise shall be admitted into the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as American ships and merchandise."

The president of the Spanish Commission, in order to make clear the meaning of this proposition, asked the following question:

"Is the offer made by the United States to Spain to establish for a certain number of years similar conditions in the ports of the archipelago for vessels and merchandise of both nations, an offer which is preceded by the assertion that the policy of the United States is to maintain an open door to the world's commerce, to be taken in the sense that the vessels and goods of other nations are to enjoy or can enjoy the same privilege (*situación*) which for a certain time is granted those of Spain, while the United States do not change such policy?"

* The writer is indebted to Judge Charles E. Magoon, law officer of the War Department, for a copy of an able opinion on a kindred topic, from which part of the legal argument has been adapted to this article.

The president of the American Commission gave the following answer to this question:

"The declaration that the policy of the United States in the Philippines will be that of an open door to the world's commerce necessarily implies that the offer to place Spanish vessels and merchandise on the same footing as American is not intended to be exclusive. But, the offer to give Spain that privilege for a term of years, is intended to secure it to her for a certain period by special treaty stipulation, whatever might be at any time the general policy of the United States."

The treaty of peace, as executed and ratified, contains these Articles:

"Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, and comprehending the islands lying within the following line: * * * * *

"The United States will, for a term of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States."

Under these Articles, the sovereignty of Spain over the Philippines passed to the United States, subject to one limitation. That limitation was a commercial privilege which Spain reserved to herself for the period of ten years. It constituted a "burden upon the fee." The transaction was analogous to a transfer of land subject to a free right of entry for a period of ten years.

The United States accepted the Philippines with this reservation in favor of Spain. By the ratification of the treaty, this limitation upon the sovereignty of the Philippines became part of "the supreme law of the land." No act of Congress is required to give it force and effect. By no act of Congress can the United States honorably deprive Spanish ships and merchandise of rights in the ports of the Philippines, equal in all respects to those possessed by American ships and merchandise.

But can the Government of the United States confer equal rights upon the ships and merchandise of other nations? Has Congress or the Administration power to maintain "an open door to the world's commerce" in the Philippines? In what way can "an open door to the world's commerce" be "opened" in the Philippines?

These questions interest Spain. The answer will determine the exact value of the commercial privilege reserved to her under the treaty. They interest the United States. The answer will determine the probable value of the markets of the Philippines to her

merchants and manufacturers. They interest all other nations trading in the Orient. The answer will inform them whether they have exchanged competition with Spain, under the protection of a Spanish tariff, for a free field, or for competition with both Spain and the United States under the protection of an American tariff.

The cession of the Philippines by Spain to the United States was accomplished by the execution, delivery and acceptance of an international deed of transfer known as a treaty. The transfer became complete upon the exchange of ratifications of the treaty. Thereupon, the territory transferred became an integral part of the United States. As such, it became subject to the Constitution, bound by its restrictions and entitled to its privileges. No further action by Congress was necessary. The Constitution does not depend upon Congress for authority in any part of the United States. The reverse of the proposition is the fact. Congress must look to the Constitution for authority to legislate for the Philippines.

The Constitution provides:

"The Congress shall have power:

"To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; *but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.*"

The treaty with Spain contains no provisions which exempt the commerce of the Philippines from the operation of the Constitution and the laws of the United States, except in favor of Spain. The general enactments of Congress are in force throughout the territorial limits of the United States. When the Philippines came within those territorial limits, they became subject to those laws. The absence of the machinery necessary for the operation of those laws may delay their actual enforcement, but they are nevertheless laws of the land.

The principle that the existing tariff and navigation laws of the United States would be in force in newly acquired territory, without further action by Congress, was recognized in the annexation of Hawaii. The joint resolution of Congress contained this provision:

"Until legislation shall be enacted extending the United States customs laws and regulations to the Hawaiian Islands, the existing customs relations of the Hawaiian Islands with the United States and other countries shall remain unchanged."

In support of the proposition that these laws apply to the Philippines, we have precedents of administrative interpretation and judicial determination of similar questions presented in the case of the cession of Upper California by Mexico.

In the war with Mexico, Upper California was conquered and San Francisco occupied by the military forces of the United States in the year 1846. Soon thereafter, the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, authorized the military and naval commanders of the United States forces in California to exercise the belligerent rights of a conqueror, and to form a civil government for the conquered territory. This was done, and tonnage and import duties were levied under a war tariff, established by the military government of civil affairs.

The treaty of peace with Mexico was signed on February 3d, 1848, and ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at Queretaro on May 30th, 1848. Congress did not create the territory embraced in Upper California into a customs district and make San Francisco a port of entry until March 3d, 1849. The collector appointed by the President pursuant to this law did not enter upon the discharge of his duties until November 13th, 1849. In the meantime, notice of the ratification of the treaty reached California on August 6th, 1848. On August 7th, 1848, a proclamation was issued by the military governor, announcing the ratification of the treaty of peace, by which Upper California was ceded to the United States, and on August 9th, 1848, instructions were given to the military collector of customs at San Francisco that "the tariff of duties for the collection of military contributions will immediately cease, and the revenue laws and tariff of the United States will be substituted in its place."

This action was ratified by the War Department by letter dated October 9th, 1848, written by the Secretary of War to the military governor and commander of United States forces in California. This letter contained the following clause:

"But the government *de facto* can of course exercise no powers inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of all the States and Territories of our Union. For this reason no import duties can be levied in California on articles the growth, produce or manufacture of any State or Territory of the United States; and no such duties can be imposed in any part of the Union on the productions of California; nor can duties be

charged on such foreign productions as have already paid duties in any part of the United States."

The Secretary of the Treasury issued the following circular to collectors and other officers of the customs:

"Treasury Department, October 7, 1848.

"On the 30th of May last, upon the exchange of ratifications of our treaty with Mexico, California became a part of the American Union; in consequence of which, various questions have been presented by merchants and collectors for the decision of this Department.

"By the Constitution of the United States it is declared that 'All treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land.' By the treaty with Mexico, California is annexed to this republic, and the Constitution of the United States is extended over that territory and is in full force throughout its limits. Congress, also, by several enactments subsequent to the ratification of the treaty, has distinctly recognized California as a part of the Union, and has extended over it in several important particulars the laws of the United States.

"Under these circumstances the following instructions are issued by this Department:

"First.—All articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of California, shipped therefrom at any time since the 30th of May last, are entitled to admission free of duty into all the ports of the United States.

"Second.—All articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of the United States are entitled to admission free of duty into California, as are also all foreign goods which are exempt from duty by the laws of Congress, or on which goods the duties prescribed by those laws have been paid to any collector of the United States previous to their introduction into California.

"Third.—Although the Constitution of the United States extends to California, and Congress has recognized it by law as a part of the Union, and legislated for it as such, yet it is not brought by law within the limits of any collection district, nor has Congress authorized the appointment of any officers to collect the revenue accruing on the import of foreign dutiable goods into that territory. Under these circumstances, although this Department may be unable to collect the duties accruing on importations from foreign countries into California, yet, if foreign dutiable goods should be introduced there, and shipped thence to any port or place of the United States, they will be subject to duty, as also to all the penalties prescribed by law when such importation is attempted without the payment of duties.

"R. J. Walker,
"Secretary of the Treasury."

The expression, "although this department may be unable to collect the duties accruing on importations from foreign countries into California," is understood to refer to the small military force at the command of the military governor. The doubt was produced by his report, dated August 14th, 1848, wherein he informs

the War Department of his action in reference to the collection of duties, calls attention to the depletion of his forces by lawful discharges and desertions due to the "gold fever," and says:

"In the meantime, however, should the people refuse to obey the existing authorities, or the merchants refuse to pay any duties, my force is inadequate to compel obedience."

Importers interpreted the circular issued by the Secretary of the Treasury to mean that foreign productions could be imported into California free of duty, and they prepared to land such goods in defiance of the law. The military governor requested the assistance of the naval forces of the United States in enforcing the law. The importers asked the officer in command of the naval forces of the United States then in the Pacific Ocean to what extent he would enforce the orders of the military governor, and they directed his attention to the Walker circular and other matters which, they claimed, established want of jurisdiction by the military governor. The reply was that he would support the military governor to the full extent of the forces at his command.

This closed the constitutional debate between the importers and the military and naval officers of the United States. The importers paid the duties under protest and appealed to the courts. They brought suit to recover from the collector the moneys so paid under protest. There was no controversy as to the facts. The rights of the parties to the action depended upon the law. The Supreme Court of the United States judicially determined the status of the territory ceded by Mexico, from the time of its invasion in 1846 to November 13th, 1849, when the collector appointed by the President, according to law, entered upon the duties of his office; its relation to the United States at various intervals during that period; the character of the civil government maintained therein by the military authorities, after the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace and cession; and the right of the civil government of the ceded territory to impose tonnage and import duties in accordance with and by virtue of the general tariff laws of the United States, without Congressional action extending them over the new territory.*

In its decision the Court says:

"By the ratifications of the treaty, California became a part of the United States. And as there is nothing differently stipulated in the

*Cross *et al. v.* Harrison, 16 How.. 164.

treaty with respect to commerce, it became instantly bound and privileged by the laws which Congress had passed to raise a revenue from duties on imports and tonnage. * * * * *

"The right claimed to land foreign goods within the United States at any place out of a collection district, if allowed, would be a violation of that provision in the Constitution which enjoins that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States. Indeed, it must be very clear that no such right exists, and that there was nothing in the condition of California to exempt importers of foreign goods into it from the payment of the same duties which were chargeable in other ports of the United States."

Strike out the word "California" in this quotation and insert the word "Philippines," and we have the conclusion of the whole matter. The decision is so pertinent to the question under consideration that no argument is needed to show its controlling force.

It is necessary at this point to refer to the situation existing at present in the Philippines.

By order, dated July 12th, 1898, the President, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, prescribed a certain tariff of duties and taxes, to be levied and collected, as a military contribution, upon the occupation and possession of any ports and places in the Philippines by the forces of the United States. That order never has been revoked. Modifications, if any, have been made by the general in command of the United States forces in those islands, and have been due to the necessities of the military operations.

The Peace Protocol of August 12th, 1898, provided that the United States would hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which should determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines. That treaty was signed at Paris on December 10th, 1898; its ratification was advised by the Senate on February 6th, 1899, and it was ratified by the President on February 7th, 1899. The exchange of ratifications took place at Washington on April 11th, 1899. The Philippines then passed under the Constitution and general laws of the United States. Under normal conditions, they would have become at once subject to the burdens and entitled to the benefits of that Constitution and those laws.

But normal conditions did not and do not exist in the Philippines. Aguinaldo began his attack upon the American forces on February 4th, 1899, two days before the Senate voted in favor of the ratification of the treaty of peace. From then until now, those

islands have been in a state of actual war. As a matter of military necessity, the President could establish, as a war measure, a blockade or any form of prohibitive or special tariff. The continuance and present enforcement of the military tariff of July 12th, 1898, may properly be considered such an act of military authority.

What interests commerce is the situation which will exist in the Philippines as soon as they have been restored to a state of peace and quiet sufficient to permit the resumption of actual commercial intercourse, in accordance with law, between those islands, the United States and other countries.

From the premises the conclusions are simple:

1. "An open door to the world's commerce" can be "opened" in the Philippines in one of two ways only;

(*a*) By an amendment to the Constitution, exempting the Philippines from the operation of the provision that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States," or,

(*b*) By an act of Congress making every other port of the United States "an open door to the world's commerce."

The former method would require the initial assent of two-thirds of both houses of Congress, or of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States, and the subsequent ratification of three-fourths of the several States. The latter method would be an entire overthrow of the present tariff policy, and would involve the destruction of the present industrial and commercial system of the United States.

Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party, alone, could carry out the former method; neither would carry out the latter.

2. Under the present Constitution, the ships and merchandise of the United States will pay no tonnage or import duties in the ports of the Philippines. Under the treaty, Spanish ships and merchandise will be admitted to the ports of the Philippines on the same terms. They will pay no tonnage or import duties for the term of ten years.

3. The ships and merchandise of all other countries will pay the same tonnage and import duties in the ports of the Philippines as they pay in the ports of San Francisco or New York.

4. For the present, "an open door to the world's commerce" in the Philippines is a political myth.

FRANK D. PAVEY.

THE DRAMATIC FESTIVALS OF ORANGE.

BY JULES CLARETIE, ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL OF THE *COMÉDIE FRANÇAISE.*

THERE exists in France an admirable Roman ruin or rather—for the monument is no longer a ruin but stands to-day in all its solid majesty—an ancient theatre whose picturesqueness and beauty cannot be too highly praised. It is the theatre of Orange in the Department of Vaucluse. The celebrated theatre of Vicenza, the superb Greek theatre of Taormina, with its wide gaps, breaches made by time, and its columns rising up against the blue horizon of the Sicilian sea, are not more interesting from an architectural point of view, and are less available for dramatic representations than this marvellous monument, which, like the arenas of Arles, was so long closed in by mean-looking buildings, and which Caristié, a member of the Institute of France, and an architect of the rarest talent and of faultless erudition, disencumbered, brought back to light and, if I may use the term, revealed.

Caristié, whose bust has been placed in front of this Roman theatre which he restored to life, as it were, was the uncle of an artist of the *Comédie Française,* who very properly took a distinguished part in the performances at Orange, and who has now retired from the stage. M. Caristié Martel, an actor of great merit, excellent as the old Don Guridan in *"Ruy Blas"* and as the general in *"Le monde où l'on s'ennuie,"* a poet also in his "moments of inspiration," had gone on the stage and become a comedian contrary to the wishes of his uncle; but it was reserved for him to attend and contribute to the triumph of the architect Caristié, when, in the presence of Minister Barthou, I unveiled the Caristié monument in front of the ancient theatre of Orange.

This theatre, I repeat, is superb, standing as one of the proudest examples of what the builders of ancient Rome could do. Its high, colossal walls rise up intact, in front of the stairs built against a hillside, whose steps have been repaired with care. The theatre of Bacchus at Athens, where M. Homolle had proposed to represent "*Oedipe Roi*," to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the *École Française*, is a ruin, an admirable ruin, to be sure, but still a ruin; the Roman theatre of Orange is now practically unimpaired. The proscenium is there, the stage, the doors of entrance for the actors. A fig-tree, which has grown among the stones, gives an appearance of life and a note of nature to this gigantic structure. Behind this fig-tree, shaken by the *mistral*, the south wind, I concealed the orchestra during the representations of the antique dramas, and nothing can equal the effect—no painting, no scenery—of this waving foliage, of these gnarled branches, out of which seemed to issue, as from an immense and fantastic nest, the melodies of Camille Saint-Saëns for "*Antigone*," the music of Edmond Membrée for "*Oedipe Roi*!"

M. de Gasparin, who published a history of the city of Orange in 1815, which is now of documentary value only, describes this theatre and its wall surrounded by modern buildings, which concealed them at that time. He states, for example, that to obtain an idea of the wall of the circus, it must be examined "at M. Davadan, the wheelwright's," or, still better, by "going into the dirty poultry-yard where a part of it is to be seen." In 1815, the wall formed a part of the Chamoux house. It was Caristié, as I am fond of repeating, who reclaimed this admirable monument from the "*infected*" buildings, to use M. Gasparin's expression, which shut it in, and now as in the past six thousand spectators can listen to an antique drama within this gigantic enclosure.

The theatre had two tiers of steps, seven steps in each tier. It has been restored as it was originally. The sculptor, Injalbert, has just sent to Orange a marble monument representing "The Soul of Antiquity Handing the Torch of Art to the Genius of the Present Day." M. Injalbert is a Southern sculptor, who constructed a monument to Molière for the town of Pézénas, which the mayor and the councilors of that town unveiled two years ago in presence of the *Comédie Française*. When the mayor of Orange informed the municipal council, the other day, of the arrival of M. Injalbert's group, he added that the block weighed

about 12,000 kilogrammes, and that it would be inaugurated when the next performances took place. Of the artistic value of the work he said nothing. But M. Injalbert's name is a sufficient guarantee of the beauty of the sculpture. "The Soul of Antiquity," however, to explain the symbolism, is the ancient theatre of Orange revived by the "Modern Genius." Of old, this theatre was accustomed to great spectacles addressed to the eyes, rather than to productions designed to elevate the soul. It was, if I may say so, something like a gigantic music-hall. The genius of modern times is in this sense truly more artistic than the "Soul of Antiquity."

Formerly, on this stage, now brilliant with the talent of the *Comédie Française* and the Opera, the spectacles given to the crowd were those of which Horace speaks: *"Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana;"* combats of bears or gladiators, "transitory spectacles that teach nothing," "vain joys!" At the present day, admirable pieces are performed before the crowd; and the Orange spectators, though a multitude, are treated as if they were a select few. Those who have observed how this public listens, how it understands everything, how artistic it is and what a literary instinct it has, have been able to convince themselves that it is, indeed, worthy of the pains taken to give it pleasure. Its joys are no longer the *vain joys* of which Horace speaks in his epistle.

And this is why it was deemed expedient that the restored ruin of this old Roman theatre should be visited every year by a distinguished company, who should give to the thousands of people assembled before the immense wall some performance of the highest merit. The impression produced there is in fact quite different from that in an enclosed hall. There is felt a peculiar sensation; all that is complicated in the setting, the art of artistic tapestry, if I may use the term, is absent, and we find ourselves face to face with the master-piece under primitive conditions. The performance thereby becomes both more wholesome and more striking. The effect is deeper and, strange to say, the acoustic properties are so admirable that not a syllable of the dialogue is lost. Even Molière's comedies have been represented there, and that with an effect as intense as in a closed hall.

The State has granted its official sanction, in some measure, to these representations, which are called "national" in order to give prominence and notoriety to the festivals. As a matter of

fact, they are first of all Provençal. The municipality of Orange, until now, had taken an interest in these artistic performances, and the town had certainly found them profitable, by reason of the immense concourse of people that poured into the city on festival days from the surrounding region. The trains from Avignon, Nîmes, Tarascon, Valence and even Marseilles brought to Orange thousands of travellers, who gathered on the steps of the theatre to enjoy Sophocles and ancient art. Then, all at once, the mayor of Orange manifested a certain repugnance to continuing his official relations with these performances. A Commission on Orange Festivals was then appointed by the Minister of Fine Arts, which met in a hall of the Ministry of Public Instruction in Paris and decided to form a "Society of the Friends of the Orange Theatre," whose charter has recently been published.

This purely artistic association, in which political and religious discussions are prohibited, has for its purpose to aid in periodical organization of "national representations" at the ancient theatre of Orange, and to encourage "displays of art in conformity with Graeco-Roman traditions." Its patrons include illustrious names in all branches—learned men, like M. Gaston Boissier, the permanent secretary of the French Academy; architects, like M. Formigé, who was appointed by the Government to conduct the restorations of the Orange theatre; journalists, like M. Henry Fouquier, the honorary president of the Southern Society of the *Cigatiers*; musicians, like M. Massenet and M. Ernest Royer; dramatic authors, like M. Victorien Sardou. The list would not be complete without Frédéric Mistral, the poet of *Mireille,* "the king of the South"—Mistral, the Napoleon of the Félibres, one of whose disciples compares his soft felt hat to that of the first Emperor.

The ministerial commission has appointed M. Paul Mariénto to take charge of the representations in the ancient theatre, and he has entered upon his functions this year. It is no sinecure to organize representations at Orange, as the writer of the present article can testify. On the two occasions, in 1895 and 1897, when the *Comédie Française* played *"Oedipe Roi"* and *"Antigone"* at Orange, we had to mobilize, as it were, quite an artistic army corps of comedians, machinists, choristers, musicians, costumers, hair-dressers, mutes. Numerous cars were required to

transport all this force from Paris to Orange. It was difficult to dress in the old theatre. There were no dressing-rooms for the actors. Antigone and Tiresias arrived at the theatre in costume, passing through the town from their hotel in *peplos*. The spectacle was a curious one and unexpectedly picturesque.

M. Mariéton encountered difficulties at the outset, of which those unfamiliar with the practical management of a theatre can have little idea. He is a literary man of talent, a real poet and a very intelligent critic, who has published a volume on the *amours* of Alfred de Musset and George Sand, which is, perhaps, a little indiscreet. In his maiden attempts as an impresario, he ran up against the caprices of that admirable artist, Mme. Sarah Bernhardt. Mme. Sarah Bernhardt was to go to Orange to play two pieces, Racine's *"Phèdre"* and the *"Médée"* of M. Catulle Mendès. She had even informed the author of *"Médée"* to that effect through an enthusiastic telegram. But what happened? Sarah Bernhardt played neither *"Médée"* nor *"Phèdre"* and M. Paul Mariéton would have been seriously embarrassed if M. Baduel, a director of a travelling company, had not offered him *"Athalie"* completely mounted, and if M. Paul Mounet had not brought him a translation of *"Alcestis"* by M. Rivollet, which they were able to mount hurriedly for the thirteenth of August. I authorized M. Paul Mounet to interrupt for a few days his services at the *Comédie Française,* so that this excellent tragedian (the younger brother of M. Mounet-Sully) might be able to assist the Orange representations with his talent and, plainly speaking, to save them.

By this time, the Greek *"Alcestis"* and Racine's *"Athalie"* will have been represented before a faithful public; also a piece in verse by M. H. de Bornier, the author of *"La Fille de Roland,"* not to mention *"Ô coupo santo!"* the famous cup-song, sung by the beautiful M'lle. Hatto, who has just received the first prize in the singing contest at the Conservatoire, and who resembles Mme. Caron, the creator of Salammbô.

These artistic festivals are, moreover, becoming summer recreations for our provinces. At Beziers, they performed *"Déjanire,"* by Saint-Saëns, last year, and they are giving it again this year. In the *Arènes* of Arles they have recently performed Gounod's *"Mireille"* with success. But it was at Orange that the first attempt at artistic decentralization in this direction was made

twenty or more years ago, thanks to the initiative of remarkable men, such as Ripert, whose name as a man of letters will deservedly survive, and Antonin Réal, a poet and scholar whose bust will be unveiled this year by the poets of Provence. These pioneers conceived the idea of having ancient works mounted on the ancient stage. The singer, Boudouresque, interpreted Médul's *"Joseph,"* which two Parisian theatres, *l'Opéra* and *l'Opéra Comique*, are representing at this moment. The effect was great. Then M. Silvain of the *Comédie Française* played *"L'Empereur d'Arles,"* a drama composed by a Southern poet; and finally, one day, during one of the annual *félibrées*, which the poets of Provence have instituted (literary and artistic tours through the province, unveiling of statuettes and recitation of poems), M. Mounet-Sully came and played *"Oedipe Roi,"* without scenery, before an enthusiastic multitude. From that day, the Orange representations were an established institution.

It appears that on the first evening there was an admirable effect which had not been foreseen. At the most pathetic moment of the drama, a raven, disturbed in his nest, issued from the ruins and hovered like a living symbol of black misfortune over the victim of ancient fatality. This raven croaking over Oedipus added a striking note to the most awful tragedy of the past. And it was an impression that will not repeat itself, a unique artistic accident.

The Orange representations owe much of their fame to this raven. When *"Oedipe Roi"* was again played at Paris, many theatre-goers sighed and said: "Unfortunately, there is no raven! This raven was the culminating point of the tragedy. Who will give us back the raven?" Notwithstanding their sincerity there is a certain fastidiousness in all these exclamations. Sophocles is admirable even without a raven. But even the excellent Francisque Sarcey regretted sometimes that we could not have the flight of the raven, which added to the ancient tragedy a new, fantastic and more modern terror after the manner of Edgar Allan Poe.

We also had another artistic sensation, which only the open air and the wind can produce, when M'lle. Bréval, in antique costume, sang a prologue which the composer, Camille Saint-Saëns, had set to music. That evening the *mistral* (the wind this time, not the poet), blew with violence. M'lle. Bréval was standing

before the audience in her *peplos*, when the breeze caused its folds to cling to her body and to flutter out behind her shoulders like wings, while the lower part of the garment seemed like a shroud lashed by the north wind. Thus the beautiful, tall girl, standing on the stage of the Roman theatre gave us the impression of antique statuary come to life. The sculptors were filled with enthusiasm. It seemed to them that the Victory of Samothrace stood before them, standing on the prow as in the Louvre, but in flesh and blood, breathing and singing.

These are surprises that are not afforded by ordinary performances, where everything is arranged beforehand by the stage director. But if we are sometimes indebted to the unforeseen, it is also sometimes to be dreaded. A slight shower might change a triumphal representation into a disaster. Wet peplums soon turn to limp rags. And then, alas, a kind of artistic high mass would easily resemble a vulgar masquerade. This year they are to play not by night, as we did, but at sunset. It seems that at that hour the heat accumulated in the colossal wall on which the sun has shone all day is so great that its reflection makes it impossible to stand within several yards of it. We shall find out whether the actors have been able to play, notwithstanding this torrid atmosphere and these condensed and reflected rays. It is certain that every performance in an ancient theatre should be in the day-time. And yet, "the obscure brightness of the stars," as Corneille has said, may suffice to illuminate such a representation and endue it with an added charm and poesy.

That was, indeed, my opinion and intention four years ago, when I gave "*Antigone*" in Orange. The steps and the stage were lighted with immense electric lamps, suspended from gigantic poles and projecting their rays on the proscenium. At a given moment, I had the electric lights turned off. The effect was superb; the actors of "*Antigone*" appeared in the clear night and under the stars, as though bathed in that moonlight which, according to Heine, constitutes the attractiveness of Shakspeare's heroes and heroines. We then had several minutes of mysterious and exquisite art.

Unfortunately, it was necessary to turn on the lamps again, and that for a reason that was not at all artistic. At that very hour, Casério, President Carnot's murderer, was in his dungeon at Lyons awaiting the execution of the sentence which had con-

demned him to death; and, in the first row of the spectators, we had the Minister of Justice, whose duty it was to see that the sentence should be carried out—which was done five or six days later. It was feared that anarchists might profit by the darkness to attempt some violence, and so it happened that Casério, by compelling me to turn on the electricity, deprived Sophocles of the soft, poetical light of the starry summer sky.

I do not know how M. de Bornier will have celebrated the "soul of antiquity," sculptured also by M. Injalbert; but two years ago, a talented poet, who died last year and whose bust the *Félibres* are going to inaugurate at Valence, like that of Antoine Réal this season, had very intelligently symbolized these representations at Orange in a prologue that I asked him to compose. His name is Louis Gallet, the author of a considerable number of opera librettos, and he gave to his prologue the title, "The Festivals of Apollo." This would, indeed, be a very proper title for these performances. It is certainly Apollo that is celebrated there.

Poor Gallet had imagined a Faun asleep in the ruins of the ancient theatre and awakened by the accents of *La Cigale*, the nymph of Provence, personifying the Popular Muse. Then there appeared before him an Arlesian girl representing Provence; another, Music; still another, the Gallic Muse; and, finally, a figure holding a tri-colored flag in her hand symbolized France. The pretty girl of Arles and the Muse of our country spoke in verses which roused the old Faun to enthusiasm, and the prologue concluded with lyric verses of much vigor. The same evening they gave also Leconte de Lisle's fine piece, "*Les Erynnies*," and the verses of the poet joined to the music of Massenet had a marvellous effect.

This year the "*Alcestis*" of Euripides, adapted by M. Rivellet, will no doubt have produced a similar result. I doubt, however, if the newspapers will devote as many articles to these representations of 1899 as they did to the *soirées* of 1897. In the first place, Francisque Sarcey is no longer there, to make himself the admirable courier of art and place his renown at the service of these experiments. And, then, the Dreyfus case will have absorbed the whole attention of the public this August. The drama of the case at Rennes is as poignant as the tragedy that will be played at Orange. And Dreyfus is closer to us than

Athalie. Politics has often interfered with these artistic manifestations. I have already mentioned the project of M. Homolle, the director of the *École Française* in Greece, to give a representation of *"Oedipe"* in the theatre of Bacchus at Athens. It was right and proper that such a representation should take place. All the obstacles had been overcome. I had ordered special scenery for Athens, the model of which is before me as I write these lines. The Turco-Grecian war broke out and put a stop to everything. The verses of Sophocles were drowned by the roar of cannon. This time Euripides will have for a competitor, not cannon, but the voice of Maître Demange, Dreyfus's lawyer, or the voice of Maître Labori. In this way the actual interest of the *present* tampers with the productions of ancient art.

But the Orange representations, hitherto so glorious and so impressive—with an entire people demanding a tragedy in the open air—these festivals of intelligence and art are none the less well established. On the 12th and 13th of August, in the opening prologue of the present season of 1899, M. Henri de Bornier celebrates the institution of a Graeco-Latin cycle which is now to be held yearly at the ancient theatre of Orange. This shows the programme and the hope of the Festival Commission. It is to found a theatre in this marvellous setting, in a place where during the memory of man it has hardly ever rained in the month of August, in the country of Tartarin (and, by the way, it is proposed to take advantage of the occasion to attach a commemorative tablet to the old mill where Alphonse Daudet wrote his *"Lettres de mon Moulin"*), where the people, the artists, the strangers, the poets may come every year to listen to beautiful verses, music and dramas spoken and sung by illustrious artists; in one word, to create in our country, in the land of Provence, what may be called by one expressive name—a French Bayreuth, the Bayreuth of the Graeco-Latin soul, with Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Racine, Corneille and Hugo for sponsors.

And as the Faun of the Festivals of Apollo said, while the orchestra was playing Magali's song which interrupted the *Marseillaise:*

> **"Speak to us, Poets; now the Play's commencing!**
> **These leafy solitudes no more entrance.**
> **Thou, God of verse, be lord of earth forever,**
> **And you, applaud, Athenians of France!"**

JULES CLARETIE.

IS CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN PERIL?

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

For the first time since the enactment of the Civil Service law in 1883, a President of the United States has seen fit to exempt a considerable body of public servants from its requirements. The statute itself placed 13,924 Government positions in the "classified service," providing that appointments should be made subject to competitive examination. Mr. Cleveland added 7,259 in his first term, and 41,768 in his second term; Mr. Harrison added 8,690; the total additions to the classified service by executive action being thus 57,717.* Meantime, by natural growth, the number of classified places had increased by 15,467, so that, when President McKinley was inaugurated, of the 178,000 places in the executive Civil Service, 87,000 were subject to the Civil Service law and rules. Of the 91,000 employees not classified, 8,850 were laborers, whose classification is expressly forbidden in the law; some 5,000 were Presidential appointees, confirmed by the Senate; 66,725 were fourth-class postmasters; 4,810 were clerks in post offices not having free delivery; and 5,570 were in places specially excluded from classification by the rules.

President McKinley has, apparently, not faced in the same direction as his predecessors. Instead of extending the sway of the competitive test, he has restricted it. On July 27th, 1897, he added a few places at the small customs ports, but, at the same time, he "excepted" some five hundred "confidential" posts in the customs and internal revenue services; while, on the 29th of last

*These figures make it appear that the Republicans have placed 22,614 positions in the classified service, and the Democrats 49,027. The Republicans, however, claim that they should have credit for the classification of the 10,383 employees in the railway mail and navy yard services, although these were nominally brought under the rules by Mr. Cleveland.

May, he issued an order "excepting" from competitive examination the appointees to between 8,000 and 10,000 offices.

To any one who can recall the long and, at times, desperate struggle against the spoils system, the days when the people were indifferent and politicians were insolent, the abortive budding of hope under Grant and Hayes, and at last the rooting of the despised plant of reform in the blood of Garfield, it is not strange that the veteran fighters for the merit system, who have supposed their victory won, are aroused and alarmed by the action of President McKinley. His order, with its exceptions and its modifications of the rules, has seemed to them a malicious and dangerous blow at the heart of the tree they have planted and watered.

Is their alarm well grounded? Has the President changed the Civil Service rules to please the office broker and, perhaps, to better his chances for a second term? Or, has he made changes solely with an eye to the improvement of the service? Has he struck at the roots of the tree, or has he merely trimmed exuberant foliage, in order that the tree may bear better fruit?

One cannot understand the order of May 29th without some knowledge of Mr. Cleveland's sweeping order of May 6th, 1896. Prior to the latter date, the classified service embraced, in the main, custom houses having at least fifty employees, all post offices with free delivery, the railway mail service, the internal revenue service, the Government printing office, school employees or physicians in the Indian service, the weather bureau, and some 10,000 places in the Departments at Washington. Mr. Cleveland's order of May 6th, 1896, added to this list practically everything possible, except fourth-class postmasters and employees in post offices not having free delivery. With these exceptions, it was a blanket order, including all persons in the executive Civil Service, in and outside of the District of Columbia, "of whatever designation and whether compensated by a fixed salary or not."* This order made the competitive examination the law of appointment in over 30,000 places which had previously been independent of the Civil Service law and rules. It was quite evident that many places had been included which ought not to be subject to a competitive examination. Mr. Cleveland recognized this fact and immediately made exceptions, the most important of which

*Persons employed as mere laborers or workmen, and those whose appointments are subject to confirmation by the Senate, were necessarily excepted, as they are not classifiable under the law.

were in the Indian, customs, internal revenue and post office services.

President McKinley now makes further exceptions, and they are defended on the ground that, for the positions affected, experience has proved the competitive test to be impracticable. Intelligent criticism of the order making these exceptions is impossible, unless one knows the nature of the places concerned and the kind of tests which have been substituted for the competitive. I propose, therefore, to discuss these excepted places in detail, and, for convenience, I will group them according to the new tests that have been imposed. They fall naturally into four classes. The first class, containing about 6,500 places, are subject to a registration test. The second class, about 1,600 places, are subject to a non-competitive examination conducted by the Civil Service Commission. The third class, about 125, are subject to examinations under special regulations approved by the Civil Service Commission. The fourth class, about 1,500, are subject to no test, the will of the appointing officer being final.

The first class, containing some sixty-five hundred positions, belongs exclusively to the War Department. It includes mechanics and skilled laborers in four departments at large of the United States Army, namely, the quartermaster's, the medical, the ordnance and the engineer departments. The clerical force of these four departments is left, as heretofore, under the control of the Civil Service Commission, but all positions requiring mechanical skill will hereafter be filled in accordance with registration tests of fitness. In explanation of this change, it is said that President McKinley has done with these departments exactly what President Harrison did with the navy yard service in 1891. At that time, no employee in the navy yards was subject to the Civil Service rules, and the boss politician had had his way to such an extent that first-class work was impossible. Secretary Chandler in 1882 declared that, whatever might be done with the hulls of our new vessels, the engines could not be constructed by the navy yards until the sway of machine politics had been destroyed. In 1892, one year after the establishment of the new system, Secretary Tracy said, in his annual report, that "the work performed under this order is of the highest finish and quality, and no doubt is now entertained of the capacity of our working yards to accomplish any task in the way of naval construction or

repair." His Democratic successor, Secretary Herbert, reported in 1894 as follows:

"The system of employing workmen at navy yards through a Board of Labor, taking them without reference to politics and in the order of their application, continues to be commended without exception by all naval officers and others whose duties have brought them in contact with it. The labor has so increased in efficiency that many of the superintending officers contend that the Government can now fairly compete with private concerns in the cost of constructing vessels and machinery."*

It is significant that the Civil Service Commission, in its annual reports, has always referred to this change in the navy-yard service as an adoption of the merit system. It appears that President McKinley has simply ordered that a similar system shall now be adopted in the four departments at large of the United States Army. I understand, in fact, that, some time before President McKinley's order was issued, steps had been taken for the adoption of such regulations. During the war with Spain, when an increase in the service was imperative, it was found impossible promptly to get employees through the machinery of the Civil Service Commission. At such times, men are wanted quickly, and it would certainly seem wise that their selection be made by Boards of Employment at the yards themselves. The positions affected by the new order are those for which an educational test is of no value; such as packers, forage masters, weighers, rodmen, torpedo keepers, blacksmith's helpers, carpenters' helpers, gauge readers, etc. During the war, packers, for instance, were in great demand in the medical and quartermaster's departments, but it was difficult to get them. There were men enough in the country who understood the art of packing, but they had employment, and they were under no inducement to offer themselves to the Civil Service Commission for a competitive test, in order that they might be available for service in the War Department; and the offer of a temporary appointment was no temptation at all. The order, so far as it concerns these departments, certainly seems a proper one.

It should be borne in mind that such positions as assistant

*The navy-yard regulations provide for a distribution of the positions in the navy-yards under separate schedules, each applicable to the particular work of the grade. Persons desiring to enter that service register their names with the proper Board and file their certificates of character and experience in their trades. Their names are entered upon a register, and, when persons are required for work, they are taken in the order of their standing. It is understood, and generally believed to be true, that the politics of candidates are not taken into consideration.

engineer, transit man, computer, clerk, typewriter, etc., which lend themselves to an educational test, have not been disturbed, but are still subject to the rules of the Commmission. It should further be noted that the analogous system in the navy-yards has met with such general approval that, in 1896, it received the formal endorsement of the Civil Service Commission, and was adopted as part of the regulations of that body. President Cleveland, at the same time, ordered that no modifications should be made without the approval of the Commission. The query naturally arises, why did not President McKinley place these four army departments also under the Civil Service Commission? Here is a chance for criticism, but it does not strike me as important. In the first place, the navy-yard regulations have been devised and put in force entirely by the Navy Department itself. In the second place, the Commission has no power to make changes; it may simply interpose a veto. Under the rules relating to the army departments, this power of veto is in the hands of the President. It is not improbable that the new army regulations, after they have had a trial, will be approved by the Civil Service Commission, and that the army departments will thus be placed upon the same basis as the navy-yards, under regulations that will be satisfactory in peace and elastic in war. It is claimed that the Civil Service Commission, with its present resources, is already so overburdened that it could have given only nominal attention to the re-organization of the army departments. However that may be, I do not think we can criticise the President for pursuing, with regard to the army, a policy which has already been ratified by success in the navy.

The new rules affect about fifty other places in the War Department. They are positions in the national military parks at Gettysburg, Shiloh, etc., such as secretaries, historians, rodmen, guardians, carpenters and painters. So far as I can learn, there have been no changes in these posts for ten years. They are usually filled by veterans of the Civil War, selected, as far as possible, from the neighborhood of the parks. I fail to see any good ground for criticising the change affecting these places. I understand that it was recommended by the Civil Service Commission.

The second class of positions affected by the amendments of May 29th embraces those in which the competitive test has been supplanted by the non-competitive. The list includes deputy

naval officers, deputy surveyors of customs, deputy collectors of internal revenue, store-keepers and gaugers whose annual compensation does not exceed $500, and "persons of eminence" appointed to positions requiring "peculiar qualifications in respect to knowledge and ability." Henceforth, persons will be selected for these positions at the pleasure of the appointing officer, but they will not be sworn into office unless they can satisfy the Civil Service Commission of their fitness, by passing an examination "equivalent to the (competitive) examination held by the Commission for places of like grade."

For the mere "pass examination," the Civil Service reformer entertains just contempt. As every teacher knows, there is often a wide gulf between students who merely "pass" and those who achieve "excellence" or "distinction." It is, perhaps, too much to say that this gulf marks the difference between competency and incompetency, yet college authorities are usually loath to recommend to a place requiring much intellectual ability a graduate who has only "just passed." It is a wise provision, therefore, of the Civil Service law, which compels an appointing officer to make selection from the candidates who head the list of eligibles. The mere fact that appointees are obliged to "pass" an examination, is not in itself evidence of regard for the principles of Civil Service reform. There must also be proof that the non-competitive test is inapplicable.

The deputy collectorships of internal revenue are the most important group of officers in this class. There are about nine hundred deputy collectors, and they handle each year over $270,000,000 of the people's money. Their duties call for mental and moral qualities of a high order, incorruptible vigilance and sound mathematics being particularly important. They are well-paid officials, and, unless some good reason exists to the contrary, it seems clear that they should be selected by competitive examinations. Under the new rules, however, they are appointed by the collectors, and are required merely to get a "pass" mark in a non-competitive examination.

In explanation of this apparent departure from the path of reform, it is said that the legal right of the President to classify deputy collectors of internal revenue is questioned, and that, in consequence, much confusion has resulted. Section 3,148 of the Revised Statutes vests the power of appointment and removal of

deputies in the collectors themselves, and provides also for their compensation by the collectors. This section is older than the Pendleton Act of 1883, and is evidently not in harmony with it; for no restriction whatever is placed upon the power of removal, except the requirement that such notice be given "as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may prescribe."

Several collectors, during the last two years, have taken advantage of what seemed to be their rights under Section 3,148, and have made removals and appointments in disregard of the Civil Service rules. The Civil Service Commission has vigorously protested, several dismissed deputies have complained to the United States Circuit Court, and the auditor of the Treasury Department has endeavored to "hold up" the accounts of deputies appointed without regard to the Civil Service rules. But the courts, as a rule, have declined to grant relief, holding that the Civil Service rules are not equivalent to law, and that, furthermore, a court in equity has no power to restrain either the appointment or the removal of public officers. Judge Jackson, of the District of West Virginia, has taken a contrary view, but the weight of judicial opinion seems to be favorable to the collectors. Whatever the merits of the question, it is clear enough that the legal status of deputy collectors was in doubt, and that a change of some sort was necessary. If the deputies are not to be appointed under Section 3,148, then Congress should make the fact clear by its repeal. With that section still on the statute books, the President seems to have adopted the only possible means of clearing the atmosphere and ending the confusion. He has simply placed all the deputies on the same basis, subject to Section 3,148, and not to the Civil Service rules.

The foregoing explanation does not satisfy certain critics of the President. They insist that Judge Jackson's view of the matter is correct, and they make a point of calling attention to the fact that, under the preceding administration, "the internal revenue service was wholly subject to the Civil Service rules," Mr. Cleveland's collectors not having sought to disrupt and debauch it by appeal to Section 3,148. It is worth while to indicate why the status of deputy collectors of internal revenue was not discovered to be uncertain while Mr. Cleveland was President. The internal revenue service was not "classified" until December 12th, 1894, nearly two years after Mr. Cleveland's second inaugu-

ration. All the collectors were Democrats and so, very likely, were their deputies. From a Democratic point of view, the service was ripe for classification, just as was the free delivery post-office service, from a Republican point of view, when Mr. Harrison placed it under the Civil Service rules in 1893. The reasons why Mr. Cleveland's collectors did not seek freedom under Section 3,148 are quite obvious; and it is equally obvious that President McKinley's collectors must, at the outset, have been sorely tempted to test, to the utmost, their power of appointment and removal under that unrepealed section of the Revised Statutes.

No good objection can be raised to the other exceptions made in this class of employees, who are henceforth to be subject to a non-competitive examination. The exceptions in the customs service apply to a single deputy surveyor or naval officer at each port, and are clearly proper. As for the store-keepers and gaugers, whose time is not all employed, and whose compensation cannot exceed $500 a year, it is easy to accept the explanation that few worthy persons will compete for such places, and that the Civil Service Commission has been unable to supply candidates. The rule providing for the appointment of "persons of eminence" is practically a copy of the rule which has been followed in the Civil Service of Great Britain for thirty years.

The third class is unimportant, so far as numbers are concerned. It includes about seventy-five employees in the mints and assay offices, and about fifty persons employed by the Navy Department as special mechanics and civilian assistant inspectors, where work is being done by contract for the Department. The positions in the mint consist of one chief clerk in each mint or assay office, who is authorized by law to act for the superintendent or assayer during his absence; one private secretary or confidential clerk to the superintendent, one cashier, one deposit-weigh clerk, one assistant coiner, one assistant melter and refiner, and one assistant assayer in each mint or assay office. These positions will be subject hereafter to tests of fitness prescribed by the Director of the Mint. With regard to the chief clerks and private secretaries, it seems to me there is no room for criticism. The superintendent should have, in those positions, men in whose character he has implicit confidence. The cashier, for whose honesty the superintendent may be held responsible, should also be his selection. As for the deposit-weigh clerk, he is a man who, by care-

lessness or dishonesty, could get the superintendent into infinite trouble. The other exceptions made in this branch of the Service seem intended to give superintendents the power to place a few persons in whom they have confidence in important posts throughout the mint and assay offices. It cannot be concluded that these changes will bring incompetent persons into the mints and assay offices. They must all pass examinations approved by the Director of the Mint, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Civil Service Commission.

Little need be said with regard to the small number of persons that are brought by this rule under special navy yard regulations. These regulations have been approved by all persons familiar with their operation. It was an anomaly that those persons employed in connection with contract work at private establishments were not subject to the general regulations of the service.

The fourth class contains a miscellaneous lot of employees, perhaps fifteen hundred in number, who are not hereafter to be subject to examination or registration. They are posts which will be filled according to the arbitrary will of the appointing officer. On the face of things, these exceptions certainly seem to give the politician a chance to get something for his friends. They seem to constitute a real blow at the merit system. However, I am inclined to think that any one who goes over the list carefully will have great difficulty in finding any place which a politician can use as a reward for political service. I will consider them under four heads: (1) those whose duties are of a confidential nature, (2) those positions in the case of which competitive examinatons have proved impracticable, (3) posts requiring professional training, (4) miscellaneous positions.

Under the first head, there are nearly three hundred and fifty employees, most of them private secretaries for the chiefs of the important bureaus, and confidential or finance clerks for postmasters, army paymasters, Indian agents and pension agents. These men, as a rule, are empowered to take entire charge of affairs during the absence or disability of their chiefs, and most of them have the handling of money for which the chief is responsible. Although these confidential posts are filled by the chiefs of bureaus at their own will and without requirement of examination, I doubt if the practical politician will ever find them

available for his purposes. Their exception from the competitive list cannot be regarded as a blow at the merit system, and that seems to be the opinion of the Civil Service Commission, for that body, it is said, has approved the exceptions in nearly all cases.

Under the second head, covering those positions which cannot be filled satisfactorily as a result of competitive examinations, we find, first, some fifty positions in the customs and internal revenue services in Alaska. It is claimed, in defence of the change, that under the old rules the Civil Service Commission was never able to furnish an eligible list for the Alaskan service, and that, consequently, the places there have been almost uniformly filled by temporary appointment. Offices in Alaska, it appears, are not objects of eager desire on the part of the citizens of the United States. Considerable embarrassment has resulted to the Treasury Department, during the last few years, because of the superior attractions which the gold fields of the Yukon possess for the temporary office holders at Alaskan ports. Resignations have been frequent, and it has been found very difficult to keep the posts filled with competent men. The new rules do not positively exempt candidates for these places from examinations; they simply give the Secretary of the Treasury permission to waive examination if he so desire. Whatever may be thought of the exception made in the case of Alaskan customs and internal revenue officers, there can be no doubt that the situation demanded some change. If it is hard to get a man to go to Alaska on a permanent appointment, it is unreasonable to increase the difficulty by compelling appointments to be temporary.

It is not easy to suggest any modification of this new rule which would be an improvement. One might insist that the candidates should get some sort of an examination; yet one is obliged to admit that, if the facts are as represented, such a requirement might not work to the advantage of the service. An effective remedy, it seems to me, must be sought, not in a mere modification of the Civil Service rules with regard to Alaskan appointments, but in a substantial change in the relations existing between the Federal Government and distant territories or possessions. This is all part of the great and new problem which the war with Spain has thrust upon the United States. The fact must be recognized that the machinery which has worked well in the Government of nearby territories will not do for Alaska, Ha-

waii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. In these possessions the Civil Service must be built up on entirely new lines. In my opinion, if we are to get efficient service in our distant possessions, we must not only insist upon a strict observance of the merit system, but we must also pay such salaries as will persuade good men to leave their homes. I do not, therefore, regard the new rule relating to the Alaskan service as a final settlement of the case. It is, perhaps, the best that can be done by executive action. When Congress shall decide upon a form of government and upon a civil service for Porto Rico and the Philippines, then will be the time to demand that the service in Alaska also shall be put upon a sound and permanent basis.

These remarks apply also to exceptions that are made in the Alaskan school service. Some thirty teachers, paid out of the Federal treasury, are employed in giving an elementary education to the natives. It has been found impossible to get candidates for these positions by competitive examinations. The Interior Department, it is claimed, has had difficulty in finding persons who were willing to teach school in Alaska; and, as the pay is small and no allowance is made for travelling expenses, that is not surprising.

There is another group of exceptions in this class which have provoked sharp criticism. They are in the Indian service, where about seventy-five positions have been released from the competitive test on the ground that it was impracticable. Inasmuch as the nation's care of the red man in the past has usually been characterized as a national shame, the report that the Indian Bureau has again been turned over to political spoils seekers has made many good people indignant. There are few people, perhaps, who are willing to do much for poor Lo, but there are plenty who have enough sentimental interest in his welfare to resent any open or flagrant encroachment upon his present rights. Only a very callous and stupid politician would attempt to gain votes at the expense of the Indian, and it is hard to believe that a man of President McKinley's experience and shrewdness, to say nothing of his conscience, would even think of it. On the other hand, if he has ventured to make exceptions in the Indian service solely for the purpose of bettering it, well aware, as he must have been, that his motive would be generally misinterpreted, he must get credit for more than ordinary courage.

The fact that all the changes in the Indian service were favorably passed on by the Civil Service Commission raises a presumption that they were made for good reasons, and that the competitive test really has been found impracticable. Here is a list of the excepted places: superintendents of irrigation and logging, five special agents, special agents for the allotment of land in severalty, special commissioners for negotiations, engineers to make surveys, examiners of timber lands. If these were permanent positions, it is quite conceivable that competitive examinations might bring forward properly qualified men, although in many of these posts character and tact are much more important than the kind of knowledge which can be graded on a decimal scale. But most of these posts are temporary in character, and this fact is clearly indicated in the new rules, which provide for appointments "as the necessity for their employment may arise." I see no reason, therefore, for doubting the statement that the exceptions in the Indian service were necessary for its improvement.*

The other places in which it is claimed that the competitive test has been found impracticable are of a miscellaneous nature. They include a few places in the Department of the Interior, such as inspectors of coal mines in the Territories, special agents for the protection of public lands, and five special pension examiners. As these places are analogous to those excepted in the Indian service, and the changes are approved by the Civil Service Commission, I pass them without discussion. In the Department of Agriculture, the rule excepts between twenty-five and thirty statistical agents in the different States and Territories, and a few agents and experts hired for specific investigations and not permanently attached to the rolls. It is clear enough that the Department should have liberty in the selection of temporary employees, but it is not clear why regular statistical agents should not be discovered by competitive examinations. But with regard to persons employed as quarantine attendants at the Southern ports exposed to yellow fever, there can be no doubt about the wisdom of the exceptions made by the new rules. The most radical champions of competitive examinations will hardly claim that they furnish immunity from contagious disease. The rec-

*The total Indian service employs about 4,200 persons, half of whom are Indians, who are not subject to the competitive test. Of the 2,000 whites in the service, about 250 are in places not subject to the Civil Service rules, 50 of these being Presidential appointees confirmed by the Senate.

ords of the Commission show that competition for these places has never been active. Furthermore, in case of an epidemic outbreak, the Department should be free to increase the force at these quarantine stations with the least possible delay.

The only other exceptions to be considered under this head are the positions in the revenue-cutter service, where the persons enlist for the season of navigation only. The purpose of the new rule, it is held, is to place the service on the Great Lakes on the same footing as the ocean service. President Cleveland's order of May 6th, 1896, excluded from classification all persons whose duties were of a *quasi* military or naval character if enlisted for a term of years. This rule was supposed to cover the revenue-cutter service, but it failed to apply to the service on the Great Lakes, for seamen there are enlisted for the season of navigation only. Since 1896, the captain of a revenue-cutter entering port and desiring seamen has been obliged to hold his ship in harbor while certification was made from the Civil Service registers. As the situation was anomalous and unsatisfactory, an amendment of the rules certainly seems to have been called for.

The third group of positions excepted from examination—those which require professional training—includes about 800 physicians and lawyers. Of these, some 600 are pension-examining surgeons, and 175 are physicians employed at first-class post-offices to pass on applications for "sick leave." The lawyers include the Assistant Attorney-General for the Post Office Department, one counsel for the Board of United States General Appraisers, and a score or more of special assistant attorneys. These exceptions hardly deserve discussion. It is evident that, if the Government wants the services of first-class physicians and attorneys, it must look elsewhere than in the ranks of those who are willing to submit to a competitive examination. This fact has been demonstrated by experience, and it is claimed that the Civil Service Commission raised no objection to the amendments affecting this class of employees. It should be noted, however, that medical examiners in the Pension Office are left in the classified service. These, unlike the pension-examining surgeons, have regular employment at fixed salaries.*

*The old rules classified only those pension-examining surgeons whose compensation exceeded $300 a year. The work has always been so judiciously divided around that very few of them have earned this sum. Of the 4,000 pension-examining surgeons on the Government rolls, less than 200 have earned enough to be subject to the Civil Service rules.

In the fourth group of those exempt from examination, we have the office and field deputies of the United States marshals, Presidential appointees not confirmed by the Senate, the Shipping Commissioners, and the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics.

The case of the deputy marshals is similar to that of the deputy collectors of internal revenue. They were classified by Mr. Cleveland in 1896. At that time, most of the deputies were Democrats, and consequently the Republican marshals who took office in 1897 were under extraordinary pressure to test their power of removal and appointment. Some of them promptly turned out the old deputies and put in new ones of their own selection. Complaints were made to the courts, but the marshals pleaded in defence that the law vested in them the power to appoint or remove deputies, and furthermore that the deputies were not United States officers. The decisions of the courts are not harmonious, but the weight of judicial opinion seems to favor the contention of the marshals. Comptroller Tracewell, of the Treasury Department, has decided that the deputies are not Government officers, that they are not in the classified service, and that their accounts must be paid, even though they are appointed in violation of the Civil Service rules.* Under the circumstances, the President can hardly be blamed for deciding to terminate these contests by definitely excluding the deputy marshals from the operation of the Civil Service rules. Their exclusion can reasonably be defended also on another score. In emergencies, an immediate increase in the force of deputies is often imperative, and it cannot be made unless the marshal has the power of appointment.

It is not likely that President Cleveland intended by his order of May 6th, 1896, to bring Presidential appointments into the classified service; yet the order was found to have that effect. Some forty persons were concerned, and among them were such officials as the Government directors of the Union Pacific Railroad and the Board of Indian Commissioners, men who serve without pay. The rules have quietly been ignored in the cases of these officials, so that President McKinley's order really

*The Secretary of the Civil Service Reform League complains that no steps have been taken to displace Comptroller Tracewell or "set aside his disastrous ruling." This interesting suggestion that a law officer should be fired from the service if he renders an unwelcome decision, shows how hot the debate has grown. It indorses a cause for removal which reformers have heretofore heartily condemned.

changes the status of only about twenty-seven employees. They include the architect of the Capitol, twelve mineral land commissioners, two mine inspectors, eight special agents to allot land in severalty to the Indians, and two commissioners for certain temporary work among Indians. It is doubtful if these places could be filled suitably by competitive examinations, but if so they ought not to be classed as Presidential appointments.

A shipping commissioner is a sort of police magistrate charged with the settlement of three-cornered contests to which shipping-masters, sailors and boarding-house keepers are parties. There are ten ports which have a shipping commissioner. To appoint them under the old rules, ten different examinations were necessary. This was not believed to be worth while, and the Commissioners are now in the excepted list, although their clerical force is still subject to the rules. It is not clear to me that the situation really called for any change in the status of these officers.

Some time last winter, the newspapers reported that the Treasury Department had decided to hold a competitive examination for the choice of a Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. In academic circles this report was received with some incredulity. It was felt that the right man for such a post could not be the product of a competitive examination. Mr. Austin, the present Chief, was then serving under a temporary appointment. He was selected, I understand, because he had proved that he was able to make figures luminous and interesting to ordinary people as well as to experts. His success in the Bureau proves the wisdom of the choice. It is quite possible that a competitive examination six months ago, in the methodology and other technicalities of statistics, would have placed at the head of the list a man lacking originality and initiative and not half so useful as the present chief. The position has been properly put on the excepted list.

I have aimed in this article to examine the order of May 29th only so far as it has excepted positions in the classified service from competitive examinations, and that task is now done. In my opinion, the facts compel the conclusion that the order was issued for good reasons and with a good motive. If its promulgation was intended to serve any political purpose, it is a most astonishing exhibition of incapacity, not only for the little it does, but for what it omits to do. There are hundreds of desirable places in the service, for the exclusion of which a devotee of the

spoils system could easily find excuses. There is the Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, salary $4,500; the Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, salary $2,800; the Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, salary $3,200; the supervising architect of the Treasury and his chief executive officer, salaries $4,500 and $3,000, respectively; the Deputy Assistant Treasurer at the New York Sub-Treasury, salary $4,200; and a great many other high positions paying from $3,600 down to $2,100, for the exception of which good show of reason could be made. The chief clerks and the chiefs of divisions, not one of whom has been touched, might also have been excepted, along with the others I have named, without greatly increasing the storm of protest which the order was certain to create. I have not heard of any spoils politician who, understanding the order of May 29th, is exultant over it. It is a failure as a sop to politicians; if that was its purpose, the President has merely proved that he ought to take a kindergarten course in the school of New York politics.

It is no part of my purpose to discuss the minor modifications of these rules, or the criticisms which they have provoked. The Secretary of the Treasury—whose private secretary, by the way, is a Democrat—has clearly shown that the amendments to the rules are not capable of the evil construction placed upon them by the critics. They do not, as was first charged, let down the bars to thousands of employees temporarily appointed during the war with Spain, nor do they in any way provide for rotation in office. On the contrary, they increase the security of every employee in his office, and extend the protection of the rules even to those who have been excluded from classification.

If the heads of executive departments are besieged by office seekers, they may ascribe the invasion, not to the order of May 29th, but to the false signals which have been hoisted all over the country by the friends of reform. I do not believe that there is any new game in Washington for the spoilsman, or that Civil Service reform is in peril.

JOSEPH FRENCH JOHNSON.

FOOD WHICH FAILS TO FEED.

BY LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

THE worth of a man depends largely on the food he digests. In the opinion of experts, a majority of the human race suffer from disease engendered by errors in diet; yet few are aware that they commit any errors, and still fewer take pains to avoid them. This is specially true of our own country. The ambitious American is apt to consider the time spent on the care of his body as wasted; to him fortune, power or fame is of greater importance than health. Although it is well known that those who wish to enjoy a long and happy life must eat little at a time and eat that with deliberate satisfaction, he scarcely permits all his daily meals to absorb as much of his day as Mr. Gladstone, for instance—who thoroughly masticated every morsel of food—required for one meal.

The breakfast of our suburban resident is taken in early solitude; he washes down the substantial portions of the meal with draughts of coffee, and hurries away to enter upon his toil. At noon he approaches a "quick lunch" counter, seizes a sandwich, and, standing in the midst of a surging crowd, he alternately swallows mouthfuls of ham and of cold water. Suddenly his partner appears, whispers portentous news about a common business venture, when, hastily draining his glass of its icy contents, he leaves the remnant of food and hastens away.

Some persons fail to take, when needed, even the most scanty refreshment. The manager of a certain publishing house, a man of unbounded energy and robust constitution, was ruined by such neglect. If his time for luncheon came while there was business to be attended to, he delayed or entirely omitted it; in consequence his health gave way, and, with it, a prosperous firm of

world-wide reputation failed. Merchants on the continent of Europe are not apt to fall into such errors. They close their offices, to enjoy a substantial meal, between twelve and two, with the punctuality with which at maturity they meet their obligations. We might follow their example with advantage. Those who are fortunate enough to have access to one of the convenient retreats from our crowded thoroughfares called club-rooms, should, when the hour strikes, proceed thither, to be served with excellent food by trained waiters, while comfortably seated with friends around hospitable boards. Sociability, a chief mark of distinction between man and other animals, promotes digestion. "A fig for your bill of fare; show me the bill of your company," said Dean Swift. A repast in such circumstances not only strengthens the body but invigorates the mind, and enables us to resume our task with renewed energy.

Happiness and health depend on our ability to forget, as soon as necessity for the immediate consideration of it has passed, the trouble which has absorbed us. In the family circle, at meal-times especially, temper should be subdued and unpleasant conversation avoided. A woman of tact refrains from increasing the burden of her husband by a tale of her woes, even if he should be weak enough to brood over his business complications. Dining once with a manufacturer of haircloth, I asked his wife for an explanation of his painful silence, which contrasted strangely with the exuberant spirits of the children. "He is counting the hair that will make your cloth," she whispered in extenuation. When a grave crisis occurs, men of heavy responsibilities are liable to become victims of their anxiety. One of our largest and best-managed banks lost in this way several of its ablest officers, and a prominent railroad three of its presidents within ten years. Considering that, under the circumstances, their constant personal attention was a paramount duty, they died because they could not tear themselves away from the responsibility they had assumed long enough to take the relaxation which their health required.

This engrossment of mind is by no means confined to men engaged in commercial pursuits; Keppler, *Puck's* genial artist, met his untimely death through a disturbance of digestion caused by worry over the Centennial Exhibition. When we see a far-away look in the eye of a journalist while he takes his food mechanically, he composes an editorial; the politician delivers a

silent address, the divine a sermon, during their perfunctory attendance at family dinner. It may not be a symptom of disease to think while eating, but serious occupation of the mind, when one is so engaged, must eventually lead to disease. Ambitious men often spend their vitality before they can reap the fruit of their labor, and, when they have become successful, wealth fails to compensate for exhausted health.

There is no less danger in eating too much. The capacity of our stomach is limited, and it produces only gastric juice enough to digest what we require for the sustenance of our vital powers. The surplus ferments, and, when too often indulged in, excess leads to disease or obesity. I derive more pleasure, in satisfying the appetite which nature has provided, from leisurely munching a piece of bread made in my kitchen, than from the delicious dessert which follows a sumptuous dinner. The French proverb, *"L'appétit vient en mangeant,"* usually translated "the more we have the more we want," originally meant to imply that the titillation of the palate created by the piquant morsel is a natural craving; artificial means to stimulate the desire for food are pernicious. Persons who cannot resist the temptation to partake of the savory dishes which are within reach of their senses, might learn a salutary lesson from the Shakers, who place their simple ration before them and leave the table when they have disposed of it.

The practice in our best hotels in the cities and at the summer resorts of furnishing all a man wants to eat for a fixed price, offers temptations to gormandize. Beginning his breakfast with fruit and porridge, the greedy boarder orders fish, steak, chops, eggs and rolls, with tea or coffee. A customary introduction to his luncheon consists of soup and fish, followed by roasts and game; the waiter, anxious for fees, supplements this with a formidable array of other dishes, containing a surfeit of vegetables and "entrées." In solemn silence, as if undergoing penance, our diner resolutely attacks one after another; not uncommonly washing down the most discordant *"menu"* with copious draughts of water, cooled to a temperature fifty-five degrees below that of his stomach. One such meal is heavy enough to be of itself a burden; still it is sometimes repeated in the evening at dinner and followed at night by a "light" supper, a second and a third meal being taken before the first could digest.

One of the Roman Emperors scarcely ever left the table before he had thoroughly crammed himself and drunk to intoxication, when he would fall asleep. After a short lapse of time, a slave put a feather down his throat and made his stomach disgorge its contents. When our American glutton finds himself in distress through overeating, he resorts to drugs, the continued use of which weakens his organs until they lose their vitality. The European plan of serving at fixed prices portions of food which must be paid for as ordered, saves from overindulgence at least those persons who are too economical to pay for what they do not need. Such a method would be advantageous to the hotel-keeper who, under the present system, is compelled to serve not alone what his guests consume, but also what they leave. I know the manager of a city hotel who goes himself into the kitchen, carefully inspects what is returned from the dining-room, and sells decent-looking slices to keepers of cheap restaurants, where these leavings form *"pièces de résistance"* for guileless patrons.

Much may thus be saved in large towns, but the wholesome food which is daily thrown to the dogs by hotel keepers of summer resorts might feed an army. Change would involve more careful supervision of the kitchen; another great obstacle is the importunacy of guests who give a waiter hardly time to go for what they want as far as the end of the dining-room. If the custom of serving a *"table d'hôte"* as it prevails on the continent of Europe were adopted, we could, while partaking of good cheer, enjoy the conversation of neighbors. As a steaming dish is brought from the kitchen and passes along the table from one guest to another, many opportunities for intercourse offer themselves, and the pleasures of digestion are promoted by the spice of conviviality. Such a meal, consisting of soup, fish, entrées, roast, a vegetable, cheese and wine, appears to be, at the average price of five francs, cheap enough to the American traveller, but it takes more time than he has to spare. When our public dinners are served in this way, those who go chiefly to partake of the ensuing feast of reason often lose patience before the speeches begin, and those who, under the guise of guests, are expected to furnish that part of the entertainment, fail to enjoy their dinner. As long as speeches prey on their minds, and while they fret lest a predecessor may steal a march on their ideas, they cannot be at ease. Delivered of their pent-up eloquence, they may at a late

hour moisten the parched tongue with a glass of wine or soothe the heated brain with a cigar; but the dinner is over, and when they go home they are more often hungry than satisfied. In France, after the fish, addresses are sandwiched between courses; waiters are signalled to bring the on-coming course as each brief discourse is finished. It is difficult to introduce this practice where hurried caterers drive uneasy guests. But, according to the custom of the Japanese, we could listen to our orators before the banquet begins, and then offer them our undivided hospitality.

It is astonishing what simple food, and how little of it, may satisfy the human body. Socrates said, "The less a man needs, the nearer he is to God, who needs nothing." I was still a student when, overtaken by the pangs of hunger, during a vacation tramp, I knocked at the door of a peasant's cottage. My nostrils were greeted by a delicious odor which rose from a huge bowl of potato soup. Cordially invited to join the family who surrounded it, I helped myself to a share of the contents by dipping, like the rest, a long ladle, of which I had exclusive use, into the depth of the dish, until it was empty. The bright eyes and happy faces of the girls, my youthful imagination and keen appetite, gave to that simple meal a delight which, after fifty years, continues to linger in my memory. Would that the poor of our cities could enjoy such healthful fare! A charitable association, of which I used to be a member, furnished to every comer, for five cents, a quart of meat stew, well cooked, and composed of beef or mutton, onions and turnips, flavored with fragrant herbs; a pint of coffee, with milk and sugar, and four ounces of white bread. The raw material of which this wholesome dinner was composed cost three cents; five cents a pound for the meat, three cents for the bread and one cent for the vegetables. Our poor must pay these prices twice and thrice over for food which is the worse for keeping, because every one of the numerous shopkeepers of whom they are compelled to purchase sells so little that he cannot sell it while it is fresh, nor, since he must pay rent, without large profit. In Rivington Street, New York, a girl recently died from the effect of ptomaines contained in her small steak. It is a grievous wrong that our laborer should be compelled to support, besides his own family, the family of a butcher who will sell such meat for nourishment. New York spent millions for a road to speed horses of wealthy sportsmen;

one million would suffice to erect free markets quite near habitations of mechanics. If these were placed without charge at the disposal of reliable dealers, on condition that they would sell good food at a moderate advance on cost, the poor could obtain it at about the prices I have named without being indebted to charity. Owners of a "department store" recently set aside a vast floor of their building for a popular market, where they sell good food below the average prices. The location of the store is not convenient to many, but its market being well patronized and remunerative, the experiment demonstrates the practicability of my suggestion. It may close the shops of dealers who now sell dyspeptic food at high prices; but for every one whom such competition might compel to seek a better vocation, the families of a hundred laborers would be benefited. Instead of getting corrupt meat and stale vegetables, they could exchange their hard earnings for wholesome viands.

The best food, however, will not serve for healthful nutrition if it is not properly prepared, and it is, therefore, of great importance that a knowledge of the art of cooking should be more widely disseminated. Prejudice against manual labor, combined with a prevailing ignorance of the culinary art, drives too many of our families into boarding-houses. In Europe, women are apprenticed or go into service; they have learned how to make, from scanty material, a palatable meal before they assume the responsibility of matrimony. Steps have been taken in many States to teach them by the establishment of cooking schools, but these fail to give instruction where it is most needed. Girls should in all our public schools be taught how to cook a dinner, an accomplishment which, to most of them, is of no smaller importance than the ability to read and write; it always will command a husband or remunerative employment.

To keep intact the liquid substance which forms seventy-five per cent. of our living frame, we need five pints of fluid a day, half of which is contained in the ordinary solid food. The other half we must drink, to promote digestion; without moisture the face wrinkles and the complexion turns sallow, just like the plant that suffers for want of rain. Advice not to drink while eating is chiefly given to persons who cannot refrain from using liquid to expedite the passage of the solids they will not take the trouble to masticate.

The best beverage is water, fresh from a spring or well not contaminated by sewage. Natural mineral water should be substituted when the common water obtainable is of doubtful purity, or the latter should be distilled and then cooled by laying it on ice; when drunk too cold, it chills or retards digestion; frozen water, the origin of which is unknown, may contain microbes. The indiscriminate and immoderate use of ice-water is a reprehensible American habit. When I turn to my neighbor at the hotel table, a servant hastens to replenish my goblet with the pieces of ice which I had just succeeded in removing; in my room, when I ring the bell, a waiter silently pushes a pitcher of ice-water through the half opened door, without asking for my wants.

After water, I consider these beverages, when taken in moderation, as the most wholesome for adults: Light, pure, natural wine, containing not over twelve per cent. of alcohol; seasoned spirits, distilled from cereals or grapes, and diluted with water; coffee from good berries, freshly roasted and freshly ground; pure beer made of barley, hops and water, containing not over seven per cent. of alcohol.

In regard to alcohol, there can be only the one opinion, that persons should abstain from it who are too weak to restrain their appetite. Two-thirds of our physicians have testified that a temperate use of spirits is more apt to improve than to injure health. Alcohol stimulates secretions required for digestion, supplies nourishment, and, at a later period, it often sustains the strength of the man who has led a rational life.* Dr. Liebig, the German chemist, says that "no product can surpass wine as a restorative and as a means to correct a misproportion of nutrition." Dr. Berard, a noted French surgeon, finds that alcohol is the most effective stimulant of the gastric juice. Dr. William Jenner, a famous English physician, who died at the age of eighty-three, took brandy when he suffered from indigestion. Pope Leo, who avers that wine cheers the heart, enjoys his Chianti at the age of ninety.

The influence of liquor largely depends on how we take it; nectar, when, encircled by congenial friends, we serenely and slowly imbibe it, becomes poison when in haste we recklessly toss off one glass after another. My friend David, for many years

* Professor Atwater of Wesleyan University has, by experiments on a man in the respiration calorimeter, recently demonstrated the nourishing qualities of alcohol.

executive officer of a large corporation, would receive a visit from one or the other of his numerous out-of-town agents, and invite him to the hospitality of a neighboring café. After a hurried indulgence in liquor, they would return to their business; but, before David had become comfortably settled, a second agent would appear and he would be treated like his predecessor. This practice continued until poor David became a tippler. He lost the confidence of his directors and the proud position he occupied. If, in the first place, he had been compelled to sit down with his guest in the café, they might have enjoyed one drink at their ease, and that would have absorbed so much valuable time that he would have been too conscientious to spend more on a second one. Saloon-keepers should be compelled to furnish chairs and tables, instead of the twelve beds which an absurd provision in the New York law prescribes in certain cases. In Europe, American bar-rooms are unknown. The English sit with their customary tranquillity while served by a pretty barmaid; the French *"buvette,"* a mere closet, is used chiefly by cab drivers; Germans, who *per capita* drink more and become intoxicated less than others, speak with contempt of the glass which occasionally they imbibe while standing, as a *"stehseidel."* Bars should be abolished or restricted to the sale for families; liquors should not be served in licensed premises except to persons who are seated.

David found a worthy successor in friend Jonathan, a man of steady habits but unbridled ambition. He aspired to become President of the Company, when the gentleman who nominally bore the title suddenly died. Jonathan succeeded to the post, but anxiety impeded his digestion so that he soon had to follow his predecessor. David no longer perturbed by the pressure of business continues to enjoy his customary toddy.

A clergyman of my acquaintance, who, by the querulous, fault-finding petulance of fanatic temperance apostles amongst his fashionable congregation, often was harassed, says that we have a dozen gluttons to every drunkard, and that every glutton becomes a crank. Waggishly he changed into "O, Lord, reliver us," the prayer for deliverance from evil.

The experience of temperance societies who advocate total abstinence shows that, while "Maine" laws may "prohibit," they seldom hinder the use of liquor. Legislation never can eradicate the natural craving for stimulants; children of Adam and Eve

take forbidden fruit in preference to other since their progenitors were tempted to taste it. Prohibition States consume larger quantities of vile concoctions than those which allow perfect freedom. Four persons out of five amongst the ignorant poor break the temperance pledge after they are persuaded to take it. I had a coachman who broke it habitually, so that I once insisted on being present when, to retain his position, he again took the customary vows. Shocked by the perfunctory ceremony, I induced the priest periodically to visit my servant, whom his kind persuasion eventually succeeded in saving. Fanatical coercion is less apt to make converts than friendly counsel and worthy example.

As much, if not more, harm is done by adulteration of the liquor sold than by over-indulgence. The wealthy, who, regardless of price, buy from reliable purveyors the best, may be protected; but who is to guard the indigent against imposition, when he wants to drown his care in the foam of a mug? Smell and taste deceive the unhappy victim. Even if he had facilities for analyzing his drink, he might still remain in ignorance of its composition, since, in imitation of wholesome liquor, concoctions have been made with a skill which baffles the expert chemist. In Munich, I can enjoy without evil consequence a quart of "Hofbräu" beer; when taken here, a smaller measure may produce heartburn and headache.

In Bavaria, Government Inspectors analyze the brew when and where it is made. If the liquor is impure, or has not had time properly to ripen, so that it is liable to ferment in the stomach, it is emptied into the street, and the producer is fined and imprisoned. In New York City alone, three chemical laboratories manufacture concoctions for the adulteration and coloring of beer, whose sales annually aggregate several hundred thousand dollars.

In England, analysts of the Excise are compelled to search for suspicious beverage. A vender in whose possession they find adulterated liquor is fined from $100 to $500, and his license is withdrawn. Of a number of brewers tried for this offence, about ten every year have been found guilty.

On the continent of Europe, wine and beer are prepared for export by "fortification," as an admixture of amylic alcohol, distilled from potato spirit, is called; it makes the beverage more durable, but less wholesome. Insalubrious dyes are added, and salicylic acid, a most injurious ingredient, is used to arrest fer-

mentation. This permits manufacturers to market their product more quickly than they could if they waited for the natural process; the liquor which contains this acid, when too much of it is taken, becomes deleterious to the kidneys.

Dr. E. H. Bartley, Chief Chemist of the Brooklyn Board of Health, claims that the smallest quantity which can make salicylic effective for this purpose is ten grains to the gallon, and that three grains have been found in one pint of wine. Dr. Cyrus Edson confirms the statement. Of American beer which was made in different parts of the country and tested by our Department of Agriculture, according to their report of 1887, six bottles out of twenty-six contained salicylic acid, and one out of two foreign bottles, which was made in Bremen and labelled "Kaiser." The same report contains the result of the analysis of seventy samples of American wine, eighteen of which contained salicylic acid, and thirteen sulphurous acid. In the composition of fifty other samples of sweetened California wine, hardly a trace was found of grape juice.

Laws enacted by various States to prevent adulteration are seldom enforced, because they lead to corruption and to discrimination in favor of manufacturers in other States, where similar laws are evaded or do not exist.

Our internal revenue law which requires liquors to be stamped should, when amended, provide that Government Inspectors be required to test the liquor and stamp only that which they find to be pure; and that the impure should be destroyed under their supervision. Consumers would cheerfully pay a tax which would effectually protect them against adulteration. Respectable dealers and honest brewers would welcome a control which would endorse the purity of their beverages. In Germany and France, the use of unwholesome ingredients in anything that is used there is prohibited.

A considerable portion of the milk sold in large cities has first been skimmed, and then diluted with water, a process by which it becomes less nourishing and, when the water is impure, dangerous to health. The greedy farmers who thus manipulate their product under cover of the night are apt to use water from the most convenient well, which often is located near the cess-pool. When dealers receive the cans at the railroad station, they are in too great a hurry to analyze a fluid which has the customary appearance; the

quality can be ascertained only when a lactometer is carefully used. Some years ago, a number of diseased tailless cows, fed in dirty stables with rotten swill, were accidentally discovered; Dr. Doremus studied the cases, and, for a while, milk was analyzed; as a rule, however, municipal Boards of Health in large cities cannot or will not examine it. Helpless infants must continue to be fed on poor milk, until our dairy system is better controlled. In some thirty schools in various parts of the country, farmers may learn that cows must have pure air, a sufficiency of clean water and wholesome food in a good pasture. If the privilege of selling milk were confined to persons who have taken a course of such lessons, and who have passed an examination under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture, and if their milk were sold in original cans only, we might secure decent food for the children. The seller of impure milk is fined and imprisoned in several parts of Europe.

Glucose made from potato starch, and colored with aniline, is substituted for fruit juices to flavor soda, the popular summer drink. A similar indigestible compound is used to make candy, the enormous consumption of which alone is sufficient to turn us into a nation of hypochondriacs. Our palates begin in early childhood to be pampered with nasty sweets, and as we grow up we do not always discard the habit. My friend Nascher, who had acquired this taste in his New England home, always kept a huge supply of candies on his sideboard, which he generously offered to his visitors. Efforts to dissuade him from immoderate use of sweetmeats were of no avail, and even led to estrangement. One day, when he fell ill, physicians had to pump the undigested stuff from his inflated stomach. When again we met, the genial smile had died from his face; packages of Boiler's Best no longer distended his pockets, and the clothes hung slovenly around his shrunken body. No medical aid could prevent his untimely death. When twenty-five samples of candy from different shops were tested by the Agricultural Bureau in 1891, not one of them was made from cane sugar, and the bright colors were aniline dyes.

Turning from sweet to sour, we find that verdigris colors our pickles; that oil of vitriol is often substituted for acetic acid to acidify vinegar; in short, that frauds by which unscrupulous persons try to enrich themselves at the expense of the ignorant poor are too numerous to mention here. Experts recently have

testified before the Pure Food Investigating Committee of the United States Senate that a large portion of all articles of food and drink used in our country is adulterated.

They include butter and cheese, coffee and spices, molasses and honey. Fish and fowl, meat and vegetables are more wholesome fresh than preserved. Boracic acid generally used for preservation retards digestion, and prevents it when too much comes into a weak stomach. One of the worst impositions is the admixture of alum in the manufacture of yeast cakes and baking powders, because almost every cook uses them, quickly to raise the leaven of bread. As this is often not thoroughly masticated when it passes from the mouth into the alimentary canal, it becomes with residues of the alum a doughy ball, to digest which the poor stomach must wrestle for many hours.

The druggist on the continent of Europe is required to make an independent analysis of the medicine he disposes of. To enforce this rule, where patent medicines too often take the place of prescriptions, may be difficult; but means should be found to afford our people better protection against adulterations. Teas colored by lime and indigo were largely imported, until a law was enacted that, before being landed, all teas must be tested by officials of the Custom House and the impure teas returned. This seems to be the only food, if food it can be called, the purity of which is controlled by the Federal Government. Our system of internal revenue stamps could be extended, so that every article of food and medicine which is sold in sealed packages should be stamped, so that the United States stamp would indicate that it has been officially tested.

To require from manufacturers labels with an analysis of the ingredients of their products, as has been suggested, would be impracticable; they should not be compelled to divulge their trade secrets. Laws against adulteration which exist in one State can seldom be enforced against citizens of another State. Government inspection and revenue stamps might, however, become a guarantee of the purity of our products the world over.

On account of its more speedy assimilation, a preponderance of animal food in our diet is desirable. We too often swallow, in our haste, indigestible parts, like bones and sinews of animals, the pits and skins of vegetables, turning our stomachs into vessels which must carry useless ballast for an indefinite period. When,

in consequence, our delicate alimentary canals become clogged, attempts to dispose of the burden cause insomnia. Often falsely attributed to other causes, illness grows upon us insidiously, and gradually it turns its victims into dyspeptic misanthropes. The sweetest songs grate on their ears, the fragrance of flowers nauseates their nostrils, the sun to their eyes seems like a fiery ball, the moon like a green cheese. Their organs become weak, so that death may be caused by the imposition of the slightest additional task.

Active, outdoor exercise, like air and sunshine, is one of the necessities of life. Persons with sedentary occupations who know how essential it is, usually find means to take it. My German teacher sat reading by his open window, and took a sitting promenade by swaying his legs to and fro, giving them an occasional straight kick for the sake of variety. Travelling by rail, I walk up and down the platform where stoppages permit, or along the aisle if too long caged in the car. When duties prevented his daily constitutional, Bismarck danced with Princesses at Court balls, and Emperor William paced for hours up and down his room when storm prevented him from sallying forth.

As a machine will rust when it ceases to move, so will a human body which gets no exercise decay. The popularity of out-door sport, which has been developed so strongly in the latter part of the century, points toward a decided improvement of our race. The time may not be distant when it will be considered a misdemeanor to be ill, and when the perfunctory question, "How are you?" will be deemed an insult, because it may imply that we have committed a crime in neglecting ourselves. We shall then be able to relish our food without appetizers, and to sleep without nightmares; we shall cease to forbode evil which never comes and to dwell on errors of the past which can no longer be retrieved. Following the sound advice which Goethe gave, we will let no day pass without reciting a poem or singing a song; and we may become able to enjoy while we live all the advantages of a sound mind in a sound body, "*mens sana in corpore sano.*"

LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

THE STORY OF A HELPFUL QUEEN.

BY CARMEN SYLVA (THE QUEEN OF ROUMANIA).

ONCE upon a time there lived a good Queen. She would fain have assuaged all the suffering she saw on earth. But the more good she did, the more distress seemed to increase. Her means were inadequate to help the poor, her words proved unequal to the task of freeing those in sorrow from their grief, and her hands were unable to bring healing to the sick. Then the thought occurred to her that it must be impossible that God should have intended the world to be so full of misery; she felt that mankind was destined to be happy, if only it knew how.

One day she entered a church and prayed to God with an intensity the full strength of which she was unable to realize at the time. She prayed, as many other foolish mortals pray, who do not know what it would mean to them if their prayers were granted. She prayed: "Oh, Lord! Let me be able to bring happiness to those that suffer, even if I must take their burden upon myself." She left the church with an anxious heart, wondering whether God had heard her prayer. For sometimes God does not seem to hear us when we pray. But on the very same day it was made clear to her that her prayer had been heard.

She met a boy being wheeled in his sick chair, who had never been able to walk a step in his life. She had known him for long, and he loved the good Queen with all the strength of his soul. As was her habit, she went up to him, took his thin hand in hers, and spoke to him in her melodious voice of his early recovery. The boy's eyes seemed to grow larger as she spoke. She felt as if his glance drew all the strength from within her; she was suddenly overtaken by a sense of fatigue such as she had never known before. And, all at once, the boy rose up straight

from his couch, and said, as if in a dream: "I think I can walk." Then he got on his feet and stepped out as though he had never been lame in his life. The Queen smiled sadly at the sight of his gladness. She went home and lay many weeks in bed suffering from lameness. Her limbs were as though they had perished. Still, she declined the help of the doctor and said that in due time God would take her suffering from her. And so it was. Henceforth she suffered from one illness after the other; she became blind, deaf, mute, and fell into high fever; but only to emerge younger and more beautiful—glorified, as it were, by every trial through which she passed. Nobody ever heard her utter a word of complaint. Her miraculous powers for healing the sick became known far and wide, although she never spoke of them, and people thronged around her and besought her to alleviate their sufferings, without having an idea of the sacrifice it involved for her. It was only rumored that the Queen exposed herself to all kinds of infection and would take no precautions against them, particularly where children were concerned. Her poverty soon became equal to her other trials.

She was ingenious in procuring work for others, but she herself had long since had nothing left to give. She was forced to begrudge herself the smallest luxury, for she was bereft of every means for procuring it. And although her devoted husband often assisted her from his own, yet she fell at last into the same plight as Saint Elizabeth of old—she had scarcely a gown left to cover her. And still her name was blessed a thousand times. People came to her from far and near. They tried to grasp her hand, to catch a glance from her eyes, the splendid radiance of which soothed all those who looked into them. She spread an atmosphere of peace and happiness around her, and even those gained joyful contentment who had been most ungodly. Nobody could resist the placid influence which emanated from her person.

But what was harder to bear than all were the dark hours of misconception, when she had been the means of fostering peace and was only requited by the slander of evil tongues in her own home. This almost made her forget that it was all part and parcel of the blessings which her miraculous gift had vouchsafed her.

She wept in silence. But soon the clouds lifted again, and she realized that she was ordained to take the spiritual sufferings of others upon herself. From that moment her patience became

inexhaustible. And people forgot that they had ill-treated her, and fancied that they had always venerated her and never misunderstood or maligned her. She smiled sadly as she thought of all this in her solitude. One glance from her had enabled them to forget the past.

It was a remarkable experience to her to have to suffer the pangs of repentance of a guilty conscience, as if she herself had committed some great crime. This was the result of bringing back to the right road one who had lain and fallen under great temptation. This was, indeed, hard to bear; for she knew herself to be free from guilt or blame, and yet her poor heart beat day and night in mortal anguish. At times she was conscious that this could only be a transitory state of mind of hers, like all the others she had passed through; but her sufferings were great indeed.

One day she was visited by a poor woman. "Oh, dear, gracious Queen," she cried, "my only son is dying! And I know that you possess miraculous herbs which can effect a cure in cases where no mortal can afford help!"

Without hesitation, the Queen hurried to the bedside of the gasping youth. He opened his eyes, which were already nearly closed, and looked at the Queen; and that one glance rekindled the dying flame of life. Breath returned to him; the pallid, cold lips grew red and warm, and the grateful mother sank down before the Queen, embracing her feet, and then fondling her son who was saved.

On her return home the Queen did not feel so weary as usual, and yet she fully expected to be struck down by a severe illness, if not indeed by death. But what was her agony when, the very next day, her only child fell seriously ill and appeared to be hurrying towards certain death. "O Lord, O Lord," she cried, "do not ask this sacrifice of me, for it is beyond my strength." But her supplications were in vain. In vain was her experienced nursing. The glance of her eyes had lost its power here. Her child did not look up again, and only murmured, at times, of beautiful angels and flowers, until at last it lay pale and cold in her arms—and she a broken woman, bereft of tears, without strength to utter a moan, utterly consumed with grief. Henceforth her miraculous power seemed to have deserted her.

People said she had lost faith in her mysterious herbs. Dark

days indeed were in store for the poor Queen. She cursed herself and her prayers. She said to herself that it was her fault that the husband she adored was now as unhappy as she was herself. The world seemed to her to be dark indeed. She only saw night around her; no sunrise, no lovely trees, and no heavenly justice; naught of all that which in other days had gladdened her heart. She who had never complained before, so long as she thought she could relieve others from their suffering, now thought heaven to be cruel, and she no longer possessed the strength to rejoice with the mother whose child she had saved from impending death. For the first time for many a day, during which she had been ceaselessly racked by anguish and doubt, she fell asleep.

And it seemed to her that the door opened, and her child came towards her, happy and radiant. He sat down by her bedside and took her hand, and the dull heaviness of pain was lifted from her heart. He breathed with a breath as of violets, and joy possessed her. He spoke to her with the voice of a clear and resonant bell.

"Mother! Weep not! You have given me a greater happiness than is known on Earth—even through the sublimity of Love; for you have opened up the Heavens to me. And I have been permitted to return there without pain and sorrow—thanks to your self-sacrifice. Mother, weep not! I am ever near you. You were guilty of a pious error when you undertook to banish all suffering from the world; and this error you had to atone for in sorrow and ashes. For the world is exactly as God ordains that it should be—a mine, a furnace, a crucible—a brief passage from one existence unto another, which is higher or meaner in accordance with the life we have practised on earth. Be patient, mother—your hour of release is near, and I am always by your side with all my fervor and strength. You can still console others, because you believe in the world to come—yes, because you know for certain that it awaits us all. There is no such thing as Death! There is only a Re-birth. And if, O Mother! you only knew how beautiful it is, you would await it radiant with joy and never sigh again! It is necessary that Poverty, Sickness, Injustice and War should exist; for these are means of purification, of mutual help and mercy. Therefore are all those blessed who help them that suffer with all their strength, with all self-sacrifice staking all they have to give. But they cannot make this world a Paradise; that is not permitted to them. For the World is indeed a

Laboratory which, according to worldly conceits, we call Hell or Purgatory."

Here the Queen awoke, and from that hour peace entered into her soul. She was able to do good, to console and to give pleasure to others, but no longer to cure them! And she no longer asked for power to do these things, for she was quiet and content, and Peace reigned around her.

CARMEN SYLVA.

Sinaja October 30th, 1898.

THE IMPERIAL GALLERY OF THE HERMITAGE—II.

BY CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

We have seen that the Italian pictures at the Hermitage, although they are of the highest interest to the student of art, as well as to that larger public which naturally cares less for problems and attributions than for the breadth of style, the dignity and the suave beauty of the art of painting at its zenith, are not in themselves sufficient to place the Imperial collection of St. Petersburg on a level with the noblest collections of the world, the Uffizi and Pitti, the Louvre, the Prado, the Dresden and Berlin Galleries, and the National Gallery. The Hermitage owes its greatest celebrity to its completeness in other departments—to its unequalled series of Rembrandts, to its great collection of Rubenses and Vandycks, to its examples of Netherlandish painting generally, to its interesting special groups of works illustrating French art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spanish art of the seventeenth, and English art of the eighteenth.

Two works attributable to the brush of Jan Van Eyck will first engage our attention. The "Annunciation" is an unlovely yet in detail wonderfully interesting piece, produced a year or two earlier than the altar-piece of the Bruges Gallery with the Madonna and Child, St. Donatian, St. George, and Canon George de Pala. We may not on the present occasion attempt any analysis of its architectural or ornamental features, but must pass on to consider two wings of a triptych, "The Crucifixion" and "The Last Judgment," which come as an absolute surprise to those who, knowing the Van Eycks in their moods of hieratic composure only, have not unnaturally brought themselves to look with doubt upon any panel bearing their name which expresses violent action or intensity of sacred passion. These wings belonged, with the central panel—an "Adoration of the Magi," which was unfortun-

ately stolen before the pictures entered the Hermitage—to the Grand Chamberlain, D. P. Tatischeff, and were by him bequeathed to the Czar, Nicholas I. On the authority of Dr. Waagen they were stripped of the name of Van Eyck and put down to his best-known pupil, Petrus Cristus. It is only within the last few years that, on the high authority of Herr Carl Justi, they have been restored to the greatest of the Netherlandish masters. They must, however, for the present be put in a class by themselves, or rather with a restricted group of similar works, among which are to be numbered a "Crucifixion," recently purchased from the Berlin Museum, the "Holy Women at the Sepulchre" in the collection of Sir Francis Cook at Richmond, the "St. Francis of Assisi" in the Royal Gallery of Turin, the very similar but smaller picture in the collection of Lord Heytesbury in England, and the "Triumph of the Church Over the Synagogue," of which an old copy is at the Prado, but the original is nowhere to be traced. Many students of the school and the master still hesitate to recognize his own conception and his own hand in these subjects, which reveal a deeper pathos than the calm Jan Van Eyck had hitherto seemed to have at command, and with it a mode of handling not quite so minute and searching in every particular. In the opinion of the writer the St. Petersburg "Crucifixion" and "Last Judgment" are not only beyond reasonable doubt Jan Van Eyck's own, but they must as creations of absolute originality be counted among the most wonderful things of the Netherlandish school at this period. Hardly again has the Crucifixion been imagined with this rugged force and grandeur, with this power of intense individualization, which yet robs the world-tragedy of none of its significance. Compared with this conception of the painter whom we hold to be Jan Van Eyck, that of Roger Van Weyden himself, as we see it not only in his own works, but in those of a host of Netherlandish and Germanic followers, appears, for all its passion and tenderness, just a little conventional. A comparison of the St. Michael in the St. Petersburg "Last Judgment" with the figure of the archangel in the left wing of the wonderful little triptych by Jan Van Eyck in the Dresden Gallery shows identity of handling and treatment. In the "Last Judgment" St. Michael stands erect on the tremendous spectre of Death (*"Umbra Mortis"*) overshadowing the abyss, with its huge bat's wings, and thence pronounces the dread words, *"Ite*

vos maledicti in ignem æternum." This same motive is repeated in the much larger "Last Judgment" by Petrus Cristus, which is No. 529 B in the Berlin Gallery—but repeated stupidly and mechanically, with almost total loss of its grandeur. Here we have evidence —if such were wanted—that not the heavy and unimaginative, if painstaking, Petrus Cristus of the Berlin triptych, but a greater painter and a greater genius conceived and fashioned the little picture of the Hermitage.

Exceptionally important is the large "Coronation of the Virgin" (more properly "Madonna in Glory") of Quentin Matsys, with the figures, beneath the Madonna and her attendant angels, of King David and the Emperor Augustus, each with his proper sibyl, and in the centre the Sibylla Persica in the rich costume of a patrician dame of Flanders. This work forms a connecting link between the thoroughly authenticated and unquestionably characteristic paintings of Quentin Matsys and that group of panels, hitherto assigned to Patinir, which with certain differences, of standpoint rather than of technique, of a kind not easy to deal with, show such marked points of resemblance that many modern critics of authority strongly incline to class them as the handiwork of Matsys in his earlier time. To this group belong among other things a "Crucifixion" in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna, of which there is an ancient copy, rather larger than the original, in the Alte Pinakothek of Munich; a smaller "Crucifixion" at the National Gallery; a "St. Sebastian" in the Germanic Museum of Nuremberg; a "Trinity," a "Madonna in Glory," and a "St. Roch" in the Alte Pinakothek; and a "Temptation of St. Anthony" of astonishing dramatic power in the Prado Museum of Madrid. Yet another important piece of the Flemish school is the "Descent from the Cross" by Barend Van Orley, which with a dozen other pictures, came to Russia from the collection of William II. of the Netherlands. This remarkable specimen of an accomplished executant who is never wholly sympathetic, and if ever wholly himself is so rather in virtue of the most pronounced mannerism than by reason of any truer and deeper originality, belongs to his middle time, after the sojourn in Italy which transformed his art superficially but not vitally. It is doubly interesting, as betraying in the general arrangement, but more particularly in the figures of the dead Christ and the fainting Virgin, a very strong reminiscence of Sodoma's "Descent

from the Cross," painted as early as 1504, and now in the *Accademia delle belle Arti* at Siena.

Perhaps the most authentic and the most important of all Lucas Van Leyden's works, not excepting even the "Last Judgment" in the Town Hall of Leyden, is the triptych at the Hermitage, "The Miracle of the Blind Man of Jericho." This was executed—as Mons. de Somof tells us in his admirable catalogue of the Netherlandish schools—about 1531, but two years before the death of the Leyden master. His authentic oil paintings are few, and they are prized accordingly as great rarities. The most notable among them—other than the "Last Judgment" of Leyden, and a stolid, ungainly "Adoration of the Magi," at Buckingham Palace—are to be found in the Berlin, Munich and Brunswick Galleries, and at Wilton House, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke. The best of these paintings is the charming "Madonna and Child with Angels" in the Berlin Gallery. The St. Petersburg picture, with all its elaboration, with all its technical completeness in its own peculiar style, proves Lucas to be—what he ever was, if not as a draughtsman and engraver, yet as a painter—an artistic individuality most unsatisfying, most provoking in its limitations. The greatest qualities of Netherlandish art are, perhaps, its pathetically human and therefore essentially noble realism, intensifying every-day fact and every-day people until naïveté and ruggedness become pathos and grandeur; its power to individualize to the highest degree the human physiognomy, and yet to present without loss of vitality its immutable character as well as its most characteristic phases of expression. These qualities we do not find at their highest in Lucas Van Leyden, who is above all a facile and powerful, though he is as a rule an unmoved narrator. We cannot rank him with Jan Van Eyck, Roger van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, or Quentin Matsys among Netherlanders; still less can we compare him, even where he most unquestionably triumphs, to his mighty contemporary, Albrecht Dürer—a poet-painter veritably inspired, the very asperity of whose realism adds to great inventions a poignancy of expression to which no other artist has attained in the same degree. There is nothing from Dürer's hand in the Hermitage, which is, indeed, noticeably poor in examples of German as distinguished from Netherlandish art of the nineteenth century. No original represents in the Imperial collection Hans

Holbein the younger; but a very interesting "Portrait of a Young Man," dated 1518, and bearing a monogram compounded of the letters A. H. and B., serves to remind the student of this period that his little-known brother Ambrosius, who died too young for complete development, was yet an artist of distinction. There is nothing again by Christoph Amberger of Augsburg, who must, after Holbein, but in a path completely his own, count as the greatest German portrait-painter of the sixteenth century. Lucas Cranach, on the other hand, the most German of Germans, and the Teutonic painter of the Renaissance who is least profoundly affected by Italian art, shows to great advantage at St. Petersburg. We have there* the "Venus and Cupid" dated 1509, and thus one of the earliest recognized pictures of the master, the first with a date being the beautiful "Repose in Egypt" of 1504, now belonging to the famous orchestral conductor, Hermann Levi of Munich, in which the painter, then already, be it remembered, in his thirty-second year, attained to a perfection hardly again realized. The "Venus and Cupid" is something of an exception in the life-work of Cranach, seeing that it is strongly tinged by Italian—seemingly late Quattrocento—influences. Considerably later in style is the beautiful "*Vierge au Pommier.*" The "Portrait of Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg," one of the sitters whom Cranach most delighted to honor, is less interesting than the curious piece at Berlin, in which he is represented by the same artist as St. Jerome, or that other genre-portrait—if the expression be permissible under the circumstances—in which the Cardinal again nominally fills the great rôle of the Church father, but this time has been comfortably established by Cranach in his study, after the fashion familiarized by Catena in his well-known picture in the National Gallery, and by Carpaccio in that delightful study of a Venetian interior which is one of the best-known decorative canvases in the Oratory of San Giorgio de' Schiavoni, at Venice.

We must now make a great leap and go straight to Rubens, remembering, if certain gaps in the magnificent ensemble should excite wonderment, that in the Hermitage we have less a museum formed for the purposes of public instruction than a collection brought together from reign to reign on the principles which guide the amateur, though it bears the

* Actually at the time of writing, together with the "*Vierge au Pommier*" from the same hand, in the Cranach Exhibition at Dresden.

same relation to that of the private dilettante, however splendid, that the Imperial means bear to those of the individual even under the most exceptional circumstances. Restrictions of space render impossible even a bare enumeration of the sixty examples attributed by the catalogue to the *chef-d'école* of Antwerp, and of which an unusually large proportion are really from his own hand. In very few, if any, among the European galleries is Rubens more finely, more variously, or more completely represented. True, to appreciate him adequately as a painter of sacred subjects one must still go to Antwerp and to Vienna; to see the vastest group of canvases by himself and his school one must visit the Alte Pinakothek of Munich and explore its central hall and the adjacent galleries. His prodigious power—especially throughout the later years—in the treatment of radiantly blonde, exuberant nudities and cascades of pale, golden hair is best appreciated at the Prado Museum of Madrid. The Louvre, the National Gallery, the Berlin and Dresden Galleries, the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna, the Uffizi and the Pitti contain famous specimens of his art, which must be known if he is to be understood in all his variety and unity. Blenheim was, before the dispersal of its treasures, a store-house of Sir Peter Paul's pictures; Grosvenor House, the town residence of the Duke of Westminster, is so still. The much-vaunted "Rubens Room" at Windsor Castle is, on the other hand, something of a *désillusion* to the true Rubens-worshipper, who is not to be put off with anything but the very finest. Its portraits of the master himself and his first wife, Isabelle Brant, are famous, but the great canvas, "St. Martin Dividing His Cloak with a Beggar," which stands forth as its chief attraction, is now universally accepted by connoisseurs as an early Vandyck, painted like the very similar but not identical altarpiece at Saventhem before the *Wanderjahre* in Italy. The great masterpiece, which above all others adds lustre to the Russian Gallery, is the "Jesus in the House of Simon the Pharisee," from the Houghton Hall (Walpole) collection. Painted between 1615 and 1620, it belongs to the maturity of the middle period, and it is manifest that it contains much of the handiwork of the youthful Vandyck, in that period of splendid promise and performance which preceded the partial transformation of his art under the influence of the Italian Cinquecentists and Seicentists. In no sacred work of Rubens is a rhythm so noble and harmonious

in its sweep combined with an expression of the emotions so natural and spontaneous in its passion. The characteristic exuberance is preserved, the irrepressible *joie de vivre* forces its way everywhere to the surface. Yet the tremendous dramatic force of the conception, the supreme pathos of expression in the two chief figures, Christ and the Magdalene, lift the work as a whole high above the level usually attained even by Rubens. He here sacrifices nothing of himself—indeed of any abdication of personality he was always, even in youth, incapable—but his genius glows with an ardent flame such as, in his life-work, illumines only a few exceptional masterpieces. The Hermitage shows also a fine copy of this picture, variously ascribed to Jordaens and to the youthful Vandyck, but more probably by the latter. An important "Descent from the Cross" bearing a family resemblance to the world-famous triptych in the Cathedral of Antwerp, yet in no respect identical with it, comes from the collection of the Empress Josephine at La Malmaison. M. Max Rooses in his justly famous work, "*L'Oeuvre de Rubens,*" gives the opinion that it surpasses all other versions of the subject by the Antwerp master, save only the one just now referred to. A great portion of the canvas, which dates from 1613 or 1614, is from the brush of the artist himself. The "Venus and Adonis," though the hand of Rubens imparting brilliancy to the whole is visible enough in it, serves chiefly to betray the vulgarities of his style when he approaches the Olympians, even from their most earthly aspect. Titian is well-nigh as realistic, quite as human as his Flemish successor; yet how the sensuousness of the Venetian is tempered, even in his least imaginative works, with the poetic sense that in youth and beauty warm with love we have a noble, not an unworthy thing! Infinitely more attractive, and, indeed, a masterpiece of execution, is the "Perseus and Andromeda," not to be confounded with the fine picture, of the same period (1612-1615) and the same subject, in the Berlin Gallery. Yet even here we are not in the realm of the poet-painter. Though the subject is expressed with the superb vigor proper to Rubens, we find underlying this the pompous superficiality, the turgid rhetoric of the seventeenth century. Nothing short of astonishing in the brutal yet irresistible force of the rendering is the "Bacchanal" (Walpole collection), in which a drunken Silenus is seen sustained by a female Faun, a negress, and the god Pan. Hardly

ever has the brush of Rubens worked with more solidity or a more elastic strength, with more breadth and finish combined. In such pieces as this and many another Bacchanal, in the great "Kermesse" of the Louvre, the "Worship of Venus" of the Vienna Gallery, the too-little known "Worship of the Many-breasted Goddess" (?) of the Glasgow Municipal Gallery, what would be intolerable grossness and indecency in another becomes pardonable, nay even acceptable, in Rubens, as an overwhelming representation—ruthlessly realistic in expression and yet all the same mainly symbolical—of the teeming forces of Nature. To this same class belongs the superb "Bacchus" painted entirely by the master-hand the original of a well-known picture in the Dresden Gallery. An amusingly naïve incident in this composition, which will be recognized without further description, is borrowed almost textually from the splendid Bacchanal of Titian which adorns the Prado Museum of Madrid.

CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

(*To be continued.*)

THE REBELLION AGAINST THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

BY THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH.

WHAT we now speak of as the "Supremacy of the Crown" in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil represents a movement whose development has been both interesting and of very ancient origin. In the Middle Ages the genius of the theologian inspired the direction of European affairs. The Crusaders, in their spirit and in their enthusiasm, were purely religious; and although, even in the religious wars, secular ambition made use of religious excitement—and it may be said that, in a very considerable degree, the passion and lust for territorial and secular aggrandizement were commingled with ecclesiastical fanaticism —yet it was not until the Reformation, when the old superstitions had been enfeebled by the spirit of doubt, that human judgment, and law, as the highest embodiment of that judgment, asserted and obtained the supremacy. At that time, the Inquisition, by its frequent hostility to the Civil Power, no less than by its outrages upon the natural kindness of human nature, had exemplified the political objection to ecclesiastics uncontrolled by and irresponsible to Civil authority.

On the other hand, the theory that the Church is superior, and not subordinate, to the State did tend towards liberty, during the period when the Papal power was most elaborately organized, and before the Reformation. Constitutional government, the restraints of modern thought, together with the emancipation of the human intellect, were not then in existence. The great principle at issue was not the right of the people, but the conflicting claims of a temporal sovereign and of the Pope. Nations had not learned to be their own

masters, but they had learned to acknowledge two different masters. As a set-off against the brutal despotism of illiterate and barbarian monarchs, was the influence—not necessarily religious, but certainly more cultured and more humane (in the classical sense of that word)—of the mediaeval Popes. The Popes, in their manipulation of the political drama, were moved, and often to good purpose, towards taking the popular side of the people against ignorant tyranny. In England the questioning of Papal Supremacy grew; in the first place, out of the natural political inconvenience that resulted from the Pope's right to annates and other exactions. Henry the Eighth was impelled, in the first instance, towards the Reformation by the opportunity it offered to get rid of that interference with his will and rule, which, working in consonance with all the instincts of a healthy English common sense, was intolerant of opposition, as it was of ecclesiastical intrigue. The Tudor temperament hated subterfuge and mediaevalism; but the religious aspect of the State Supremacy it cared very little for. As in all great movements, however, the force lay in the religious side; and the King, without any reluctance, used that to strengthen him in his assertion of political independence.

When Constantine embraced Christianity, the dignity and position of the chief city of the Empire caused Rome to be accounted the first see; but the earlier Councils of the Church show that the idea of independence from Roman centralization was then prevalent.

By the General Council of Nice it was declared that the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch had the same discipline and authority over the countries that lay round about them that the Pope of Rome had over those that lay about that city.

In the second great general Council, to guard against the effect of the appeals to Rome which arose from the growth, in the Eastern Churches, of the Arian heresy, it was specially decreed that every province should be governed by its own synod, and that clergy, when they were accused, must first be judged by the Bishops of their own diocese, that from these they might appeal to the Bishops of the province; but no higher appeal was allowed. In a council of Milevi, in which St. Austin sat, it was decreed that every clerk that should appeal to any Bishop beyond the sea should be excommunicated.

Alongside of this refusal to recognize the Bishop of Rome as supreme Pontiff, arose the contest and controversy, from the time when Constantine became a Christian, between the Eastern and Western Churches.

The Emperor Mauritius declared the Patriarch of Constantinople "the universal Bishop." Gregory the Great promptly retaliated by denouncing that assumption of pre-eminence as betokening an ambition equal to the pride of Lucifer. He declared that he who assumed such a title was the fore-runner of anti-Christ, and he went on to say that none of his predecessors had ever claimed such a power.

That Gregory the Great admitted that he was not supreme Pontiff has a specially significant bearing upon the English case; for it must be borne in mind that he was Pope, and therefore the representative of Catholic claims, at the time when the conversion of the British to Christianity took place.

It is also instructive to remember that the Popes still, when they are consecrated, promise to obey the first eight General Councils, which decided against the Ultramontane theory; as there is a large portion of the English clergy who, in spite of the plain language of their oaths and the Prayer Book, assert the pretension of a power beyond the control of Parliament.

The supremacy of the Crown may be said to have resulted from the embracing of Christianity by the Emperors. In the digest of Roman law which was so fully made by Justinian, many new constitutions to control ecclesiastical causes and persons were introduced. In several cases, the General Councils were summoned by the Emperors: in others, they were presided over by an Emperor. The Popes, in some cases, wrote letters to Emperors to ask them to summon Councils; and the Councils desired Popes to confirm their decrees. Pope Hadrian went so far as to decree, in a synod, that the Emperor should choose the Pope.

In England, the Norman Conquest heralded an open declaration of royal supremacy. William the Conqueror, it will be remembered, to immortalize his victory over Harold and to place himself in the most favorable light towards the clergy, established, on the scene of his victory, an abbey, which he called Battle Abbey. In the charter which he granted to it, he made use of these words: "It shall be also free and quiet forever from all

subjection to Bishops or the dominion of any other persons, as Christ's Church in Canterbury is."

But, perhaps, there was no force during the Middle Ages that prepared men's minds more fully for the principle of the royal supremacy, which spells the Reformation, than Wycliff and the Lollards. As Mr. Trevelyan, in his most interesting book, reminds us, the English mind moves slowly, cautiously and often silently. Between the Lollard and the High Catholic position, between the exhortations of the bold and uncompromising exponent of heretical opinion, of a preacher who tore to shreds the garments of tradition and dogma, and the conventional and frigid directions of the orthodox confessional, there existed shades of opinion and many homes of rest in which, if our ancestors at all resembled their descendants, their minds must have loved to lodge.

The murder of Becket created a revulsion, leading to that exaltation of ecclesiastical authority which made the founder of the Plantagenet monarchy confer "benefit of clergy." Under that strange privilege, criminous clerks—whether parish clergy, monks, friars, teachers or ordinary clerks—found the most effectual immunity for their misconduct; indeed, the protection against punishment which it offered attracted great numbers into the Church, and united them into a sort of band of outlaws against those who were less favored. Wycliff, in his struggle to base religion on the Bible instead of on Catholic tradition, was not only undermining the mediaeval idea as to the pardon of sin, but the clerical view, which maintained the idea of a separate caste. The Supremacy of the Crown in England meant, in those days, the freedom of the individual from ecclesiastical interference. In 1382, the Commons declared "that it was not their intention to be tried for heresy, nor to bind over themselves or their descendants to the prelates more than their ancestors had been in times past." In fact, during the struggle of the Lollards, the Knights of the Shires repeatedly asserted their determination to maintain their independence from clerical interference. The methods of those ages were rough and ready. Perhaps we cannot have a better example of the free spirit which then existed in England than what took place under the name and authority of the Earl of Somerset, who was one of the greatest, if not the most important of the Lords

of the Red Rose. His tenantry repudiated all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, dismissed their priest, beat the Bishop's officers when they interfered, and even buried their own dead.

Thus, Luther found, in England, men's minds accustomed to spiritual independence and, through Wycliff and the Lollards, to forms of religion fundamentally at variance with mediaevalism. Had the ground not been prepared, the seed could not have so rapidly ripened. It would be impossible, for instance, to conceive of any affinity between the mind of a Crusader and that of the average layman of the Tudor, or even the Stuart, period.

To come to the time immediately preceding the Reformation.

The Royal Supremacy implied no mere abstract constitutional right, but a practical and immediate means of getting rid of oppressive proceedings under the heresy laws. A complaint had been made by the House of Commons against the Bishop of London, in 1534, for using cruelly in prison one Thomas Philips, upon the suspicion of heresy. As the House of Lords failed to pay proper attention to their complaint, the Commons passed through their own House a bill, which speedily became law, repealing the statute of Henry IV. by which Bishops, upon suspicion of heresy, might commit anyone to prison. It was declared that henceforth no proceedings should take place except upon the initiation of two witnesses in open court, and that no punishment should be enforced without first obtaining the King's writ. Before that time, ecclesiastical courts and jurisdiction had, for many years, been systematic engines of oppression and suppression of the truth. Sir Thomas More, whose noble death has obliterated, if it has not largely condoned, the recollection of his acts, was especially active in this direction. The circulation of Tyndall's translation of the New Testament was stopped in every way that was possible. In fact, More sneered at the new preachers, as finding followers among the poor and other illiterate persons. He well merited the retort which he received, that to worldly ecclesiastics and divines our Lord would have appeared in the same light as He did to the Pharisees, as a teacher of dangerous and subversive doctrines. Men and women were taken and tried in Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea, and burned for their principles. With the habitual contempt of the sacerdotal mind for lay opinion, the clergy took

no notice of a petition of the House of Commons to the King for redress from the arbitrary proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts. They persisted in their extreme courses. Hoping to strike terror among the gentry, they caused James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, to be brought before More, who had him whipped in his presence and then taken to the Tower and racked before his eyes. The man was finally burned as an obstinate heretic.

With the death of More, the lives of the poor preachers were saved. The last man who was burned under the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction was Frith. Frith was a fine scholar and wrote a most interesting paper upon the Sacrament. His prosecution was set in motion by an evily-disposed associate, who conveyed a paper, in which Frith had summarized his opinions, into the hands of Sir Thomas More. Frith expressed then the view which represents the philosophical attitude of reasonable English Churchmen now. He thought that there should be no controversy about the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament; that, whatever opinion men held in speculation (provided such opinion did not encroach upon the domain of practical error, such as the adoration of It, which he looked upon as idolatrous), there should be no fierce disputes about it. He deprecated the fierce controversy that was then raging between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians. He held that, in this, the greatest of all mysteries, where the objective and subjective, the natural and the supernatural, are so inextricably commingled, every man should be able to hold his own opinion without making a breach of the unity of the Church.

While the forces of human freedom were making the King supreme in all matters, the political condition of Europe was attracting the King towards the Reformers. The Emperor and the Pope had conspired for an invasion of England and a subsequent division between them of universal empire. Henry's allies in Europe were the princes of Germany and the offensive and defensive league, at Smalcald, for the freedom of religion and the rights of the Empire.

One must not omit some reference to that most remarkable of all human societies—the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits represented, and indeed were, the intellectual weapon of the ecclesiastical polity, to maintain the supremacy of the papacy, and to

depress the authority of the sovereign, as being of divine right. Suarez, in a most interesting and remarkable book entitled *"De Fide"* (which, by the way, the Parliament of Paris ordered to be burned in 1614), evolved views completely in consonance with the doctrine of the "Social Contract." The Jesuits were watching, with intense alarm, the movement among the European sovereigns to embrace, for political and popular reasons, heretical opinions. It is not unnatural, therefore, that assassination, which in those days was the speediest means of altering or checking the stream of political events, should be justified, and even recommended, in the book, the object of which is to place the Papacy upon a supreme pedestal of ascendancy both as a moral and a practical force. The Pope is to be the embodiment of all government; but the sovereign is proportionately lowered in prestige and estimation, and he is to exercise his power and his authority, not as one anointed by God, according to the Anglican theory of the Caroline divines, but as the minister of his people.

"If the King fails in his duty, his crown and even his life are to be forfeited for, and by, his people." *"Ergo quando republica juste potest regem deponere, recte faciunt ministri ejus regem cogendo vel interficiendo, si sit necesse."* The Jesuits were not only inspired with the desire to weaken the authority of liberal-minded sovereigns, but, when we remember the very remarkable tenets that are contained in a book which was published at the end of the sixteenth century, by Stephanus Hojeda, who was at the time Visitor of the Jesuits in the province of Toledo, they seem to have evolved, as the strongest basis for Roman Catholicism, the broadest democratic principles. Classical allusions then formed the traditional standard for literary conception. One is not surprised, therefore, to find in this book much reference to the difference, which the Schoolmen had drawn on the model of Aristotle, between a king and a tyrant. In this book, *"De Rege et Regis Institutione,"* it is argued, with great subtlety, that a sovereign who belonged to the class of tyrant did not possess any claim to the name of "king;" nor had he any right, having regard to the fact that he had, by his conduct, placed himself in opposition to the welfare and well-being of his subjects, to possess either the privileges or the respect which belong to the sovereign.

Political objects produce strange combinations. While the Jesuits were, by their literature, sowing in men's minds the seeds of political liberty, Sixtus V., inspired with the feelings of his cloth, publicly pronounced the assassination of Henry III. by Clement as the work of Providence, and, with more enthusiasm than good taste, compared it to the Incarnation and the Resurrection.

No contrast is greater than that between the teaching of the Jesuits and that of the Gallican Church. The French Church was rich, deeply interested in great revenues, in the most extreme and offensive forms of the rights of property, possessed of, and using in the fullest degree, the most odious political privileges. Its material welfare was attached to the glory of the French Crown and Court; and, although it did more than anything else to produce the Revolution, which destroyed both, it had lost all political, as well as spiritual, instinct, and had become the handmaid and appanage of the French monarchy.

In the Middle Ages, the theory that the Pope had the right to depose sovereigns, for reasons which I have already alluded to, tendered, on the whole, to the improvement of the people; especially as the people had no constitutional authority, and what was taken from the Popes was always given to the sovereign. The teaching of the Gallican Church, like that of the Anglican Church under the Stuarts, exalted the sovereign into a sort of representative of the Deity. Bossuet, who is perhaps the most eloquent writer in support of the Gallican theory, maintained the most extreme view of Divine Right. The sovereign ruled under the immediate authority of the Deity, and, consequently, above and beyond the intervention, either of the Pope or of his own people; obedience, absolute and abject, is the sole duty of the governed; and against tyranny and oppression there is no remedy, except a providential change in the mind of the sovereign. In France the State became the sovereign, and the sovereign also became the Church. To an exaggerated degree, therefore, the attitude of the Church there depended upon the course of current events. The influence of the Church, as a religious force, moving men's minds upon the relations between Church and State, was more affected than anything else by the great change, which was gradually taking place, under which theology ceased to assume an ascendency over politics.

I have endeavored to show that the rights of the sovereign over ecclesiastical matters produced strange alliances in different countries, at different times, in Europe. From truth to liberty, and from liberty to truth, there has run a steady stream; but that stream has owed its vitality, through varying external circumstances, to one underlying, consistent principle—the revolt of the human intellect from the trammels of mediæval superstition. The Jesuits, the Gallican Church, no less than what is broadly described as the forces of the Reformation, made reason, and not tradition, the motive spring of action.

In England, unlike other countries, the State Establishment, as settled at the Reformation, was not effected contrary to religion, although it was brought into force in opposition to both the Bishops and the clergy. The genius of the English character is its independence. The Bible seems to have added to it strength and earnestness. At critical periods in English history it has afforded a text and a principle for revolt against authority. Just as it stiffened the backs of the Covenanters and the Puritans, it dominated the masterful spirit of the great Tudor sovereigns. The only Bishop whom Elizabeth could get to crown her was Oglethrope of Carlisle. All the Bishops except one were deprived of office by her, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy.

It lay, not, she said, in her sister's power to bind her and her realms to an usurped authority as Joshua declared, "I and my house will serve the Lord." So she and her realm were resolved to serve Him; and she would esteem all her subjects as enemies to God and to her, who should own the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome.

From the time of Elizabeth to the religious movements that took place within the Church during the early part of this century, the Church of England rested for its authority upon the support of the aristocracy. The Tory conception of the Royal Supremacy became an exaggerated theory of the Crown, as of Divine Right. It is unnecessary to refer, except in passing, to the great struggle and complete victory that the Whigs won for popular liberty in putting an end forever to the theory of Divine Right. The Crown means, at the present day, Parliament. Those who now rebel against the Royal Supremacy really desire an ecclesiastical autocracy, with State endowments, but without

State control. No one who has carefully studied the legal as well as the political arguments that were debated at the time of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church can maintain that the great historic endowments of the Church of England are either held on trust or are other than property, "*de jure*" as well as "*de facto*," alienable for whatever purpose Parliament may decide. Those who aim at destroying the Royal Supremacy are, in the main, convinced that disestablishment means disendowment. The view is, indeed, prevalent, among a large class of religious men, that the overthrow of the national establishment would be beneficial to pure and undefiled religion; that government ought to exercise no choice in matters of faith, but leave every man, without advice, or aid, or influence from that source, to choose for himself; but, fortunately, neither theorists nor philosophers have ever counted for much in England. We have never acted from servile obedience to any dogmatic and determinate theory. The Church of England, in the country districts, supplies a want which could not otherwise be met, and where the parson has not become a modern priest, he has co-operated both with the country squire and the Nonconformist minister. The Church is nearer disestablishment than it ever has been, not on account of the improved organization of the Nonconformists, nor of the fact that it has lost, in Mr. Gladstone, its most effective defender, but because those within the Church are making a determined attempt to destroy its Protestant and Parliamentary character, and there is no confidence among the Protestant laity that they have the sympathy or support of the Bishops.

It is impossible that any established Church—least of all the English Church—can exist without the moderating influence of the Crown. In the coronation oath, the sovereign promises "to maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by the law." The jurisdiction of the Privy Council has been nothing more or less than the interpretation, by the highest legal tribunal, from time to time, of whether certain practices are, or are not, in accordance with the Protestant Reformed Religion established by the law. The maintenance of the Coronation Oath is the duty of the Privy Council. This function the Council has exercised and protected the Church from the unrestrained, emotional and partial aspects of the different schools of religious thought.

The relations between the Church and the State being of a compound character, the Church having become an estate of the Realm, it is essential that there should exist a supreme authority, which is neither purely ecclesiastical nor purely civil. Allow me to take a simple example. If a bishop rejected a candidate for a living upon ecclesiastical grounds, he would be acting in accordance with his proper spiritual authority; but, if he did it upon arbitrary grounds, or on non-ecclesiastical grounds, he would not; because, under the State establishment, the appointment to a living carries with it, not only spiritual duties, but certain definite, civil emoluments. Inasmuch, again, as a living is a freehold, and the freeholder cannot be deprived without process of civil law, it is essential that the law of the Church shall be subject to the law of the land and that the freeholder shall be amenable to that general law. In the English Church, civil and ecclesiastical consequences are intermingled: consequently, there exists the necessity for the mixed authority of the Crown to represent both, and, as a condition, that the sovereign shall be a member of the Church.

In the Church of England, civil and ecclesiastical consequences being thus inextricably commingled, the supremacy of the Crown represents the necessity for that mixed authority which shall have sympathy with both and yet be able, without bias, to decide between both.

In the Church of Rome the supremacy of the Pope implies Councils and all the various restraints of civil and ecclesiastical polity. He cannot be a law unto himself, like our modern parochial popes. The rebellion against the Royal Supremacy means more than any abstract religious theory; it carries with it practical consequences of the most far-reaching effect. The Established Church is inconceivable without the Supremacy of the Crown, just as the endowments of the State are without the State Establishment. From custom, from habit, from tradition, the Protestant Church of England is accepted by a democracy; but a new Church, a sacerdotal autocracy, will have to appeal to different clients. With the empire of dogma and superstition at an end, is priestcraft likely to obtain better results and more support in England than it does on the Continent?

PORTSMOUTH.

HOW THE RITUALISTS HARM THE CHURCH.

BY THE RT. HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

It has ever been the boast of the Church of England that it is comprehensive. But a comprehensive Church means a Church which permits wide differences of opinion within its limits, and such differences can hardly exist without occasionally leading to internal dissensions.

It is to the antagonism between the High Church party and the Low that, in the past, dissensions have been chiefly due. The parties themselves date back, by an unbroken succession, to the Reformation controversies; and though, doubtless, each has undergone important modifications in the course of three centuries of development, yet their continuity remains; and, as in the time of Queen Elizabeth, they judge the ecclesiastical system, which both accept, by widely different theological standards. Where divergencies of this magnitude exist, the materials for inflammatory controversy are ready to hand. It must happen from time to time that the peculiar tenets of one school are, by a few of its members, exaggerated and pressed to their extreme consequences; and, when this occurs, suspicion and resentment are inevitably bred in the other. There then arises one of the "crises" which from time to time disturb the peace of the Church.

Through one of these "crises" we are passing at the present moment. A section (I believe a relatively small one) of the High Church clergy seem bent on proving their "catholicity," by imitating as much of Roman ritual, and absorbing as much of the Roman doctrine, as is compatible with remaining in a communion which the Church of Rome has declared to be schismatic. The results are what might have been anticipated by any one at all acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain. Prot-

estant feeling is violently aroused. Religious controversy ceases for a time to be the concern chiefly of theologians; it overflows abundantly into the newspapers; it attains a rank growth on platforms and at mass meetings. Like everything else which deeply stirs the public mind, it finds its echo in Parliament; and, to the despair of those who know how difficult and delicate are the questions in dispute, it becomes the business of speakers whose religious sentiments may be above reproach, but who cannot in all cases be either learned historians or trained divines.

A speech, the substance of which the Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW desires should be reproduced for those American readers who take an interest in the fortunes of the Anglican Church, was delivered (with a reluctance due to the reasons just noted) by the present writer in one of the debates which thus arose in the House of Commons. Its immediate occasion was a Memorial issued on the authority of a body drawn from a section of the High Church party, known as the English Church Union. This document, which does not seem by any means to represent the views of all who belong to the society which adopted it, gave, in my opinion, just offence to public opinion. It was all held to justify the accusation of "lawlessness" levied against the extreme ritualists. Its general tone was certainly not calculated to allay controversy; and some of its statements seem wholly inconsistent with loyalty to the Church of England. Under these circumstances a motion was brought forward in the House of Commons attacking the English Church Union by name, and deploring the spirit of "lawlessness" shown in its Memorial. To this an amendment was proposed, not differing in spirit from the original motion, but omitting all specific reference either to the English Church Union or to its Memorial. It was in support of this amendment that the speech was delivered.

I began by repeating what I have said on other occasions—namely, that the danger which the English Church is now incurring, and the divisions from which it is suffering, are not questions merely, or even principally, of technical obedience to the law; they are questions of loyalty to an institution. It is for this reason that I do not believe any effectual remedy can be found for our present troubles, by merely increasing the stringency of existing remedies against lawlessness. It is for this reason that I so deeply deplore the recent enunciation of policy by certain mem-

bers of the English Church Union. Of the many criticisms which have been passed upon this document, the one which is at once the most deserved and the most damaging is that it enunciates principles wholly inconsistent with loyalty to the Church of which its framers are members. I refrain from going beyond this statement. I do not say, for instance, that these gentlemen are guilty of what is commonly called Romanizing. I do not use that phrase, because I understand that they have themselves asserted that they do not agree with the defined doctrines of the Roman Church; that they do not agree in all points with its discipline or ritual, and that they are not prepared to accept the principles of Papal supremacy. Therefore, I do not charge them with Romanizing; but I do charge them with a desire so to alter, both in its forms and in its spirit, the traditional character of the Church to which they belong, as to make it practically unrecognizable by its most distinguished and most loyal sons for three centuries; and I hold that this desire, however honorable in its motives, however disinterested—and I believe it to be both honorable and disinterested—is not consistent with loyalty to the Church of England.

Now, I have often asked myself why it is that the great body of the High Church party, who are undoubtedly loyal to the Church, who undoubtedly have their legitimate place within its fold, have not frankly joined with other moderate sections in the Church, and openly dissociated themselves from the school of thought which I have ventured to indict in language perhaps strong, but certainly not stronger, in my judgment, than the facts of the case warrant. I believe the reason is that, in addition to their distinctive doctrines (on which I shall have more to say in a moment), the English Church Union have championed with great force two important doctrines from which I, at all events, do not dissent, and which, properly interpreted, I think are not only religious truths, but I had almost said religious truisms. One of these is that the members of the English Church belong not only to the English Church, but to the Church Universal; and the other is that the English Church, though it be an established Church, nevertheless has, and ought to have, a spiritual independence of its own. These are two principles which I do not believe are denied by any important section of opinion.

I have heard certain individuals described as Erastians, and there may be Erastians among us. But there is no school of Eras-

tianism among us. I believe there is no large body of educated opinion worth considering which does not recognize, as certainly I recognize, that for any religious community to regard itself as a mere Department of the State—a religious branch, as it were, of the Civil Service—is to abandon all hope of spiritual growth, and to expose itself, unprotected, to the most deadening of unspiritual influences. But, personally, I am quite ready to go further. I am one of those who have always desired to see greater spiritual autonomy given to the English Church. It may be that, being a Scotchman, living in Scotland, and seeing how the Established Church of Scotland is constituted, and how it works, I am prejudiced in favor of giving to the sister Established Church those liberties which the Scottish Established Church enjoys.

But, if there are grounds for desiring a reform of the Church of England, in the direction of giving greater autonomy to Convocation, and greater power to the laity, who are the obstacles to such a reform being pressed forward by all sections of Church opinion throughout the country, High, Low and Broad? They are the people who, like Lord Halifax, and those who follow Lord Halifax, make no secret of the fact that they regard the history of the Church of England for the last three centuries as an unprofitable parenthesis in the history of the Church Universal, and who frankly admit that they would like to see the ritual of the Church modified in a sense which would bring it, if not into absolute conformity, at any rate into very close agreement, with the ritual which existed in the Church of Rome in the immediate pre-Reformation days. I think I am not distorting the sense of the English Church Union declaration. If those paragraphs mean anything, they mean, in the first place, that the English Church has no tradition of its own worth consideration in the matter of ritual. In fact, that, I think, is stated in terms:

> "A Church which, prescribing a service for Ascension Day, . . . has yet for long periods of time acquiesced in a general neglect of Ascension Day, has no continuous tradition or practice which can be appealed to as evidence of what it enjoins or forbids."

That is their first proposition. Their second proposition is that, on *a priori* grounds, they are convinced that the priests who, at the time of the Reformation, became the first clergy of the Reformed Church of England, must have carried into the ritual of that Church the practices to which they had been accustomed,

while still in obedience to Rome. And their conclusion from these two allegations is, that unless a practice is specifically forbidden by the Prayer Book (they being the judges of that which is specifically forbidden), all these pre-Reformation practices are not merely permissible but praiseworthy, and that the Church has no corrective tradition to which appeal may legitimately be made in such a state of things. According to this theory, the clergy of the Church of England have a kind of roving commission to inquire into the ritual practices before the Reformation; and, unless any of these practices are specifically forbidden in terms which commend themselves as binding to their minds, they may introduce them into their services, however great may be the revolution in the immemorial usage of the Church of England effected thereby.

Now, a man may be a very honest and a very good man while holding these views, but he is not, in my judgment, a loyal member of the Church of England; and those who think, as I think, that some increased autonomy may well be given to the clergy and the laity of the Church of England, find, and must find, the main obstacle to the fulfillment of any such policy in the profound and not unjustifiable irritation which the theory I have just explained has produced, and is producing, in that great body of moderate opinion in this country, which, after all, desires to see the Church of England remain what it was in the days of Hooker, in the days of Butler, in the days of the great Evangelical movement associated with the name of Mr. Simeon, and of the great High Church movement associated with the names of Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey. The men I have mentioned held widely different opinions. All were loyal members of the Church of England. For all of them, the ritual of that Church, as it has been practised from the days of Hooker to our own, has been sufficient; and I think that a good cause cannot be worse served than by allowing the questions of spiritual autonomy, and the fellowship of the Universal Church, to be, I will not say monopolized, but used as the flag of a party which desires evidently to transform, to revolutionize, and, I should say, to destroy the Church of which they are members. I do not profess, myself, to take a very confident, a very sanguine, view of the future of this controversy. I acknowledge that, the more I watch its progress, the more difficult it appears to me to steer the course of this controversy through all the rocks and shoals which surround it; but, if there be a hope—

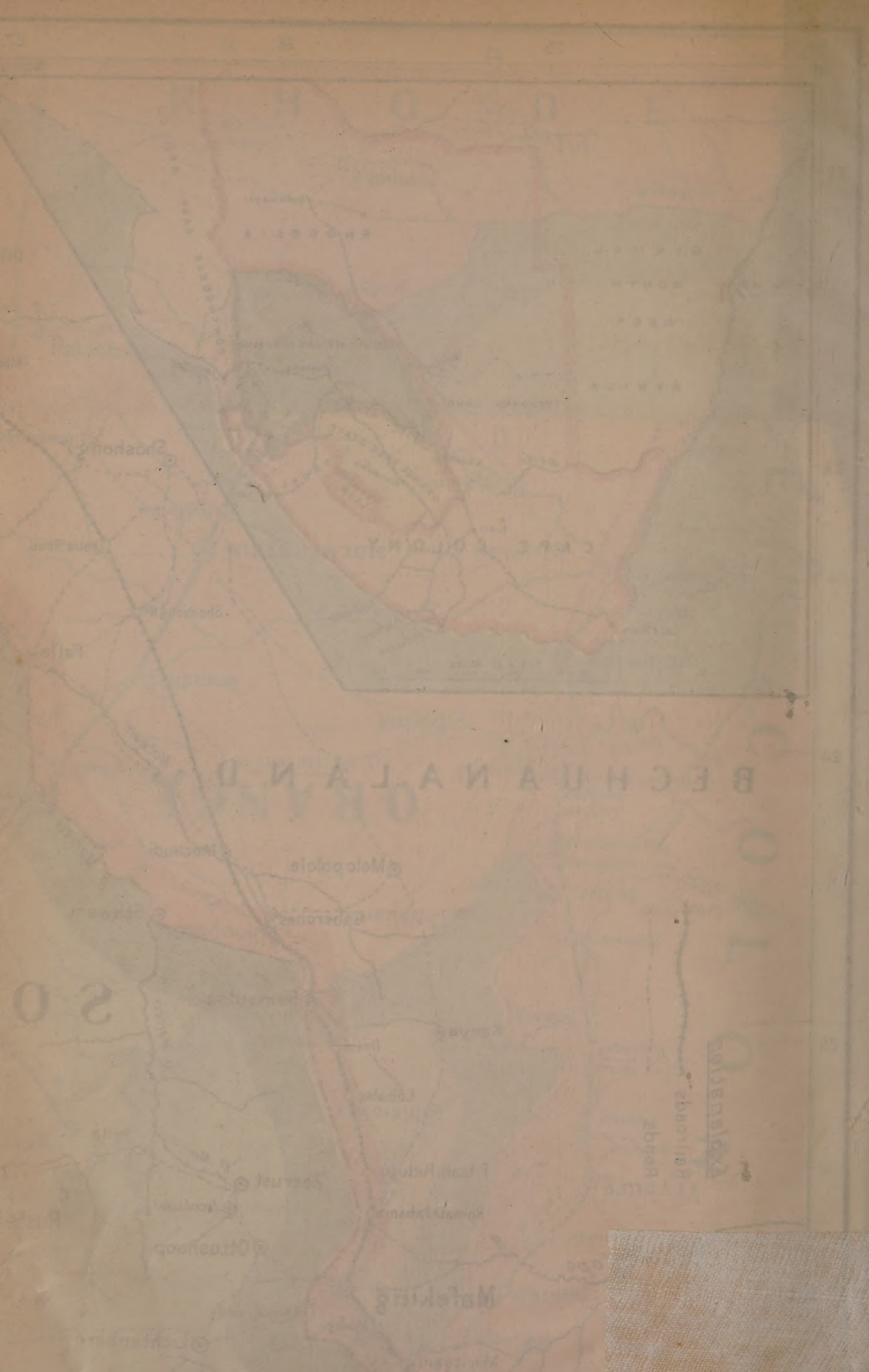
and there is a hope—for the future of the Established Church of this country, it lies, and, in my opinion, can only lie, in the firm determination of all men who are sincerely loyal to the worship, the ritual, and the doctrines of the Church of England, to unite, even though there be important differences dividing them upon other subjects, in the resolve that, neither by one set of extremists nor by the other, shall this great Church be torn asunder.

There is one class of the community who make no show in the public papers, who do not appear on platforms, who neither publish letters nor make speeches, for whom I would venture to plead. After all, while we are disputing about ecclesiastical matters of relatively small importance, there are vast questions, lying at the very root of all religion, which are being called in doubt by men very far removed from the plane of this controversy. No greater injury can be done to the cause of religion than to compel these men to witness, from day to day, so many ministers of religion apparently absorbed in disputes which, compared with the subjects to which I have referred, are as nothing in the balance.

I grieve to think that there is not merely an injury, perhaps an irreparable injury, being done to the fabric of the Church of England, but that there is an injury being done to the whole cause of religion. That injury can only be mitigated, these dangers can only be met, by the resolve of men of all shades of moderate opinion to work together; and I would appeal to that great body of High Church opinion which I feel confident, does not sympathize with the extravagances and excesses of a small but active school, but which has hitherto stood timorously aloof, afraid lest by declaring themselves against the extreme Ritualists they should be imperilling doctrines to which, they attach the utmost value. I think this abstention most unfortunate. For their wishes never can have practical effect until they have convinced the great body of the laity of this country that by Church reform is not meant a wholesale revolution of Church ritual in the direction of Roman practices, and that the Church, on whose behalf they ask for a larger measure of autonomy, is in spirit, as well as in name, identical with that branch of the Universal Church which, for three hundred years and more, has been doing such magnificent service to the cause of religion in this country.

ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

RHODESIA
BECHUANALAND
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC
(TRANSVAAL)
ORANGE FREE STATE
NATAL
BASUTOLAND
GRIQUALAND EAST
SWAZILAND
TONGALAND
CAPE COLONY
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
PRETORIA
Johannesburg
Pietersburg
Potchefstroom
Heidelberg
Middelburg
Rustenburg
Lydenburg
Barberton
Standerton
Ermelo
Bremersdorp
Mafeking
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
Ladysmith
Newcastle
Dundee
Utrecht
Vryheid
Harrismith
Kroonstad
Winburg
Boshof
Ficksburg
Ladybrand
Maseru
Durban
Pietermaritzburg
Greytown
Eshowe
Melmoth
Kokstad
Umzinto
Port Shepstone
Lorenço Marquez
Delagoa Bay
Zeerust
Ottoshoop
Lichtenburg
Krugersdorp
Klerksdorp
Vryburg
Mamusa
Christiana
Hoopstad
Bethlehem
Reitz
Frankfort
Heilbron
Vredefort
Parys
Vereeniging
Volksrust
Wakkerstroom
Piet Retief
Carolina
Barberton
Nylstroom
Warmbad
Potgietersrust
Pietersburg
Zoutpan
Valdesia
Birthday
Klipdam
Houtboschdorp
Leydsdorp
Smitsdorp
Moordrift
Middelfontein
Twefontein
Boomspruit
Sekwani
Molopolole
Gaberones
Ramoutsa
Kanya
Lobatsi
Pitsani Potlugo
Ramathlabama
Mochudi
Palachwe
Topsi
Dikabi
Shoshong
Towani
Mopanie
Seritbu
Tuli
Maklutsi
Massibi
Matippa
Pella
Palla Road
Shoshong Rd
Rooigrond
Madibi
Maritsani
Kraaipan
Khunwana
Maribogo
Doornbult
Devondale
Tigerkloof
Brussels
Dry Harts
Pudimoe
Taungs
Phokwani
Boetsap
Border
Warrenton
Fourteen Streams
Windsorton
Barkly
Modder River
Riet River
Douglas
Honey Nest Kloof
Graspan
Belmont
Witteputs
Hope Town
Orange River
Krankuil
Paauwpan
Philipstown
De Aar Jcn
Colesberg
Burghersdorp
Albert Jc
Venterstad
Aliwal North
Herschel
Rouxville
Smithfield
Springfontein
Philippolis
Bethulie
Jagersfontein
Fauresmith
Ebenezer
Bethanis
Dewetsdorp
Wepener
Morijo
Mafeteng
Thaba Bosigo
Berea
Maseru
Ficksburg
Fouriesburg
Clocolan
Senekal
Winburg
Boshof
Bultfontein
Smaldeel
Brandfort
Kroonstad
Hoopstad
Christiana
Bloemhof
Wolmaranstad
Mamusa
Vryburg
Klerksdorp
Potchefstroom
Ventersdorp
Lichtenburg
Zeerust
Ottoshoop
Mafeking
Rustenburg
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Heidelberg
Middelburg
Nylstroom
Pietersburg
Potgietersrust
Warmbad
Rosenkal
Lydenburg
Barberton
Carolina
Ermelo
Bremersdorp
Standerton
Volksrust
Wakkerstroom
Piet Retief
Utrecht
Vryheid
Newcastle
Dundee
Ladysmith
Harrismith
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
Ficksburg
Ladybrand
Maseru
Durban
Pietermaritzburg
Greytown
Eshowe
Melmoth
Kokstad
Umzinto
Port Shepstone
Lorenço Marquez
Explanation
Railroads
Roads
OHMAN'S MAP
of the
BOER REPUBLICS
SOUTH AFRICA
Published by
THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW
PUBLISHING CO.
NEW YORK.
Scale in Miles
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
Copyright 1899 by Colton, Ohman & Co



NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXVII.

DECEMBER, 1899.

THE HISTORICAL CAUSES OF THE PRESENT WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, M. P.

THE events which have led up to the present conflict in South Africa, which I am asked to sketch in outline for American readers, cannot well be understood without some little knowledge of the physical configuration of the country and the character of its people. It is a great, wild, dry, bare country, with an exceedingly small population of white men, and a population of blacks which is not large in comparison with its area. This area, taking South Africa to be the region which lies south of the Zambesi, is some 1,400,000 square miles, and within its limits there are much less than one million of white men, Dutch, English and Portuguese, with a handful of Germans—that is to say, less than the population of Philadelphia. Nearly one-half of that area is desert—by which I mean a practically waterless tract, no better for ranching or agriculture than the sagebrush deserts of Nevada. Of the rest, by far the larger part is much too dry for agriculture, but fit for sheep and cattle, resembling, roughly speaking, the ranching districts of western Nebraska or Wyoming. There are fertile valleys near the south and southeast coast, because the heat is there not so severe and the rainfall more abundant; but the interior is an elevated plain, where the strong sun rapidly dries up the

Copyright, 1899, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved.

rains of the summer months, so that cultivation must, nearly everywhere, be carried on by means of irrigation. Now, there are very few places in South Africa where it pays to irrigate the soil; and, consequently, there is, except here and there toward the coast, a very small number of persons engaged in agriculture. Neither are there any forests worth mentioning, nor any manufactures, except small local industries in the few towns. Till very recently, the whole occupation of the country, and that wherein its wealth lay, was the rearing of sheep and cattle. It is an occupation which gives employment to very few persons in proportion to the surface over which flocks and herds feed; and this is why the population has grown so slowly during the last two centuries and a half.

For South Africa is by no means a new European colony, like Australia. It was discovered at the end of the fifteenth century by Bartholomew Diaz, six years before the discovery of America. The first European settlement was planted at Sofala, on the south-east coast, by the Portuguese in A. D. 1505, the next by the Dutch at Cape Town in 1652. The Portuguese, however, never succeeded in establishing any hold upon the interior, and the extreme unhealthiness of the region where their posts were placed blighted the growth of their settlements, which are to-day quite insignificant, and will probably some day pass into the hands of stronger Powers. Besides, their blood has become mixed with that of the natives to an extent which has caused the race to deteriorate.

The Dutch settlement advanced very slowly for many years. It was governed by a company whose aim was rather to make money by trade than to develop the country, and maladministration produced a discontent which had begun to reveal the bold and restless character of the settlers. When England captured the Cape during the great war against Napoleon (in 1806), there were only some twenty-seven thousand whites in the whole colony. After the war was over, and when England, which had in 1814 paid six millions, sterling, to the Dutch for the country, was firmly planted there, some English settlers began to come in, as others have done from time to time ever since. But the influx of these settlers has been less than the natural increase of the Dutch population, so that in Cape Colony the inhabitants of Dutch stock to-day outnumber those of English stock, and the Dutch language

is (except in the towns) more generally spoken than is the English.

These two stocks have so much in common that it might have been expected that they would readily amalgamate, and at any rate would, as the Dutch and the English did long ago in New York, be on good terms with one another. They are akin in blood and in speech. They are both Protestant. In character and in habits, and, indeed, in appearance also, one may note many resemblances between the peasant of Holland and the peasant of East Anglia. If the English Government had been wise in its measures, if it had understood the country better and been careful to send out only sensible and sympathetic men as governors, the Dutch of South Africa, who had no attachment to Holland, might soon have become attached to England, and would at any rate have been, though they are naturally of an independent spirit, quiet and peaceable subjects. England, however, managed things ill. She altered the system of courts and local government, reducing the rights which the people had enjoyed. She insisted on the use of the English language to the exclusion of Dutch. In undertaking to protect the natives and the slaves, whom the Dutch were accused by the English missionaries of treating very harshly, she did what was right, but the farmers complained that the missionaries sometimes maligned them and greatly resented the attention which was paid to the charges. Finally she abolished slavery, and allotted a very inadequate sum as compensation to the South African slave owners, much of which sum never reached their hands, because it was made payable in London. These grievances, coupled with displeasure at the unwillingness of the Government to prosecute the troublesome and costly wars against the south-coast Kafirs, who frequently raided cattle and burnt the houses of the farmers on the frontier, determined a large body of Dutch farmers and ranchmen to quit the colony altogether, and go out into the wilderness which stretched far away to the northeast, much of it, especially that which lay to the north, a waterless desert, but the eastern part reported by the few hunters who had traversed it to contain plenty of good pasture. About ten thousand thus set off, and, when they had advanced beyond the borders of the colony, spread themselves over a tract of country some seven hundred miles long by three hundred broad, between the Orange River on the west-southwest

and the lower course of the Limpopo River on the north-northeast. Parts of this country lay empty of all inhabitants. Parts were inhabited by savage Kafir tribes, the more warlike of whom attacked the emigrants, and were defeated, and in some cases expelled by the latter, whose valor, whose firearms and whose horses enabled them to overcome enormously more numerous hosts of undisciplined natives. This emigration of 1836 is known as the Great Trek, and the Dutch who formed it are usually described by their own name of Boers, a word meaning farmers or peasants. It is convenient to call them by this name for the sake of distinguishing them from the more numerous and more sedentary Dutch who remained behind in Cape Colony as British, though, strictly speaking, every farmer or ranchman would be described in the Dutch language by the name of Boer.

This Great Trek of 1836 has been the source of all subsequent troubles between the Dutch and English races in South Africa. The circumstances attending it developed in the minds of the emigrant Boers three passions which have characterized them ever since, and which must be understood, because they are the key to the subsequent history of the country. One of these is a deep dislike to the British Government, which they conceived to have forced them to quit their old homes by a course of injustice and oppression. Another is a love of independence for its own sake, a sentiment which is in their Dutch and Huguenot blood (for some of the leading families were sprung from French Huguenots, who had gone to Africa from Holland after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes), and which had shown itself, even before England took the Cape, in risings against the Government of the Dutch East India Company. A third is an ardent attachment to their Calvinistic faith and to their old habits and usages. Cut off from all the influences of Europe, and leading a rude and solitary life on their enormous ranching farms, they were, when they went out into the wilderness, nearly two centuries behind the people of Western Europe in the thoughts, as well as in the arts, of modern civilization. The conditions of their warlike life among hostile savages after the Trek kept them so backward that they might really be said to belong rather to the seventeenth century than to the nineteenth.

Their virtues, as well as their faults, were of a seventeenth-century type, and have remained, in the more remote and thinly

peopled regions, still of that type—a fact which came into sharp relief when, within the last few years, a new crowd of English gold-seekers poured in among them. The old type has partially survived even among the more civilized Dutch of Cape Colony, and this has helped to keep up the sense of brotherhood between the emigrant Boers and their kinsfolk at the Cape.

Before I describe the relations of these emigrants to the British Government from 1836 to the present day, it may be well to say a few words about the natives, who constituted the vast majority of the inhabitants of the country.

When the first European settlers came, they found three races in the country—the Bushmen, a low type of aborigines, who lived by the chase; the Hottentots, savages of a somewhat higher order, who had sheep and cattle, but did not till the ground, and the Kafirs. The Bushmen were very few, and have now almost disappeared. They could not learn civilized ways or survive contact with a civilized people. The Hottentots, too, vanished, many tribes being swept off by smallpox, while the rest have either died out or become mixed with the negro slaves whom the Dutch brought from the coasts of Guinea. The Kafirs, however, have held their ground and even multiplied. The Dutch, and afterward the English, have carried on many sanguinary wars with them, for they are fierce in fight, as well as strong, muscular men. The last of these wars was that which the British South African Company waged against the Matabele in 1893, renewed by a native revolt in 1896; and it may be hoped that it is the last that will have to be waged, at any rate to the south of the Zambesi River, for the tribes have now begun to realize the hopelessness of resistance to the discipline and the superior arms of the white men. These wars were, all of them, except that against the Matabele, fought out along, or not far from, the coasts of the Indian Ocean, because the northern parts of the country, on both sides of the lower and middle course of the Orange River, is a desert region, which has no inhabitants, save a few wandering Hottentots and Bushmen. The result of the wars was to make the English masters of the whole country (except, of course, the Portuguese and German territories) which lies along the coast from Cape Town as far as the neighborhood of Delagoa Bay. The natives never took part in any of the conflicts between the English and the Dutch, to which I am going to refer, but their presence in several instances affected

those conflicts, because the English more than once stopped the Boers when the latter were conquering some native tribe, and because the English Government sometimes declared that the relations between the Boers and the natives constituted a danger to the peace of the country generally, which made their own interference necessary. It must, therefore, be remembered that the rivalry between the Boers and the English, the course of which is now to be sketched, went on, not *in vacuo,* so to speak, but in the presence of a native population far outnumbering the English and the Boers taken together.

When the Boers trekked out into the wilderness in 1836, the British Government, though sorry to see them go, did not follow them. It did not wish to possess the interior of South Africa, because it did not think the country worth having. It valued the Cape chiefly as a half-way house to India, for in those days the Suez Canal had not begun to be even talked of. Neither in those days had the passion for acquiring territory outside the pale of civilization seized upon the European Powers. Least of all did they desire African territories, because all Africa (except the strip along the Mediterranean) was believed to be either hopelessly barren or hopelessly unhealthy, the parts which were uninhabited, worthless; the parts which were inhabited, full of savages whom it would be costly to subdue, and from whom, when they had been subdued, little profit could be drawn. Accordingly, the British neither sent troops after the departing emigrants, nor deemed the emigrants to be acquiring the interior for Great Britain. Still, they did deem the emigrants to be still British subjects, for, as they had not become subjects of any other State, it was held they must still owe allegiance to the British Crown. This notion has in a vague sense never quite vanished from the British mind ever since. The emigrants, however, held that when they went out they renounced their British allegiance, and forthwith began to set up rude republican governments for themselves, governments which were managed by a meeting of all the adult males (called a Volksraad or People's Council), and in time of war—nearly all times being times of war—also by a smaller elective committee called a Council (Krygsraad). As the emigrants were scattered over an area of some three hundred thousand square miles, and were, even in 1846, ten years after the first of them left the Colony, less than twenty thousand in num-

ber, all told, it was impossible for them to have one Volksraad or one Government for the whole body. The various parties or communities, when they began to crystallize into communities, got on as they best could, each with its own Volksraad. After a time this became a small representative body, but when it was a primary assembly, the number of persons present was usually smaller than that of a town meeting in rural New England.

The British Government soon found itself, or thought itself, compelled to abandon its original policy of indifference to the doings of the emigrants, and so there began that struggle for the possession of the extra-colonial parts of South Africa, which has been the central stream of South African history for more than half a century. The first collision took place in what is now the Colony of Natal, a region then separated from Cape Colony by a mass of independent Kafir tribes, and itself ruled by the Zulu king Dingaan. Hearing of the fertility of this region, which is indeed one of the richest and best watered parts of Africa, a large body of Boer emigrants, who had been wandering over the great interior plateau, descended into it in 1838, and after a short but terrible struggle with Dingaan, who had treacherously massacred two parties of them, built the village of Pietermaritzburg (now the capital of Natal), and set up a republic which they called Natalia. This disquieted the British authorities at the Cape, who did not wish to see any non-British State established on the sea coast. The interior they did not much care about, because in the interior the Boers would be in contact with the natives only. But an independent republic on the coast, flying its own flag, was another affair. They were, moreover, afraid that trouble between the emigrants and the coast Kafirs might breed further trouble between the coast Kafirs and themselves. Accordingly, they sent (in 1842) a small British force to Durban (then called Port Natal), the best harbor on the coast, though they had some years before withdrawn a detachment which had been placed there, and had not complied with the request of the handful of English settlers who lived there to recognize them as a colony. The British troops were besieged by the Natalian Boers, but in the nick of time received reinforcements, which so completely turned the scale that the Boers presently submitted. The Republic of Natalia vanished, and many of the Boer emigrants returned north across the mountains, prizing their independence more than the good

pastures of Natal, and full of resentment at the Government which had stepped in to deprive them of the fruit of their victory over the Zulu king. Thus ended the first of the four armed collisions which have occurred between the English and the Boers, the first of their many strivings for the possession of the unappropriated parts of Africa.

Meanwhile, the interior was in a state of confusion and disorder, the Boers being too few in number to reduce to submission their native enemies, and the half-breed hunting clans called Griquas, the offspring of Dutch fathers and Hottentot mothers, who lived in the northeastern border of Cape Colony. The British Government, after fruitless attempts to create petty semi-independent States out of these unpromising materials, yielded to the pressure of events, and moved forward the frontier of its influence by annexing the country between the Orange River and the Vaal River, thereby asserting authority over such of the Boer emigrants as dwelt in this region. They named it the Orange River Sovereignty, and built a fort in it at a spot called Bloemfontein. This took place in 1846. Some of the Boers, unwilling to come again under British dominion, took up arms, and with the help of other Boers beyond the Vaal, overpowered the small British garrison. A British force was led against them by the Governor of the Cape, a tried soldier of the Peninsular War, who defeated them in an engagement and re-established British authority. But the troubles showed no sign of ending. A large Kafir tribe, the Basutos, who occupied the mountainous country south of the Orange River Sovereignty, and were formidable both by their numbers and by the difficult nature of their country, attacked the British force in the Sovereignty on one side, while the Boers from beyond the Vaal threatened it on another. It so happened that Cape Colony was at the same time involved in a war with the Kafirs of the south coast, so that troops could not be spared for these more remote districts, while there was not time to fetch any from England, then far more distant than now. Besides, the Government at home were getting tired of the vexations which their presence in the far interior caused them. They saw nothing to be gained by the possession of wide, pastoral wastes, where it was extremely difficult to keep order, difficult to control the rough white settlers, difficult to bridle the restless mass of Kafirs. Accordingly, the British Cabinet made up its mind to

take what would now be called an act of self-denying and perhaps pusillanimous renunciation, but was then regarded as an exercise of obvious common sense. It resolved to withdraw altogether from the interior, release the emigrant Boers from any claim it might still have to their allegiance and leave them and the Kafirs to fight out their quarrels without further interference. In 1852, a treaty—known as the Sand River Convention—was made with representatives of the Boers who dwelt beyond the Vaal River, which guaranteed to them "the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government." It was also thereby declared that no slavery should be permitted or practised by the Boers beyond the Vaal. Two years later, after a troublesome war with the Basutos, in which the British general narrowly escaped a serious reverse, had confirmed the disposition of the Government to withdraw, another Convention was made at Bloemfontein, by which the Boers living in the Sovereignty between the Vaal and Orange Rivers were "declared to be a free and independent people," and the future independence of the country and its government was guaranteed. The British garrison was thereupon withdrawn from the Sovereignty, which was left to set up a government on its own account, subject, however, to a provision forbidding slavery and the slave trade—a provision not superfluous in either Convention, for the Boers were suspected of practising a system of apprenticing native servants which was with difficulty distinguishable from slavery. Both the great English parties were concerned in this abandonment of the interior, for the Convention of 1852 was approved by the Cabinet of Lord Derby; that of 1854 by the Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen. Neither Convention excited any remonstrance in England, so little did men then care for colonial expansion in general or African territory in particular.

From these two recognitions of Boer independence there sprang up two Boer republics. After sixteen years of practical but legally unacknowledged independence, the emigrants who lived beyond the Vaal, and now began to be called Transvaal people, were at length masters of their own destinies. They were, however, divided into several small communities, as well as into numerous contending factions, and did not finally unite into one State till 1864. The Orange River farmers were less quarrelsome and

better educated, and, as they lived nearer the Colony, they were less rude, being, moreover, mixed with a certain number of English settlers. Their Republic took the name of the Orange Free State, and gave itself a very short and simple constitution, which has worked smoothly. It was for a time plagued by wars with the Basutos, but since the British Government assumed control over that tribe in 1869 these have ceased. The country is mostly too dry for agriculture, but it is covered with excellent pasture, which supported, until the great cattle plague of 1896, vast herds of cattle. Fortunately, no gold mines have been discovered, and only one diamond mine, so the temptations of wealth have not corrupted the simplicity of these republicans, who lived happily together till the outbreak of the present war, Englishmen sharing with Boers the offices of the State.

The Transvaal Republic was less fortunate. Its people were rather fewer in number, and were scattered over a wider territory. They were much rougher in habits, much more ignorant, much fonder of raiding the natives and more prone to discord among themselves. What with their intestine divisions, their native wars and their unwillingness to pay taxes, their Government was carried on with great difficulty and had, in 1877, become not only bankrupt, but virtually unable to enforce obedience. The British Government, which thought, rightly or wrongly, that the weakness and disorder of the Republic constituted a danger to the surrounding territories by inviting native attacks, sent a Commissioner to the Transvaal, who, in April, 1877, used the discretion which the Colonial Office had entrusted to him to proclaim the annexation of the country to the British Crown. It was a high-handed act, for the Republic had enjoyed complete independence, and Britain had no more legal right to annex it than she had to seize the neighboring territories of Portugal. The only justification was to be found in the circumstances of the State, which had only three dollars in its treasury, with no prospect of obtaining any more, because the citizens, who distrusted the President on account of his supposed theological errors, seemed to care very little whether they had a government at all, and were certainly unwilling to contribute to its support. It was believed that Cetewayo, the powerful and martial Zulu king, was likely to attack it, and the Commissioner doubtless believed that the public opinion of the Boer people, of whom there were now some forty

thousand, would approve—or at any rate would not actively resent—his conduct in placing them under a power which would defend them against Cetewayo and spend money on their country. The event, however, proved that he had acted foolishly, because precipitately. If he had waited a few weeks or months longer, it is possible, indeed probable, that the Boers would have asked him to promise them a British protectorate. But they did not like to have it thus thrust upon them; and, while the authorities of the Republic entered solemn protests, a memorial was drawn up and signed by a large majority of the citizens addressed to the British Government, and praying that the annexation should be reversed. Britain, however, refused to give way, believing that the opposition of the Boers would soon disappear, especially when they saw that English rule must conduce to the material prosperity of the country.

Unfortunately, the Colonial High Commissioner and the Colonial Office at home did not take the obviously proper steps to conciliate the people. They sent an arrogant and politically incapable military officer to govern men in whom the sentiment of democratic equality was extremely strong. They levied taxes stringently. They delayed so long in giving the free local government they had promised that the people despaired of ever receiving it. The passive displeasure which had at first showed itself now turned to active discontent; and when the leaders of that discontent found that the new English Ministry which came into power in April, 1880, just three years after the annexation, refused to reverse the act of their predecessors, they prepared to recover their independence by force of arms. In December, 1880, an insurrection broke out. The insurgents were few in number, but the British troops in the country were still fewer and wholly unprepared, so they were obliged to surrender or were shut up and besieged in a few fortified posts. A Boer force seized the chief pass leading from the Transvaal into Natal, because this was the route which an English army coming to reconquer the country would be sure to take. Here they repelled a small English force, for the English had as yet very few soldiers in Natal, and shortly afterward (February 26, 1881) defeated and killed the English commander, General Colley, who, with a want of prudence that has never been accounted for, led a detachment to the top of a mountain (Majuba Hill) commanding the pass, without taking

proper steps to guard the position or to secure support from the rest of his force. There were loud cries in England that vengeance should be taken for this defeat, which could easily have been avenged, for in a few weeks reinforcements arrived far too strong for the Boers to resist. But the British Government, much to its credit, gave no heed to these cries. It was to blame for having failed sooner to discover the real state of things in the Transvaal, and for not having done its best, by a prompt removal of grievances, to appease the discontent of the people. But, now that it knew the facts; knew that the hasty annexation had been a blunder; knew how much the Boers valued their independence; knew how strong was the sympathy felt for them by the Dutch element all over South Africa—a sympathy which might have ended in a war with the Free State and a civil war in Cape Colony—they determined to undo the annexation of 1877. A Convention was accordingly concluded in August, 1881, with the provisional government which the Transvaal people had set up. By this instrument, Britain recognized the Transvaal State as autonomous, reserving to herself, however, the control of all foreign relations, and declaring the suzerainty of the Queen. The Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone was warmly attacked in England for its action in thus, as its opponents said, weakly surrendering to rebels, while others held that it had acted not only magnanimously, but also wisely, since the evil of a race conflict between English and Dutch in South Africa far outweighed the objections to sitting down under a defeat, especially when all the world knew that the defeat could have been easily avenged, were mere vengeance a proper object of war.

Men still wrangle over the question in England, and may long continue to do so, for it is to some extent a moral as well as a political question, and different minds view moral problems differently. Regarded as a pure matter of politics, it may be pronounced to have been right, upon the *data* which the British Government then possessed, for there was nothing to be gained by reconquering a large country of slender value, and by undertaking to rule over a mass of disaffected subjects, while the danger of a race war in South Africa was to be at all hazards avoided. Nevertheless, as things have in fact turned out, much of the good which was then reasonably expected has failed to be secured. The Boers who deemed, and were indeed justified in deeming, the annexa-

tion of 1877 to have been an act of pure force, which gave the British Crown no *de jure* title to their allegiance, thought that when the insurrection had succeeded, their Republic ought to have been replaced in its old position under the Sand River Convention, a position of perfect independence. They, therefore, showed little gratitude for the concession of practical autonomy, and did not resign the hope of ultimately regaining complete independence. Besides, though they could not but see that the British Ministry had refrained from using their superior power to take vengeance which might have been easily taken, they knew that the danger of alienating the Cape Dutch had been one of the motives which determined its conduct. However, the whole question might, and probably soon would, have lost its importance but for an event which happened four years after, the discovery in the Transvaal of a gold field unique in the world.

When the Transvaal Boers had recovered their rights of internal self-government, they immediately began to work for two things: the concession of complete independence, such as they had enjoyed under the Sand River Convention, and the extension of their influence over the native territories that lay around them. Their War of Independence had stimulated in an amazing degree their national feeling, and had revived in them that bold and venturesome spirit which marked the first years after the Great Trek. Territorial expansion is, moreover, almost a necessity to them, because they live entirely by ranching, and need fresh pastures as the population increases. They began to spread out to the south into Zululand, and succeeded in establishing a petty republic there, which was afterward absorbed into the mother State. They attempted similar tactics on the west in Bechuanaland, but here the British Government interposed. It had been appealed to by the English missionaries, who disliked the Boers because they dealt harshly with the natives; and it was unwilling to see a region which might become important as opening a path from the Cape to Central Africa closed against it by the presence of another Power. Accordingly, an expedition was sent which chased the Boer adventurers out of Bechuanaland, and placed the Kafir tribes who dwelt there under British protection. There now remained only the country to the east and to the north of the Transvaal to be contended for by the Dutch and English races. To the east the Boers succeeded, after a long diplomatic controversy with

Britain, in getting hold of Swaziland, a small native territory inhabited by a branch of the Zulu race. They would have liked to go still further and reach the coast of the Indian Ocean, but Britain anticipated them by stepping in to proclaim a protectorate over the Kafir chiefs, who held the unhealthy little strip of land that lies between Swaziland and the sea. This was in 1894. On the north the British Government, who had again begun to doubt the wisdom of annexing huge slices of Africa—though the tide of English sentiment was now setting strongly for expansion—refused to occupy the country which lay between the Limpopo River and the Zambesi. But it did not refuse to allow one of its enterprising subjects to obtain a charter from the Crown founding a company intended to acquire land and work mines in that country. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, an Oxford graduate, and son of an English country clergyman, who had made a fortune at the Kimberley diamond mines, was the person who conceived this plan, and by whom the charter creating the British South Africa Company was procured. Under his auspices, a band of English settlers entered the unappropriated and little-known regions of Manica Land and Mashonaland, and, in 1890, set up a government there. They were just too quick for the Boers, who had meditated a trek into the same region, where there is plenty of good pasture. Three years afterward the company established its power over the wide area of Matabeleland, west of Mashonaland, by a war with the martial tribe of Matabele, whose king, Lo Bengula, fled away and died. With these events the long rivalry for the possession of the interior between Dutch and English came to an end, and the Transvaal found itself surrounded on all sides by British territory, except on the northeast, where it abuts upon the dominion of Portugal. Those dominions, however, it could not acquire from Portugal even if Portugal were willing to sell them, because Britain has by treaty a right of pre-emption of the district round Delagoa Bay, the harbor which both the Boers and the English would be so glad to obtain. On the whole, therefore, the English came off winners; for, whereas the Boers get only Swaziland and part of Zululand, their rivals secured the vast areas of Bechuanaland on the west, of Mashonaland and Matabeleland on the north.

In its other aim, the recovery of independence, the Transvaal Government had a nearly complete success. In 1884 they per-

suaded the late Lord Derby, then Colonial Secretary in the British Cabinet, to agree to a new Convention, whose articles supersede those of the Convention of 1881. This later instrument sensibly enlarges the rights and raises the international status of the "South African Republic" (a title now conceded to what had been called in 1881 the "Transvaal State"). Under the Convention of 1884, the British Crown retains the power of vetoing any treaties which the Republic may make, except with the Orange Free State. But the Republic is entitled to accredit diplomatic representatives to foreign courts; the protection of the natives is no longer placed under the care of a British Resident; the internal administration of the State is left entirely free from any sort of British control. The Republic is, in fact, with the important exception of the treaty-making power, to all intents and purposes independent. Most people in England now blame Lord Derby, who was certainly an unlucky Colonial Minister, for making this Convention. But his error—and it was an error—would have signified comparatively little, but for the event which befel immediately after it was committed. The Convention was signed in 1884. In 1885 the auriferous conglomerate beds of the Witwatersrand were discovered in the southern part of the Transvaal. They form not only the richest gold field in the world, but a gold field unlike any other in giving a fairly uniform and certain yield of so much gold, rather greater in some beds, rather less in others, to the ton of ore. Until this discovery, the Transvaal had been, though a few gold reefs were being worked in the mountains on its eastern border, really a vast pastoral wilderness, very poor, and with only about one and a half white inhabitants to the square mile, most of them semi-nomad ranchmen. It was a country somewhat like New Mexico, though the population was smaller and the pasture thinner. Now a stream of immigrants from the rest of South Africa, from Europe, from Australia, from North America, began to rush in, so that within a few years the white population more than trebled.

The first result of this great and sudden change was to enrich those few of the Boer farmers who had owned and who now promptly sold the land where the gold beds were worked, and also to benefit a somewhat larger number by creating a market for agricultural produce. The revenue of the State, which had been trifling, began to rise rapidly. This was so far good. But the

Government soon bethought themselves that the new comers (most of whom were British), when they had become citizens and began to cast their votes, would constitute a large section, and before long a majority, of the voters. They would then be able, by electing persons like themselves to the Assembly and to the executive offices of the State, to revolutionize it completely, swamping the old citizens, getting rid of the old-fashioned Boer ways—in fact, making the country an English instead of a Dutch country. From this prospect they recoiled in horror. It was not in order to be overrun at last by a crowd of English, Australian and American miners, employed by capitalists, mostly of Jewish extraction, that they or their fathers had trekked out of Cape Colony, fought and vanquished the hosts of heathen Kafirs, founded their own Republic, thrown off by their valor the yoke which England had for four years laid upon them. To keep out the immigrants and forbid the working of the mines might be difficult, and this course would, moreover, sacrifice the growing revenue which was raised from the mines. They, therefore, resolved to keep the immigrants, but to exclude them, at least for a good while to come, from exerting political power. This was done by lengthening the period of residence and other formalities prescribed for the acquisition of burgher rights and therewith of the electoral franchise. The method has been much denounced, and it has turned out badly, as the sequel has showed. But it was an obvious form of self-preservation. Those who have made a country, and are ruling a country; those who like the country as it is and object to new-fangled ways, cannot be expected to open their arms to new-comers and invest them with the fulness of their own political privileges. The immigrants complained bitterly that everywhere else in South Africa a settler from Europe could get a vote after two or three years' residence; why, then, not in the Transvaal also? The answer was that the Transvaal was the only part of South Africa where the new settlers were becoming more numerous than the old citizens; where, therefore, admission after three years' residence might mean a complete transfer of political control to a wholly new set of people, differing in thoughts, habits, tastes and language from the folk that had theretofore possessed the land. What are the "natural rights" of these two sets of persons, and by what kind of compromise the justice of this very exceptional case ought to be met, is a question which I leave to the reader.

But unluckily for both the old Boers and the immigrant settlers (or *Uitlanders,* as they are commonly called), the matter was complicated by another fact. The Boers were an ignorant and rude people. They were skilful hunters, strenuous fighters, pious Calvinists, and endowed with many excellent qualities. But they were quite without the sort of knowledge and skill that are needed to administer a modern State, and especially one which, having become the field of a great industry, was swiftly growing in wealth and population. Accordingly, the administration which they provided for the new settlers was very inefficient and very costly. Moreover, the virtues which had adorned their rustic simplicity yielded, in too many instances, to the temptations presented by the control of a large revenue and by the power of granting valuable concessions. Thus the Administration became not only inefficient, but to some extent corrupt. As measles, which in civilized countries is only a passing childish ailment, has sometimes proved, when introduced among savage peoples, a deadly plague, so the bacillus of pecuniary corruption, which the great States of Western Europe have pretty well extirpated from their civil services and legislatures, sometimes appears as a virulent malady in communities where there had previously been too little wealth for the formation of a *nidus* fit for its growth. Thus it came to pass that, while the material prosperity of the Transvaal increased, its Government, so far from improving, became worse than before. It did not supply what a progressive industrial community needs; and it was certainly not altogether pure, though how far the impurity went is a matter of so much controversy that I will not venture to express a positive opinion.

Under such conditions, it was not strange that the new settlers should have soon become discontented. They complained that they were given neither good administration, nor any constitutional means of securing it. Being far richer than the old burghers, they paid nearly all the taxation, but had no voice in the disposal of the revenue. If the Administration had been reformed, their exclusion from the franchise would have sunk to a mere theoretic grievance. If the franchise had been granted to them, it would have been their own fault had the Administration remained unreformed. But, as things were, they felt aggrieved, and found no means of removing their grievances. Constitutional agitation was tried, but as they had few sympathizers in the

Legislature, which consisted chiefly of old-fashioned Boers from the country, nothing came of it. Then a few of the leaders formed, in the end of 1894, or beginning of 1895, a secret plan for rising in arms against the Government. The objection to this plan was that while the Boers were all expert riflemen, few of the Uitlanders had arms, and still fewer were trained to use them. However, they persevered. Some of the capitalists came into the plan, for though capitalists do not as a rule favor revolutions, this particular revolution would have benefited the mine owners, by enabling them to work the gold reefs more cheaply and develop them more rapidly. Accordingly, they helped with money, and large stores of arms were secretly conveyed into Johannesburg, the city which had suddenly sprung into greatness in the center of the mining district. Then, too, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, at that time Prime Minister of Cape Colony, and managing director of the British South Africa Company, came into the plan, and brought into it Dr. Jameson, administrator of the territories of that company, and able to direct the movements of the body of mounted police which the company maintained.

In a book called "Impressions of South Africa," which was published two years ago, I have, besides sketching the history of the Boers, described pretty fully the circumstances which led to the formation of this plan, the motives which induced different sections of the inhabitants to favor it, and the causes which led to its failure. The story cannot be told here, for it is very much involved, and hardly admits of being told briefly; nor is the whole of it yet known to the public, although two Parliamentary Committees, one of the Cape Assembly, one of the British House of Commons, have investigated the matter at great length. The point best worth noting is this, that the conspiracy might possibly have succeeded if it had been allowed to remain a pure Uitlander conspiracy at Johannesburg. But there was superadded to it an arrangement that Dr. Jameson, with a force of the company's armed and mounted police, should come in to help the insurrection which was to break out at Johannesburg. The conspirators, finding some difficulties crop up, postponed the day of the rising. But Dr. Jameson, becoming impatient of delay, started on the day originally fixed (in the end of December, 1895), before they were ready to meet or receive him. He was stopped by a rapidly summoned Boer force, and obliged, with all his men, to capitulate.

The Johannesburg leaders, who had raised their followers so far as they could at short notice, on hearing of Dr. Jameson's departure, were then also obliged to lay down their arms, and the whole movement collapsed.

Its consequences, however, remained, and most pernicious have they been. All the subsequent troubles of South Africa, including the outbreak of the present war, are due to this Johannesburg rising, or rather to the still more unhappy expedition of the company's police, which is now commonly called the Jameson Raid. The dislike which the bulk of the Transvaal Boers felt for the British Government, already sufficiently pronounced, was intensified. The reforming party among the Boers, not very large, but including men of talent and influence, was discouraged, and has been able to effect little or nothing ever since. The power of the President, Mr. Paul Krüger, whose strength of character, long official experience, and intimate knowledge of the character of his countrymen, have given him an unequalled influence over them, has been further increased; and it has unfortunately been used to arrest all changes. Little or nothing had been done down to June last, either to improve the Administration or to conciliate the Uitlander population by making it easier for them to acquire citizenship, and therewith a permanent interest in the country and a share of political power. The policy of repression had been pursued, not only by restricting the right of public meeting and of writing in the press, but also by the construction of a fort to dominate Johannesburg and by the continued importation of large quantities of munitions of war. These latter precautions were perfectly natural. Any Government which had escaped destruction so narrowly as did that of President Krüger in December, 1895, would have done the like. The mistake was, that measures of reform were not made to go hand in hand with measures of defense. If the Uitlanders were not to be admitted to citizenship, they ought at least to have been given a better administration. By this time they vastly outnumbered the Boers. Nobody knows the exact figures, but it is conjectured that the total number of Transvaal burghers and their families does not exceed eighty thousand, while that of the recent immigrants may reach one hundred and sixty thousand. Most of the former are scattered thinly over the country; nearly all of the latter are gathered in the mining district round Johannesburg, which is practically an

English, or rather Anglo-Jewish, city, with a sprinkling of Australians, Americans, Germans and Frenchmen. (Among the Americans there have been some eminent mining engineers, who have brought their Californian experience and skill to bear upon the working of the auriferous strata.)

The effect of the Jameson expedition was no less mischievous in other parts of South Africa than in the Transvaal. It roused Dutch feeling, which as a political force was almost dying out in the British Colonies, into more than its old vehemence. The Orange Free State, which had up till December, 1895, condemned the exclusive policy pursued by President Krüger's Government, now rallied to its sister Republic, not only from a sense of kinship, but because it believed its own highly prized independence to be in danger. It concluded a treaty with the Transvaal by which each of the two Republics bound itself to defend the other if unjustly attacked. In Cape Colony the two political parties, which had latterly been divided by lines of economic interest rather than by racial feeling—for the one was the party of the agriculturists and stock-farmers, the other of the commercial townsfolk—became identified with the two races, and passion ran high between them. The Dutch accused the English of desiring to acquire the gold fields and blot out the two Republics. The English accused the Dutch of desiring to make all South Africa Dutch, and shake off the British connection; nor were they appeased by the fact that a Dutch majority in the Legislative Assembly, led by a Prime Minister who, though not himself of Dutch stock, had the support of the Dutch party, had in 1898 unanimously voted an annual sum of £30,000, sterling ($150,000), as the voluntary contribution of the Colony to the naval defense of the British Empire.

To an Englishman who examines the facts with calmness, six thousand miles away from the heated atmosphere of South Africa, both accusations appear equally groundless. There were, no doubt, some among the English who did desire to seize the richest gold field in the world, and were working hard to bring on war with that aim. There were other Englishmen, far more numerous, who longed to humble what they thought the arrogance of the Dutch, and, as they expressed it, "to wipe out Majuba Hill," for the English in South Africa, strange as it may seem, have never forgotten or forgiven that petty reverse. But the

great mass of Colonial English were wholly unaffected by the former, and only slightly affected by the latter motive. What they did wish was to bring down the pride of the Dutch, to vindicate the supremacy of England in South Africa, which they thought endangered, as well as to make the Uitlanders predominant in the Transvaal. With the Free State they had no quarrel. The Dutch, on the other hand, were proud of the existence of their two Republics, hoped to see them independent and prosperous, and desired to maintain among themselves what they call their Afrikander sentiment. But it was only a few of the more violent and fanciful spirits who dreamt of ousting England and turning all South Africa into one Dutch commonwealth. There is not, so far as one can ascertain from any evidence yet produced, the slightest foundation for the allegation, so assiduously propagated in England, that there was any general conspiracy of the Colonial Dutch, or that there existed the smallest risk of any unprovoked attack by them, or by the Free State, or by the Transvaal itself, upon the power of England.

This was the state of facts in South Africa, these the feelings of the various sections of its population, when the controversy which has led to the present war became acute. I must not attempt to describe the negotiations which went on during the summer and autumn of this year, or to apportion the blame for their failure between the British Government and that of the Transvaal. To do so would lead me into a criticism of the conduct of the Colonial Office and the Cabinet of Lord Salisbury; and I do not think it desirable that one who is actively engaged in political life in his own country should address to the public of another country strictures on his political opponents, even when he believes that party feeling has nothing to do with those strictures. I will therefore wind up this sketch by a few words on the legal position of the two parties to the war, a matter which is in the main outside the sphere of party controversy.

Under the Convention of 1884, which fixed the relations of Britain and the South African Republic, the latter had the most complete control of its internal affairs, and Britain possessed no more general right of interfering with those affairs than with the affairs of Belgium or Portugal. The suzerainty which has been claimed for her, if it existed (for its existence under the Convention of 1884 is disputed), related solely to the power of making

treaties, and did not touch any domestic matter. When, therefore, the British Government was appealed to by the Uitlander British subjects who lived in the Transvaal to secure a redress of their grievances, her title to address the Boer Government and demand redress depended primarily upon the terms of the Convention of 1884, any violation of which she was entitled to complain of; and, secondly, upon the general right which every State possesses to interpose on behalf of its subjects when they are being ill-treated in any foreign country. Under these circumstances it might have been expected that the questions which would have arisen before Britain went to war for the sake of her subjects living in the Transvaal, would be these two:

First: Were the grievances of her subjects so serious, was the behavior of the Transvaal Government when asked for redress so defiant or so evasive, as to contribute a proper *casus belli?*

Secondly: Assuming that the grievances (which were real, but in my opinion not so serious as has been frequently alleged) and the behavior of the Transvaal did amount to a *casus belli,* was it wise for Britain, considering the state of feeling in South Africa, and the mischief to be expected from causing permanent disaffection among the Dutch population; and considering also the high probability that the existing system of government in the Transvaal would soon, through the action of natural causes, break down and disappear—was it wise for her to declare and prosecute war at this particular moment?

Strange to say, neither of these two questions ever in fact arose. That which caused the war was the discussion of another matter altogether, which was admittedly not a grievance for the redress of which Britain had any right to interfere, and which, therefore, could not possibly amount to a *casus belli.* This matter was the length of time which should elapse before the new immigrants into the Transvaal could be admitted to citizenship, a matter which was entirely within the discretion of the Transvaal Legislature. The Boers made concessions, but the British Government held these concessions insufficient. In the course of this discussion the British Ministry used language which led the Transvaal people to believe that they were determined to force the Boer Government to comply with their demands; and they followed up their despatches by sending troops from England to South

Africa. They justified this action by pointing out (and the event has shown this to have been the fact), that the British garrison in South Africa was insufficient to defend the Colonies. But the Boers very naturally felt that if they remained quiet till the British forces had been raised to a strength they could not hope to resist, they would lose the only military advantage they possessed. Accordingly, when they knew that the Reserves were being called out in England, and that an army corps was to be sent to South Africa, they declared war, having been for some time previously convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the British Government had resolved to coerce them. They were in a sore strait, and they took the course which must have been expected from them, and indeed the only course which brave men, who were not going to make any further concessions, could have taken. And thus the question whether the grievances amounted to a *casus belli* never came up at all. The only *casus belli* has been the conduct of the two contending parties during a negotiation, the professed subject of which was in no sense a *casus belli*. Some have explained this by saying that a conflict was in fact inevitable, and that the conduct of the two parties is really, therefore, a minor affair. Others hold that a conflict might have been and ought to have been avoided, and that a more skilful and tactful diplomacy would either have averted it, or have at any rate so managed things that, when it came, it came after showing that a just cause for war, according to the usage of civilized States, did in fact exist. No one, however, denies that the war in which England will, of course, prevail, is a terrible calamity for South Africa, and will permanently embitter the relations of Dutch and English there. To some of us it appears a calamity for England also, since it is likely to alienate, perhaps for generations to come, the bulk of the white population in one of her most important self-governing colonies. It may, indeed, possibly mean for her the ultimate loss of South Africa.

JAMES BRYCE.

THE TRANSVAAL WAR AND EUROPEAN OPINION.

BY KARL BLIND.

I.

ALL Europe is united in condemning the attack made by the English Government upon the independence of the South African Republic, in violation of the clearest treaty rights solemnly guaranteed in London in 1884. In Germany, men of most diverse parties—from the moderate Constitutionalist, or even Conservative, to the advanced Liberal and Democrat—those that favor a Colonial policy as well as those who oppose or bitterly attack it—are of one mind in this matter. They all say: The war which is now raging over the fair fields of South Africa cries aloud against the outrageous conduct of those in power in England.

The most indignant among them bring to recollection the telegram which Emperor William sent to President Krüger after the defeat of Dr. Jameson's Raid. Here I may state at once a little-known fact. That telegram, generally supposed to have come from the Kaiser's personal initiative, was practically an answer to a message addressed to him by four hundred Germans at Pretoria who had offered themselves to President Krüger as a volunteer corps for the defense of the Republic. They had asked the Kaiser, on the arrival of the first news about the Raid, whether he would not say a word in favor of the threatened Boer Commonwealth.

It will be remembered that Krüger and the other members of the Transvaal Deputation, after having concluded the new Treaty in London, in 1883-4, went to Berlin for a visit. They were received in the most hospitable manner by the old Emperor William I. and his Chancellor; Prince Bismarck leading Mr. Krüger, with linked arms, to dinner, and talking to him in Low German, a

dialect closely akin to Dutch. From that time the relations between the restored South African Republic and the Berlin Government were especially friendly. This emboldened the Germans at Pretoria to send their telegram to William II., at a moment when the existence of the Boer Commonwealth hung in the balance. And it was in reply to their telegraphic question that the young Emperor expressed to President Krüger his congratulation for the escape from a grave danger.

Unfortunately, this single fact was suppressed. Had it been known, the wild, though utterly unjust, outcry which arose in England would probably have been less fierce. Three or four weeks afterward, when the mail from South Africa came in, I learned the real connection of what had occurred; but in the meantime the worst mischief had been done. First impressions are apt to last; they are as difficult to eradicate as the proverbial falsehood when it is once fairly, or unfairly, started.

What creates dissatisfaction now in Germany is that, during the late diplomatic controversies between England and the South African Republic, the official or semi-official press of Berlin should have assumed an attitude which was quite uncalled for. It turned round to an extent which offended the conscience of the nation. Certainly, everybody understood that if war were to break out it was not for Germany to take part in it. At the same time, the mass of the Germans—being "honest men," as Shakespeare says of them in one of his plays—expected that even the Government organs would not virtually play into the hands of those in England who were bent upon undoing the guaranteed independence of the Transvaal Republic. In all probability the official or semi-official press at Berlin was misled into its utterances by a belief that a compromise between England and the Boer Commonwealth would be effected, and that such a compromise would be promoted by taking sides, in a certain degree, with the demands put forth from London.

I may claim to have never shared that view. In a number of articles signed by me I over and over again expressed the conviction that war was the object of the prime movers in England, and that nothing remained for the threatened South African Republic—ay, and for the Orange Free State, too, whose fate would also be sealed if the former were subjected—than to defend its rights in alliance with the sister Republic against tremendous odds.

II.

In 1896 I was the first, I may truly say, to put the facts of the abolition of the suzerainty—which England had possessed in virtue of the Pretoria Treaty of 1881—clearly before the public in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Having followed the negotiations in 1883-84, when I was in frequent contact with the Transvaal Deputation (President Krüger, General Smit, of Majuba Hill fame, and the Rev. I. S. Du Toit, the Minister of Public Instruction), I was able to give even personal testimony on that point. I can further say that when, in 1898, the Government of Pretoria met the astounding claims of suzerainty—which Mr. Chamberlain suddenly made after a lapse of thirteen years, during which Conservative and Liberal representatives of the Cabinet had openly and repeatedly confessed that no reservation of the Queen's suzerainty was expressed in the new Treaty of 1884—the arguments used by Dr. Leyds, in the name of President Krüger, were literally, and well-nigh in exactly the same order, given as had been done by me in the pages of this REVIEW.

The same may be said of the arguments used by Sir William Harcourt, Sir Edward Clarke (both eminent legists, the latter formerly a Solicitor-General in Lord Salisbury's previous Government), and other Liberal and Conservative leaders. This concurrence of views, and this remarkable coincidence, even in the marshalling of arguments and facts, may seem extraordinary. It is, however, easily explainable from the strength of the case.

Any one conversant with the text of the two Treaties and the negotiations which preceded them—as recorded in the Blue-Books—must literally come to the same conclusion. The pity is that so few politicians will take the trouble of going to the sources. I have discussed this subject for many years with a few members of Parliament, public writers and other generally well-informed men. As a rule I found among them the crassest ignorance on that particular matter. Most of them did not even know then that there were two distinct treaties, one of which had been abolished!

It was Lord Derby himself who, with his own hand, struck out everything referring to suzerainty from the old Treaty. The proof of it is contained in the Blue-Book. The suzerainty was cancelled and crossed out by him, with black lines, in the Preamble, as well as in the three paragraphs in which it is mentioned.

He then offered what he himself called "a New Treaty in substitution for the Convention of Pretoria."

A new Preamble was also given to that New Treaty. The Transvaal Deputation had come for the express object of having the suzerainty abolished and a new Treaty put in the place of the old one. They had also demanded that their country—which was until then called the "Transvaal State"—should be recognized once more as an "independent South African Republic," as it had been before the violent annexation which Mr. Disraeli had craftily effected while the burghers of the Republic were harassed by risings of the natives.

When the Transvaal Deputation returned to Pretoria, the Volks-Raad ratified the Treaty, because these objects of its Delegates had been attained. Dr. Leyds, and even Sir William Harcourt and Sir Edward Clarke, have overlooked one telling fact. It is this: While the Queen's suzerainty undoubtedly existed between 1881 and 1884, a so-called "Resident" was appointed at Pretoria to represent the British Crown in its suzerain capacity. Now, in 1884 the office of Resident was abolished and a Consul appointed in his stead. A Resident marks the country in which he acts as a vassal one. In the Parliamentary Statutes 52 and 63 Vict. (1889), c. 63, the protected Princes of India are described as "under the suzerainty of Her Majesty;" and at their Courts there is consequently a British Resident.

But in the Transvaal State, when it was restored to its old rank as the South African Republic, the Resident was replaced by a Consul, who henceforth was no longer a representative of a suzerain Protector, or Protectress, but who was, on the contrary, himself to "receive *the protection of the Republic.*" That restored independent Commonwealth was consequently acknowledged, by this fact too, as a foreign Power, no longer under a suzerain. Hence Mr. Chamberlain himself, during the Jameson Raid—that is, evidently, when its defeat was already telegraphically known in London—declared the South African Republic, in a despatch, to be "a *foreign State,* a *foreign Power,* with which Her Majesty is at peace and in Treaty relations."

Can anything be clearer, then, than the fact of the suzerainty having been abolished? Is it not arrant hypocrisy to assert the contrary? Yet, during all the recent transactions it was con-

tinually held as a threat over the Transvaal Republic. "Conventions," in the plural, was always the word.

Not even when President Krüger proposed that the controversy about Suzerainty should be "silently dropped" on both sides, so that an agreement about the Suffrage Question might be come to, would the Colonial Secretary avoid the mention of the Conventions in the plural, as if both were still lawfully in operation! Each time, moreover, the British terms were raised.

III.

The Treaty of 1884 gives England no right whatever to interfere in the internal affairs of the South African Republic. There is not a word in it about the right of foreigners to claim equality of suffrage rights with the native Dutch inhabitants. To obtain such rights foreigners have to conform to the existing laws. These laws for obtaining the vote were originally even more liberal than those existing in England. They were only made more restrictive —that is to say, a longer term of residence was fixed before a man could become a full burgher—when seditious aspirations for the overthrow of the Republic became ripe at Johannesburg. Among the motley crowd of foreigners there, a considerable number, even according to the testimony of the more fair-minded correspondents who were sent out by papers of the war party in England, is composed of utterly worthless characters. "I have never seen," one of them wrote, "within the course of a quarter of an hour, a worse collection of rascaldom of various kinds."

When President Krüger, some years ago, visited Johannesburg, the British flag was hoisted by such immigrants as a symbol of their insurrectionary desires. When Mr. Rhodes organized the Raid, Johannesburg was in arms, though courage failed the would-be rebels at the decisive moment.

Was it reasonable, then, to expect that, in dealing with a Suffrage Question, all these occurrences should simply remain unheeded by the President, the Parliament and the burghers of the Transvaal? Could they forget the destruction of their Commonwealth between 1877 and 1881? Were they simply to allow their Republic to be voted down, after it had been found that it could not be struck down by force of arms?

For all that, in order not to have to undergo a struggle on

battle-fields with a World-Empire of nearly 400,000,000, Krüger and the Volks-Raad yielded more and more in the course of the negotiations. It was of no avail. They found themselves pressed each time by increased demands, while the English troops, of whom formerly there were but 3,000 at the Cape, were gradually increased to 25,000, and pushed forward to the frontiers of the two Republics—with even more troops announced to come afterward. Thus both Republics saw themselves menaced in their very existence, and they took the decisive, inevitable step.

In London, papers hostile to them had, in the meanwhile, before the outbreak of war, boldly declared that not suzerainty, but full Sovereignty was aimed at over the Transvaal, and that, though the Orange Free State was, by public law, as independent as Russia, British paramountcy over it, too, must be set up as a self-understood thing. In short, all respect for treaty rights and the independence of neighboring States was thrown to the winds. In Mr. Chamberlain's recent words, there must be, in South Africa, English "supremacy, preponderance, paramountcy—call it what you will, call it Abracadabra, if you choose." Out of so convenient a formula every act of violence may be evolved. Can it be wondered at that foreign nations look with mistrustful amazement upon such a doctrine? Would any country feel itself safe in the future, would any Government attach the slightest credence to the pledged word of, and the treaty stipulations accepted by, England, if Abracadabra is henceforth to be the parole?

Perhaps I may be allowed to mention here that, whatever I have done, by many writings, in furtherance of the Unionist cause of England, in opposition to Mr. Gladstone's fatal Home Rule bill, was once acknowledged by Mr. Chamberlain in terms of praise at a great public meeting. This cannot absolve me from the duty of saying what in Transvaal affairs I hold to be right. Again, I might say that when, in 1881, during the armed struggle of the burghers, there was a dark plan broached in London which would have increased the horrible Irish trouble of that time, I firmly set my face against that scheme, and it was nipped in the bud. It is as a friend of England, therefore, that I express my views.

And here I feel compelled to declare that violence is capped by unbearable cant when the hard-driven Republics, around whom the steel net was daily drawn tighter, are charged with having

brought on this hideous war. You drive a man, forsooth, into a corner. You hold your fist before his face. You threaten him by saying that the sand of the hour glass is running out, and that, unless he makes haste to kneel down, you will use other measures against him. You hold your sword and gun ready to attack him; and then when he strikes a blow, *he* is, of course, the guilty party!

I say all this with a degree of sadness. I have known a nobler England, on some great historical occasions, since I first stepped on her soil as an exile after the great Continental Revolutions of 1848-49. On not a few occasions I have come forth to defend her cause—certainly not to my personal advantage, but the contrary. But there have not been lacking cases when the policy of England has been such that I could not shirk the duty of opposing it.

IV.

It is the same now. Who can doubt that this is a war as unrighteous as it is unnecessary, and pregnant with grave perils for England's own future? Has not General Butler, a man of the fullest personal experience in South African affairs, uttered a serious warning against lighting up such a conflagration? He had to leave his post for giving that wise and earnest counsel. Has not Mr. Selous, the Nimrod of Africa, who was one of the first to open up unknown territories there, and who is, according to Lord Crewe's testimony, intimately acquainted with all the leading political personages of the Dark Continent, uttered similar warnings? Mr. Selous, himself an Imperialist, yields to none in his desire for England's greatness.

Yet, though one of the very party which wants to have the vast British Empire still further enlarged, Mr. Selous also has given warning which unfortunately was not listened to. In a long letter to the *Times,* in which he refuted the many calumnies spread about in regard to the character of the Boer population—a letter written before the outbreak of the war, but the publication of which he was ordered to withhold under an assurance given to him from influential quarters that the war would be avoided at the eleventh hour—he said:

"At present I believe that the Dutch population of the Cape Colony are as a body thoroughly loyal to the British Crown; but it cannot be

denied that Dutch Afrikander sentiment—the idea of becoming an independent nation—which was first aroused in South Africa by the unjust annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, and became stronger in 1880-81, gathered an extraordinary impetus at the time of the Jameson Raid. A war forced upon the Transvaal now by a demand for concessions which, however moderate they may appear in this country, are yet thought by the leaders of the South African Dutch in the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State to be unreasonable, will, as soon as the blood of their kinsmen is shed beyond the Vaal, make one people of them—a people that will be from henceforth bitterly, though possibly for a long time to come passively, hostile to British domination. Such a contingency should surely be avoided if possible, and surely the matter in dispute between Mr. Krüger and the Uitlanders might be settled by a Court of Arbitration formed from amongst the highest jurists of all the different States of South Africa. But, of course, if all arbitration or discussion of the points in dispute should be arbitrarily refused by the Colonial Secretary, it is difficult to see how war can be avoided; for the Transvaal Boers are an obstinate people, and will probably rather fight than climb down very low. In that case we shall have entered upon a course which, though it may give us the gold fields of the Transvaal for the present and the immediate future, *will infallibly lose us the whole of South Africa as a British possession within the lifetime of many men who are now living.* Through arrogance and ignorance Great Britain lost her American Colonies, and if arrogance and ignorance prevail in the present conduct of affairs in South Africa, history will repeat itself in that country."

Arrogance and ignorance have prevailed. The blood guiltiness of the war now raging lies, according to Mr. Selous's showing, at the door of the English Government. Arbitration would have prevented it. And arbitration between foreign Powers—of which Mr. Chamberlain acknowledged, in 1895-96, the South African Republic to be one—is perfectly feasible. But then he suddenly altered his standpoint. Contrary to his own clear assertion, he all at once declared, in open disregard of the Treaty of 1884, that England was the suzerain, the South African Republic the vassal.

When the lives of the captured Raiders were at stake, and a sentence of death had legally to be pronounced against them at Pretoria, it was found convenient in London to treat President Krüger with great courtesy. The Republic, which had escaped from a great danger, showed itself generous toward the prisoners. None of them was executed. Their sentences were commuted to fines. Their leader was handed over to England. President Krüger was praised by the Colonial Secretary for his magnanimity.

I may mention here a personal incident showing what most people in England expected at the time. The son of a well-known English sculptor had been among Dr. Jameson's men, and was

made prisoner at Krügersdorp. His mother, whom I had met in society, came in great distress to my house, expressing a fear that her son would be shot forthwith; she entreated me to intercede with President Krüger, with whom she had heard I was acquainted. I told her I was perfectly sure that no such fate would befall her son, and that the most likely thing—nay, I should say the certainty—was that he, being only one of the men and not an officer in the Raid, would soon be released. Immediately afterward the news came that he was set free.

In those days it was found useful in England to express hopes of "magnanimous" treatment being given to the prisoners; for everybody knew what would have been done by English justice to piratical raiders that had fallen into its hands. The capital punishment dealt out to raiders and insurgents in the Ionian Islands and in Canada is too well remembered to need special mention. Fearing the worst for Jameson and his companions, the English authorities were careful not to offend the South African Republic, but rather tried to humor it, so as to induce it to perform an act of generosity. Years afterward, however, it was to be pushed into vassalage, and bullied into armed resistance, so that its gold fields might be seized after a conquest. It was lightly assumed that this would be an easy war. After recent events, the *Times* has avowed that the advisers of Government were rather mistaken in their view.

V.

When the South African Republic at last mobilized its militia forces of yeomen in defense of its independence, London papers declared that this was not war, but simply a revolt—a revolt of the vassal. "The Boer Revolt" was used, day by day, as a title for the war news. The English Government itself refrained from mentioning the word "war." The supporters of Government asserted that the sending out of 25,000, of 50,000, perhaps of 70,000, men, or, if need be, even more, was simply "a *police* measure for the restoration of *order*" in the revolted territory of the Suzerain.

Imagine the consequences this would have had for the English soldiers now in Boer captivity, if the Governments at Pretoria and Bloemfontein had taken reprisals for such treatment as mere

"rebels"! Happily, those Governments were more humane, and acted as belligerent foreign Powers toward their prisoners.

Compare, again, the refusal of the English Government to acknowledged these Republics as belligerent Powers with what, in May, 1896, Mr. Chamberlain had said in the House of Commons:

"In some quarters the idea is put forward that the Government ought to have issued an ultimatum to President Krüger, an ultimatum which would have certainly been rejected, and which must have led to war. Sir, I do not propose to discuss such a contingency as that. A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could possibly be waged. It would be in the nature of a civil war; it would be a long war, a bitter war, and a costly war. It would leave behind it the embers of a strife which I believe generations would hardly be long enough to extinguish. To go to war with President Krüger in order to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State, in which Secretaries of State, standing in this place, have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise."

Some months before that speech, which confirms everything Mr. Selous has said, Mr. Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons:

"I do not say that under the terms of the Convention we are entitled to force reforms on President Krüger, but we are entitled to give him friendly counsel. . . . If this friendly counsel was not well received, there was not the slightest intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to press it. . . . I am perfectly willing to withdraw it, and to seek a different solution if it should not prove acceptable to the President. The rights of our action under the Convention are limited to the offering of friendly counsel, in the rejection of which, if it is not accepted, we must be quite willing to acquiesce."

Mark that Mr. Chamberlain here spoke in February, 1896, of the Convention—not of "Conventions." That latter idea came as an afterthought to him in 1897. In 1896, he still again said, when speaking of the Franchise Question:

"The answer that has hitherto been given, not on the part of the Government of the Transvaal, but on the part of some of its friends, was that to grant this request would be to commit suicide, inasmuch as, the moment the majority got the franchise, the first use they would make of it would be to turn out the existing Government of the Transvaal and substitute a Government of their own liking. ['Hear, hear,' and laughter.] I confess I thought there was some reason in that objection. It is rather difficult to attempt to persuade any one so capable as President Krüger that it would be desirable that he should proceed to his own extinction, and accordingly I brought before him an alternative suggestion which, at all events, would relieve him from that

difficulty. . . . The question is, whether President Krüger will consider that that proposal will endanger the security of the Transvaal Government. If he does, he will be perfectly justified in rejecting it."

In subsequent speeches, Mr. Chamberlain once more laid stress on the fact of the Dutch population being the large majority in South Africa, and on the great danger of the policy of going to war in opposition to the Dutch sentiment in the Cape Colony and in the Orange Free State. Even as late as August, 1896, answering Sir Ashmead Bartlett, Mr. Chamberlain said:

"What is the policy which the honorable gentleman would put forward if he were standing here in my place? We know what it would be. He would send, in the first place, an ultimatum to President Krüger that unless the reforms which he was specifying were granted by a particular date the British Government would interfere by force. Then, I suppose, he would come here and ask this House for a vote of £10,000,000 or £20,000,000—it does not matter particularly which [laughter]—and would send an army of 10,000 men, at the very least, to force President Krüger to grant reforms in regard to which not only this Government, but successive Secretaries of State, have pledged themselves repeatedly that they would have nothing to do with its internal affairs. That is the policy of the honorable gentleman. That is not my policy."

Is it not? Instead of 10,000 men, 25,000 are now out there, with double that number, or more, to follow. A vote for £10,000,000 has been taken; and another will, in all likelihood, have to be asked for. All the declarations formerly made have thus been falsified.

VI.

A word has now to be said about that alleged Boer "oligarchy" of which men contemptuously speak, who submissively salaam before the most antiquated forms and institutions of a Monarchy which still calls itself "by right divine," though in historical truth it is the issue of a successful Whig aristocratic Revolution.

The Boer oligarchy of the South African Republic is composed of simple farmers, every man of whom, from the age of sixteen up to sixty—nay, even mere boys of thirteen and men past seventy—stand together now on blood-soaked battle-fields for the defense of their country. That is their "corrupt" way of doing things. They have to meet the hired soldiers of an Empire in which, even after many hard popular struggles, a "hereditary oligarchy"—as Sir Wilfrid Lawson called it a few days ago—

still wields an extraordinary political and social power, while the Crown, going on the old Norman maxim, *"Dieu et mon droit,"* declares war, and makes peace, according to its own fancy.

I remember the time—it was long before Mr. Chamberlain had entered political life—when, out of about nine or ten million adult men in the United Kingdom, not more than one million had the vote. Strictly speaking, there were perhaps only eight hundred thousand to nine hundred thousand; for there were, as there are still, cumulative votes which an individual might possess. Elections not taking place everywhere on the same day, a man might cast his vote here and there, in town and country—as a householder, as a land owner, as a member of a university, and so forth.

What repeated violent struggles has it cost during the last thirty-five years—not to mention the Chartist agitation between the thirties and the beginning of the fifties—in order to obtain successive small instalments of electoral reform! I have vividly before my mind's eye the day when London was on the verge of revolution. I saw my friend, Mr. Edmund Beales, the leader of the Suffrage movement, sitting, before the march of the masses to Hyde Park, in the office of the Reform League, pale from excitement, with hat drawn over his brow, expecting, in much anxiety, the very worst. The Queen's troops were lying in ambush to prevent the entrance of the masses into the Park. Blood, it was feared, would be spilt, and unspeakable scenes of riot would then occur in those quarters of the working classes where there is an admixture of the criminal element. The railings of Hyde Park were on that day thrown down by the onset of the tumultuous crowds; an event at which I was personally present. Fortunately, the Queen, at the last moment, countermanded the order for the action of the troops. So I heard afterward from a friend in the War Office.

Again London had to be the scene of mass demonstrations, years afterward, in order to carry a measure for the partial enfranchisement of the rural population. To this day, nevertheless, there is no manhood suffrage. Some three to four millions are outside the pale of the electorate. I state this as a simple fact, knowing well enough that an indiscriminate right of suffrage among the utterly uninstructed may sometimes be the very means of overthrowing freedom and hindering intellectual and social progress.

But if considerations like these have weight with politicians

in England, is a young African Republic, in its struggle for life, not entitled to look round as well, in franchise matters, for the sake of avoiding danger?

England has a hereditary House of Lords, which may cancel any Act passed by the Representatives of the People. Is that oligarchy, or not? Is it right, broadly speaking, to assume that capacity for legislation goes by heredity? I believe England has escaped from a great public danger through the rejection of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. But I doubt whether the House of Lords, in thus acting, was moved exclusively by patriotic instincts, so many of its members having landed estates in Ireland, and being rather fond of retaining their oligarchical privileges.

Since the Norman conquest, the real tillers of the English soil have been dispossessed of the land. Their number continually decreases. They are mere hands, landless wage-laborers, living in cottages not their own, from which they may be driven out, week by week, if it so pleases the aristocratic land owner or the large farmer he has put over them. Is it for a country with such feudal land-laws, the like of which does not exist in any European country, to speak of the free yeomen of the Boer Commonwealths as an "oligarchy"?

Again, looking at the ever increasing proletariate in the unwholesomely expanding large towns, to which the landless laborers flock for better means of support, would it not be better to deal in England itself with the root of a crying evil, than to fall upon a foreign Republic under the false plea of an oligarchy holding sway there?

VII.

The Dutch people of Cape Colony, according to Mr. Chamberlain's statement, made as late as April, 1896, "are just as loyal to the throne and to the British connection as, let me say, our French-Canadian fellow-subjects in the Dominion of Canada." In a speech made two months before, he said:

> "We are constantly reminded of the fact that our Dutch fellow-citizens are in a majority in South Africa, and I think I may say for myself as for my predecessor that we are prepared to go as far as Dutch sentiment will support us. It is a very serious thing—a matter involving most serious considerations—if we are asked to go to war in opposition to Dutch sentiment."

The loyalty of that population at the Cape was publicly

acknowledged in England when its Legislature made a yearly grant of £30,000 for increasing the English fleet in view of a possible conflict with France. This is an occurrence of quite recent date. Yet, all of a sudden, the waters were said to have been troubled, and the world was mysteriously told about a tremendous conspiracy for establishing a vast Afrikander Republic, involving the overthrow of English dominion at the Cape! For which deep reason the Transvaal was to be fallen upon, because there was the high seat of a great ambition. A sorrier farce it would have been impossible to concoct.

It is the *auri sacra fames,* the damnable hunger after gold, which has brought about this terrible war, in which, at any moment, the savage native races may come up to play their part with barbarous ferocity, to the terror and destruction of women and children left helpless in solitary farms. Is it to be wondered at that the kinsmen of the Transvaal people at the Cape, and in their original home in the Netherlands, are filled with indignation and deep wrath, and that there is an echo in the indignant voice of the whole civilized world?

Every close observer who has visited South Africa, even when going there with a biased mind, has usually come back with the conviction that it was in England's own interest not to act again as the aggressor toward the Transvaal Republic. England obtained forcible possession of the Cape Colony while Holland was overrun by France and lay under her iron heel. The Dutch inhabitants of that Colony, whose forefathers had created the settlement and introduced laws and institutions which hold good to this day, felt for a long time the foreign yoke imposed upon them. They, nevertheless, became, in course of time, perfectly loyal to the connection with England. This loyalty was put to a severe strain when that section of the Dutch inhabitants which first emigrated to Natal and then to the land beyond the river Vaal was relentlessly pursued by English troops.

The strain became still more severe by the lawless overthrow in 1877 of the Transvaal Republic, in the midst of its difficulties with the black natives. When in 1881—after several defeats of English detachments, chiefly at Majuba Hill—peace was concluded and a compromise effected, the Dutch population at the Cape applauded this tardy and even incomplete act of justice. Tardy and incomplete it was, for Mr. Gladstone, shortly before en-

tering office, had characterized the annexation effected by Mr. Disraeli as a deed of downright "insanity," and acknowledged the right of the Boers to the restoration of their full independence in the most uncompromising terms.

Among those who had opposed the conclusion of peace in 1881 after the battle of Majuba Hill was the late Lord Randolph Churchill, a Conservative. Having in later years visited South Africa, he saw his error. This is what he wrote in "Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa:'

"The surrender of the Transvaal, and the peace concluded by Mr. Gladstone with the victors of Majuba Hill, were at the time, and still are, the object of sharp criticism and bitter denunciation from many politicians at home, *quorum pars parva fui*, Better and more precise information, combined with cool reflection, leads me to the conclusion that had the British Government of that day taken advantage of its strong military position and annihilated, as it could easily have done, the Boer forces, it would indeed have regained the Transvaal, but it might have lost the Cape Colony. The Dutch sentiment in the Colony had been so exasperated by what it considered to be the unjust, faithless and arbitrary policy pursued toward the free Dutchmen of the Transvaal by Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Theophilus Shepstone and Sir Owen Lanyon that the final triumph of the British arms, merely by brute force, would have permanently and hopelessly alienated it from Great Britain. Parliamentary government in a country where the Dutch control the Parliament would have become impossible, and without Parliamentary government Cape Colony would be ungovernable. The actual magnanimity of the peace with the Boers concluded by Mr. Gladstone's Ministry after two humiliating military reverses suffered by the arms under their control, became plainly apparent to the just and sensible mind of the Dutch Cape Colonist, atoned for much of past grievance, and demonstrated the total absence in the English mind of any hostility or unfriendliness to the Dutch race. Concord between Dutch and English in the Colony from that moment became possible, and that concord the Government of Mr. Rhodes inaugurated and has since to all appearances firmly riveted."

Lord Randolph Churchill wrote that before the Raid which Mr. Rhodes treacherously organized, after having attained to power at the Cape by the Dutch. It is easy to imagine what the late Tory statesman would have written on that subject after the disgraceful event. The conviction with which Lord Randolph Churchill became imbued, after he had studied matters on the spot, that the Transvaal would have been overcome, but that the Cape Colony might have been lost, is certainly a notable one in a Conservative. One thing only he forgot: Not only had Mr. Gladstone to think of the feelings of the Dutch population in the

Colony, but also of the tremendous Irish difficulty in which England was then involved. It was a difficulty so great that it could scarcely be mastered by a garrison of 40,000 men in the unruly Sister Isle.

Nowhere is greater regret expressed at the existing state of things than among those German Liberal Constitutionalists who until now had steadfastly stood by England, trying to uphold her as an example of representative Government in opposition to their own Government's doings. They now turn away sorrowfully—nay, with expressions of open disgust.

It is with a greater sorrow than I can express that I have written all this. I deeply feel the danger to which this country, in which I have spent the better part of my life, has exposed itself with a light heart, in spite of an ever more darkening prospect of the future. But though so many ties bind me to England—nay, I will say for that very reason—I hold it to be a duty to speak out fearlessly, even as I did against Governments of my own native country when they outraged right and justice and kept Italians and Hungarians under their iron heel. This is the duty which I owe to the better England; and here I fulfil it.

KARL BLIND.

WILL THE POWERS INTERVENE IN THE WAR?

BY FRANCIS CHARMES, FOREIGN EDITOR OF THE "*REVUE DE DEUX MONDES.*"

FROM one end of Continental Europe to the other public sentiment is, we will not say hostile, but certainly opposed to England in regard to the war which she has just inaugurated against the little South African Republic. We believe there is not a single exception to this general statement, or, at least, no national exception, for there are of course individual ones. The conviction is current everywhere that England has been the real aggressor, although the actual rupture of the peace was the act of the Transvaal. The real author of a war is considered to be that nation which by its deliberate procedure has rendered it inevitable. Now, even if the Transvaal has committed, in its policy, or, rather, in its domestic administration, blunders and faults which have served England as a pretext, nobody doubts that she has looked forward to the approach of war with apprehension and sadness and that she has done all that was in her power to avert the scourge. The idea that the Transvaal desired the conflict and coolly provoked it cannot enter the mind of any reasonable man. Not so with England. The superiority of her strength—great indeed, though she may have had an exaggerated estimate of its immediate efficiency in a war of this kind—was an encouragement and a temptation to her. Hence the universal opinion in Europe is that nothing would have been easier for her than to avoid war if she had the will or even the serious desire, and that the war broke out because she did not have the desire and the will to prevent it. The odium of being the aggressor, therefore, falls upon her, and this odium could be dissipated only by a clear and cogent demonstration that great wrongs were on the side of the Transvaal.

This does not mean that no wrong is apparent on the part of the latter, for there even was a time when public sentiment was greatly opposed to the Republic. Probably all that would have been required on the part of England was to foster that sentiment and use it as a lever; but she neglected it and preferred the use of force. From the time of the Jameson raid, the sympathies of all have been with the Transvaal. That act was so disloyal and so brutal that it could not and did not fail to arouse unqualified reprobation. However, it soon appeared clear that all was not right at Johannesburg and that the situation of the Uitlanders there was intolerable in certain respects. If they exploited the country, the Boers for their part exploited them, taxing them by all known means of oppression and refusing them rights which might serve them as means of defense and protection. The complaints of the Uitlanders then appeared legitimate, and if they found an echo all over Europe, that echo was perhaps more distinct in France than anywhere else, and for the simple reason that about fifteen hundred millions of francs of French money are employed in the gold and diamond mines of South Africa. A reform in the inner situation of the Transvaal was therefore necessary, and it began to be demanded more and more imperiously, when the English Government took the matter in hand. Its intervention was at first hailed with favor; the happiest results were expected. But it was soon found that England was placing other interests of a different character alongside and even above the economic interests of the Uitlanders; in a word, that under cover of defending a general cause, she had in view a merely personal one which was entirely political.

The diplomatic publications, which followed in large numbers, confirmed this feeling, and it became evident when the results of the interview at Bloemfontein were made known. It was a surprise to hear that Sir Alfred Milner demanded for foreigners rights which were almost exclusively political, or, rather, electoral. The extreme importance which was attached in these discussions to the question whether the plenary right to vote should be enjoyed by the Uitlanders after five years of residence, or after seven or still more, seemed out of all proportion to the practical interest involved. In fact, the Uitlanders would have been perfectly satisfied with the granting of certain

municipal rights in the Rand that were connected with the needs of their daily life, and they probably cared more for the unhindered continuation of their original nationality than for the acquisition of a new one which they would afterward have laid aside again as soon as possible. They protested, for example, against certain monopolies, which were positively oppressive, such as the dynamite monopoly. These, however, were hardly mentioned at Bloemfontein. Sir Alfred Milner, faithful to the instructions he had received from Mr. Chamberlain, laid down a political basis for the question; that is to say, a basis on which it was sure to clash with another—namely that of the internal sovereignty of the Transvaal, which the treaties had perhaps left in doubt, and which could not be touched, especially at such a moment, without extreme danger. From that day, people began to wonder whether England really meant to bring about a peaceful settlement, and they soon reached a negative conclusion. President Krüger clearly understood the case, and he would have done better if he had accepted the first propositions of the English. He would have placed them in a difficult situation by obliging them to declare themselves satisfied or to show their hands. These propositions were not such as could not be accepted, for he had to accept them later, unfortunately too late. The English had already formulated others. Mr. Chamberlain's adroitness consisted in continually shifting the ground, in constantly inventing new and more exorbitant demands until he tired out Mr. Krüger and induced him to say that he would grant everything provided the independence of the Transvaal were preserved. But Mr. Chamberlain immediately replied that the Transvaal was not an independent State, that it was a rebellious vassal, and that Great Britain could no longer tolerate its attitude of revolt. The words which the British Minister used were wilfully insulting and stinging. If the Transvaal had been able up to this time to entertain the slightest doubt as to her adversary's intentions, that doubt was now dissipated. War had become inevitable.

It was then that a revulsion of European opinion took place in favor of the Transvaal. In France especially—and America will not be surprised at that—there is a love of countries that struggle for their independence, that are ready to stake all in order to acquire or maintain it. And so the sympathies of the

people went out to the brave little Republic. At the same time they were curious to know for what reasons the English Government desired and brought about a rupture, and these reasons were not found to be very edifying. It is certain that money, the thirst for material wealth, has had much to do with the sad outcome. When blood is shed for gold, when cupidity is combined with cruelty, the conscience of mankind is revolted. It is thought in Europe that the affairs of the Chartered Company were dull and on the point of becoming poor; that a crash was already threatening; that Mr. Cecil Rhodes's bold speculations were about to end in a catastrophe in which a large part of the English aristocracy would have been involved. The Chartered Company had to be saved at any cost, and the only chance of saving it was by war. That was perhaps the principal motive that brought about this decision. But there was another. For various reasons there is great discontent in the English colonies of South Africa, which, without impairing their loyalty, showed itself in the last elections by a movement which put the Afrikanders in power. Now, the Afrikanders are the friends and relatives of the Boers in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The same blood flows in their veins and appeals to their imaginations. By reason of its independence, the Transvaal was, as it were, the pivot about which all sorts of discontent collected. So this independence had to be crushed, and England determined to crush it, being convinced that when that task was accomplished the impatience of the Afrikanders would be checked, submission would be general, and all the dangers of the future would be averted.

It will be understood that these considerations, some of which moreover do not appear on the surface, have had a different effect on public opinion in England and in the rest of Europe. We have stated what the latter was; but between it and the conclusion that it will lead to an intervention between England and the Transvaal there is a very long step, especially when we attempt to decide what Government will be driven to intervene; indeed, the step is so long that it will not be taken. When a conflagration breaks out nowadays, the first thought of everybody is to confine and localize it—that is to say, not to interfere; and the principle of non-intervention has never been so much in favor as at this conclusion of our century. It was believed

in America during the war with Spain that there existed in Europe, or at least on the part of some of the Powers, some desire to intervene diplomatically if not by force of arms. It was stated that England had objected, and so prevented any manifestation of ill-will. This idea, which was adroitly exploited by those who might profit by it, was absolutely erroneous. The tendency to-day is to form a ring around the combatants without meddling with their quarrel, until they have had enough and themselves solicit the good offices of one or more Powers. Even in the last war between Greece and Turkey, notwithstanding the general sympathy with Greece, Europe waited patiently until Greece was beaten, and did not intervene until requested to do so. Even then Europe interfered only because she knew that Turkey was quite willing, that after having gained some glory Turkey also desired the end of a war from which no other profit was to be derived. We do not say that that was very chivalrous, but so it was; such are the new ways of countries which have all become more or less democratic and subject to military service. To bring them out of their apathy it requires some important, evident, urgent self-interest, for the Old World is now governed by selfishness far more than by generous sentiment. Now, we do not see that there is any power which is sufficiently interested, near or far, in the Anglo-Transvaal war to impose or even spontaneously to propose intervention. If France, for example, had a mind to pick a quarrel with England, or even to accept quarrels which England seemed to seek, she would have had better opportunities. We need not speak of Austria—the smallest of the great Powers from a maritime point of view, and absolutely insignificant as regards colonies; no Power could be less interested in what is going on in a continent where she does not possess an inch of territory. As for Italy, she calls herself England's friend and perhaps believes it herself, notwithstanding the absolute sterility mingled with some mortification that this friendship has brought her. She can certainly not be suspected of preparing any move that might embarrass England, or that would be regarded by the latter as anything but an entirely friendly act. There remain Russia and Germany.

Evidently Russia cannot be regarded as indifferent like Austria, or as following in the wake of Great Britain like Italy. But what interest has she in Africa? We should be tempted to

say that she has not any if it were not inevitable for so great a Power to have some interests everywhere, either directly or indirectly. It is known, moreover, that certain common religious tendencies have awakened her traditional sympathies with Abyssinia; but they are quite platonic. In reality, Russia's entire efforts are concentrated in Asia, and it is quite true that she there encounters England at several points as an obstacle or a limit. England and Russia may, therefore, consider themselves as eventual enemies in an undetermined future which is, however, probably remote. Both have in these latter times made so many mutual concessions as to suggest that they entertain a sincere desire not to offend each other. If it were not so, we might say of Russia what we said of France, that more favorable opportunities than the present one have not been lacking; as she refrained then, she will certainly refrain now. The only secret desire she may be supposed to harbor is that England may remain occupied and in a certain measure absorbed as long as possible by the Transvaal war; but for that it is only necessary to let her alone. There is no need of any intervention. Indeed, if such intervention were successful, England would at once have her South African army disengaged for other purposes. Who can tell but she might then be tempted to use it elsewhere, either in consequence of her present warlike impulse, or because, when that impulse has been suddenly arrested at one point she might attempt to seek revenge or compensation at another. And it does not seem that Russia would be the gainer.

As for Germany, she is perhaps the country in which the unscrupulous policy of England has been condemned most vehemently. Her newspapers have distinguished themselves by the bitterness which they have mingled with their anger. But we are not now speaking of the opinions of the people—that is unanimous, as we have said—but of the attitude of the Governments. Governments can think and feel like peoples without speaking like them, and above all, without acting according to their feelings. In Germany, since the time of Kant, and even before, a great difference has always been made between pure reason and practical reason, and they are all the more apt to give themselves up to the speculations of the former the less they know how to avail themselves of the latter. For how many centuries did not Germany tend toward unity without making

the energetic effort that would bring it to a consummation. Her thinkers and her poets wrote about it long before her men of action seriously thought of pursuing it, as Bismarck said, with fire and sword; that is to say, by the only means suitable for its accomplishment. We must not then believe that Germany is ready to act when she speaks, and only because she speaks; but judging from her history, it is perfectly permissible to believe that she does not speak in vain, but bides her time. Her true feelings toward England are not feelings of sympathy; one is often tempted to believe that they are quite the contrary, but the time has not yet come to make them the rule of her policy. In this respect William II. is the true representative of his nation. He does not like England, and she can hardly be in doubt on this point; for, whether impelled by the ardor of his temperament or the exuberance of his speech, he has not hesitated on numerous occasions to speak his mind freely. In this matter, Germany and her Emperor obey an instinct which does not deceive them. It is almost inevitable, unless the two countries are always governed by very able and very pacific statesmen, that their conflicting interests will sooner or later provoke a quarrel. The Emperor is well aware of it, and it is on this account that he insists with passionate obstinacy on the development of his navy. It is his fixed idea which continually besets him; even when he himself imagines that it has given him a respite, it suddenly springs up again in his mind and lays hold of him like a nightmare. It is well known at what cost he succeeded last year in inducing the Reichstag to adopt his naval sexennate bill. It was then generally believed, and he no doubt believed it, too, that thereafter he would need to ask for nothing more for six years; but lo, on the 18th of October last, he uttered a new note of alarm and distress at Hamburg, and once more denounced the insufficiency of his navy for sustaining the policy which would enable Germany to work out her manifest destiny. The very next day the Government papers announced that further very important and very heavy appropriations would be asked of the Reichstag to carry out a scheme of naval construction laid out not for a space of only six, but for seventeen years. Will the Reichstag grant these appropriations and once for all shackle not only its own liberty, but that of three subsequent legislatures in order to conform to the imperial plan? We do not know;

at any rate, there will be great resistance, but the Government is not without the means of overcoming it. What are we to conclude from all this, but that a Hohenzollern once more seeks to give Germany, even in spite of herself, the means of realizing her violent but vague aspirations? He for his part shares these aspirations, but in his position, with the sense of the responsibility that he would incur by hasty and inadequate execution, he sees very clearly and feels very keenly that he still lacks the means of action. So he negotiates with England on the subject of the east coast of Africa; he seeks to obtain by diplomacy what he cannot take by force; he goes to London to see his old grandmother. In short, he restrains himself, and we are quite convinced that he will continue to restrain himself and that he will not intervene in the present war.

England will therefore be allowed to fight out her quarrel with the Transvaal to the end, and the disparity of strength of the two combatants is so great that the weaker must infallibly succumb. But whatever may happen hereafter, the Transvaal will not succumb without glory. The boldness with which she declared war because she was resigned to die rather than voluntarily surrender her independence, the coolness she has shown on the battlefield, and the first successes which have demonstrated her courage—all this will be recorded to her credit in history. But she will be conquered. To make this outcome doubtful, the Afrikanders would have to rise and make common cause with the Boers. Then the situation would assume some resemblance to that which arose in America at the close of last century; but even then, if England persisted in the struggle, she would undoubtedly win. Only the war, which even now threatens to be a long one, would then be greatly protracted; it would be marked by greater atrocities; in short, the situation would long remain in suspense and the problem of the difficulties and the remedies which England has encountered in Ireland—a problem referred to by the few orators of the Liberal opposition—might easily be again realized. In that case, which we deem improbable, we should have to affix a note of interrogation to all that we have said above, and England, whose prestige would not be increased by anything that could then happen, might find embarrassments in Africa or elsewhere, although it may be impossible now to foretell how they would arise.

Nothing tangible therefore is likely to happen at present in consequence of the Anglo-Transvaal conflict. Public opinion will condemn the war, but the Governments will not move. None of them, as we have said, has an interest sufficiently great or direct to intervene between London and Pretoria, and the interests which some of them have outside of Africa would not be well served by intervention. Moreover, before provoking the Transvaal, England was careful to take precautions in all directions. At the close of last year, she came to an understanding on all African questions with France, and the arrangement thus made assured to the latter the continuity of her territories and satisfied her for the present. England has also had an understanding with Russia concerning the extreme East, so there is no immediate clash to be feared in that quarter. The same is true respecting Germany. In treating with that Power, England seems to have had two points in view at once—the Samoan Islands and the east coast of Africa. They had a strong desire for the Samoan Islands in Berlin, the more so because the imperial diplomacy had suffered some mortifications, the sting of which was still felt. By consenting to submit the definite situation to be established in the islands to negotiations which promised to be protracted, and which moreover could be drawn out as long as the English Government desired, it felt sure of being able to occupy and restrain the German Government by holding out a hope to which the latter attached a very great value. This hope has now been realized, and Germany has obtained her desire. She could not therefore manifest any hostile sentiments so soon afterward. There is, however, reason to believe that she regards the cession of the principal islands in the Samoan group as a mere sop and that her pretensions do not stop there. She already has considerable possessions in the east and in the west of Africa—we shall speak at present only of the former—and she has been giving her attention to the extension which the English possessions cannot fail to take in the near future in consequence of the Transvaal war. They are, in fact, destined to grow prodigiously. But a few years ago Mr. Cecil Rhodes was credited with the scheme of establishing between Northern and Southern Africa, between Egypt and the Cape an uninterrupted continuity of territory over which England exercised either paramount influence or actual sovereignty.

That scheme seemed chimerical. It is no longer regarded as unattainable at the present day, and it was natural that Germany should take it into consideration. Would she be prevented from expanding further in any direction? Nobody can tell exactly what has been agreed upon between Berlin and London, but everybody knows that something has—doubtless to the detriment of the Portuguese colonies—and it is thought also that Germany too is satisfied for the present. There may be some difficulties on this head later on, between her and England. However that may be, it is known that the latter has taken the precaution and found the means of securing a certain respite for herself during which she need fear no trouble from any quarter. There is also reason to believe that this respite will be sufficiently long for her to complete her undertaking. If she rushed into the conflict headlong in a military sense. she acted more prudently in her diplomacy, which is an additional reason for believing that she will not be disturbed by anybody in the execution of what everybody regards as an atrocity. But the opinion will prevail that an atrocity has been committed against a weak nation whose chief fault was the possession of gold mines. It will be seen once more what England is capable of when her interests are involved in the slightest degree, and how lightly she then esteems the rights of others and humanity. She speaks continually of civilization; but outside of her own boundaries nobody admits that the cause of civilization is interested in the Transvaal war. The high-sounding words with which she disguises her conduct may deceive herself, but abroad they produce a very different effect. It would have been more sincere if she had invoked only her great material interests and the right of the stronger in this affair. After all, there are other European nations in whose history sins of the same kind are found, but then they committed them in a less pharisaical, and therefore less offensive, manner. All of which is a subject for serious reflection for all the nations of the old continent, at least for all those which have a navy and colonies. The fact is that the Transvaal affair is only an episode which has a root from which others may spring. At the present time there may be observed in England the fermentation of a peculiar virus which we call Chauvinism or jingoism with which the policy of that great country is, as it were, infected. This policy has become more

and more brutal in its methods than it used to be. The generation to which Mr. Gladstone belonged is gone, and we may say the same of that to which Lord Salisbury belongs, for Lord Salisbury is no longer the master of his own party. The Liberal party and the Conservative party both obey similar influences which are well represented by Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chamberlain. New men have come into political power who not only possess insatiable ambition, but a certain hard, cold, inexorable quality as regards the means by which they would realize their ambition—a personal arrogance and a disdain of others, a cruel absence of feelings that come from the heart such as used to give evidence of their existence, even when force was used, by a certain considerateness prompted by esteem and pity. Of these not a trace is now left, and of a truth Europe would not be sorry to have Prince Bismarck back, whose soul was not too tender, if she were to fall under the hegemony of statesmen such as shine to-day in the British firmament.

These are the impressions she has received from the events of these last months. The nations feel them keenly and the Governments are not insensible to them. Each makes its own reflections on them and there are lessons that will not be lost in what is now going on. However, a part of these impressions consists in the horror which war inspires more and more as our manners grow more gentle, and hence we must not conclude that they will necessarily lead to military conflicts. Everybody desires peace, but feels at the same time that this peace may be disturbed notwithstanding this general desire by some particular opposing desire. For this reason many differences between certain nations are beginning to be minimized and at the same time new interests involving new alliances are arising. It is still only a psychological condition, but in the inevitable evolution of things, that which enters deeply into men's minds and consciences will some day produce its influence on events.

FRANCIS CHARMES.

PHILOSOPHY AND MORALS OF WAR.

BY MAX NORDAU.

I.

No war has met with such general condemnation as the war in the Transvaal. In cases of the clash of arms between two nations, disinterested spectators usually divide into two groups, taking sides with one or the other of the combatants. This phenomenon does not appear to arise in this case. Outside of the Anglo-Saxon world, not a single voice has been raised for England up to the present time. The sympathies of all are on the side of the Boers. Meanwhile, the different Governments are maintaining a proper attitude, observing strict neutrality and warning their people against a too violent manifestation of feelings. But public opinion, as it finds expression in the press and in meetings, is unrestrained, and overwhelms England with execrations more emphatic even than those used in past centuries against the arch enemy of Christendom—the Turk.

Whence this unanimity of hatred against England among the people of the European continent? The sentiment has a variety of roots. Some of these lie on the surface, others are more deeply concealed. Some originate from noble motives, others from fairly ignoble ones. When David and Goliath step into the ring, brutal realists will always bet on the giant; but knightly enthusiasts will pray for the success of his diminutive opponent. The fact that a tiny people faces death without hesitation to defend its independence against an enemy fabulously superior in number, or to die in the attempt, presents an aspect of moral beauty which no soul, attuned to higher things, will disregard. Even friends and admirers of England—yea, even the English themselves—strongly sense the pathos in the situation

of the Dutch Boers, who feel convinced that they are fighting for their national existence, and agree that it equals the pathos of Leonidas, William Tell, and Kosciusko. With many, partisanship for the Boers rests upon genuine abstract ethical grounds. With others these nobler grounds are pretexts disguising previously existing hatred of the British. Most of the nations envy England its enormous territorial possessions in all parts of the world; its wealth, its high cultural development, its freedom; some are jealous of its competition in the world's market; one or the other of the nations reproaches it with the fact that it desires no neighbor in its colonizings, and they all regard its racial pride as an offense to their egotism.

But one fundamental note resounds through all the different cries which voice the public opinion of Europe against England—resentment because of a lost illusion.

The war in the Transvaal follows the Peace Conference at The Hague without an interval; it therefore reacts upon the mind like a cruel satire upon it. The representatives of the Powers assembled with the solemn peal of bells and sweet music, and separated with a thundering of cannon at Glencoe and Ladysmith. A thousand entranced pens celebrated the peace manifesto of the Czar as the beginning of a new era in the world's history, and these now stand convicted of the fact that the thought of turning over a new leaf is still far from Clio's mind.

The disenchantment is the more humiliating, since the illusion was sincere in the case of but very few open admirers of the initiative of the Czar. There are few general manifestations of our times in which hypocrisy played so large a part as it did in the extravagant hymns of praise that greeted the call to the conference at The Hague. The fundamental principles upon which our civilization rests, the religious doctrines, the moral and judicial standards which we pretend to follow, logically require that war should be condemned and that one should pose as a disciple of peace. No man can serve God and Mammon. It is impossible to declare: "*Justitia regnorum fundamentum*" (justice is the foundation of kingdoms) and "Might is right" at one and the same time. To be confirmed as a Christian upon a catechism which teaches: "Love thy neighbor as thyself; Thou shalt love thine enemies," and to recognize methodical preparations for murder and arson as the chief duty of every well-

ordered government, are two incompatible things. But millions of people who indulge in conventional speeches as to their love of peace, know very well that their heart does not coincide with their lips. They were grateful to the Czar, since his manifesto seemed to take their alleged love of peace for good coin of the realm, and they felt complimented therein upon the high degree of culture which it apparently assumed in them, and they are vexed with England because its actions give the lie to their assertions of their love of peace before all white humanity. An unmasked hypocrite cannot be expected to be in good humor. It scarcely wrongs the Christian Powers, if it be surmised that not one of them—not even Russia—would have acted differently from England under the same circumstances. But they would not admit it. They want to have the semblance of respect for right and neighborly love preserved. England should have allowed some little time to elapse between the Conference at The Hague and the war in the Transvaal. It might have assumed the appearance of seeking mediation or arbitration, in which case it could have adjusted matters in such a way that the attempt at a peaceful solution should have proved a failure. England has done violence to international decorum. But a breach of etiquette, this most serious of all drawing-room sins, is as unpardonable with the political hypocrite as with his social counterpart.

II.

Is it not unfounded pessimism to assume in the heart of one's neighbors murder and robbery as general sentiments? Is it not calumny to denounce white humanity as a horde of war-like barbarians lightly coated with a veneer of rational civilization?

I do not believe it is. A comparison of the factors which practically labor for peace with those which prepare, justify and train humanity for war, will show the latter as having overwhelming preponderance. The number of the apostles of peace outside of individual poets, *literati,* artists and thinkers includes a few international and national societies, whose membership is not great, comprising but few representative men of the time. Sad but true. The official organs of these societies have an incomparably smaller circulation than the most insig-

nificant financial or sporting journal, and their periodical congresses attract far less attention than a floral exhibit or a cattle show. On the other hand, all organized powers of State and society are pronounced or tacit adherents of war.

Religion is not necessarily, or at all times, an advocate of peace. That the Old Testament is filled with a warlike spirit needs no proof. Jehovah is "The Lord of Hosts" and His commands to His people more frequently involve bloodshed than compromise. The prophet Isaiah is the first to feel a premonition of a better future, when "people will beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and nation will no longer lift up sword against nation." His God is no longer the angry God, who imposes the extermination of the Canaanites upon His people as a sacred duty. He is a loving father, who preaches: "Peace, peace—to those who are afar and to those who are near."

Christianity is indeed the religion of peace. Above the portals of the Church of Christ, the Christmas greeting of the angels, "Peace on earth and good will to men," glows as an inscription. This is theory. The practice of the Church is quite different. She has scarcely ever prevented war, and frequently pressed the sword into the hands of the faithful. In all the centuries of her sway, the Church has shed blood like water. She exterminated the Goths because of their Arianism, and she did what she could to prepare a similar fate for the Vandals and Lombards. In the Crusades she armed the Occident against the Orient, and sent hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of pious Christians and brave Mahometans to their death. She unleashed Simon de Montfort's assassins like a pack of wolves against the Albigenses; she visited the Waldenses with fire and sword; she prepared the Night of St. Bartholomew for the Huguenots; and when she instigated neither foreign nor civil wars, she catered to the taste for the drama of human suffering and to the habit of bloodshed by the Inquisition and her Auto-da-Fes. In our day the Church has lost the power to set nation against nation, but she does not withhold her blessing from the banners of war; the hosts that march to the front are sped by her pious wishes, and she prays to God that He grant victory to the arms which she has blessed. In every country does the Church render this service to the native banners and arms, and

she does not seem to see that it is blasphemy to ask of the God of Love to look with favor upon murder and destruction; or to ask of the God of the Universe to take sides with one portion of His children against another portion; especially when she knows that that other portion is turning to God with exactly the same impertinent request. Never yet has a clergyman had the common sense to say: "I refuse to pray for the victory of our arms. From the altars in the enemy's country this same prayer is rising to Heaven in this self-same hour, and to harken to both prayers, to grant victory to both hostile armies, lies beyond the pale of even God's Omnipotence." When, in the dispute over the Carolines, Prince Bismarck asked the Pope to act as arbitrator between Germany and Spain, Leo XIII. indeed declared that it was part of his office to make peace between Christian nations. But no head of a State Church has yet dared to answer the temporal authorities, who asked his blessing upon banner and host: "You desire war, and our God teaches peace. I cannot bless the hand armed to maim and kill men. If you must shed blood, do so; but do not mix God and His religion with your devil's work."

Islam does not claim to be a religion of peace. Jehad or Holy War is one of its fundamental institutions; but there is no need of stopping on this, since no one seeks the highest expression of human culture among the Mahometan peoples.

In justice, religion should not be rebuked that it does not raise a more decided voice against war. According to the religious concept, war is not so dreadful an evil as it is according to the materialistic concept. Why is war a horror? Because it inflicts misery upon men and because it destroys life. But the sufferings of war reach only the flesh, which is transitory, and what concerns the death of the body has little import for him who believes in the immortality of the soul and in the continuity of personality beyond the grave. There was no contradiction to her fundamental doctrines in the Church's maintaining that it was in the interests of religion that she instigated wars and revolutions. What is the loss of property, of bodily members, or even of life itself, in comparison with eternal salvation, which she could promise to him who fought for a good cause?

III.

The cause of peace has little to expect from the Church. She will pray and preach peace when the government of the State desires peace; and she will implore God for victory, she will bless the arms and praise death upon the battlefield to the troops as pleasing to God, when the government is carrying out a warlike policy. But religion also, which I distinguish from the Church, is not in itself an ally of peace. Whatever its ideals or theoretical dogmas may be, in practice it always savors of the opportune. It adapts itself to the attainment of the spirit of the age. It preaches words into which every nation and every individual puts the meaning corresponding to their own feelings, culture and comprehension. I do not say that religion does not gradually mold minds along the lines of its doctrines, but, on the other hand, it is likewise a fact that minds mold religion. When the Gospel was preached to Chlodwig, the King of the Franks, he had but one thought: "Ah, if I could but have been present at the crucifixion of Christ with my Franks, what havoc could I have wrought among those Romans and Jews!" In his warlike soul the religion of love aroused concepts of combat and murder only. The catechism which missionaries teach the negroes of Australia is the same from which the whites derive their knowledge of religion. No one will seriously maintain that the Australian negro fills the crystal vessel of the catechism with the same emotional and intellectual content as the white Christian. Instincts control intellect and polarize it in their own direction.

As in religion, so in the most intellectual of all intellections, Philosophy. This does not mold the feelings of men; it pleads for their intellectual authorization only; it finds reasons for them; it gives them methodical expression; it gathers them into a system. There are, of course, philosophers in every generation who strive for an objective verity and care little for the subjectivity of their contemporaries. But they are solitary dreamers, without perceptible influence upon the thought of the times. Whole nations honor as philosophers only those wise men and teachers who formulate, as reason and science, that which lives in the hearts of millions as sentiment. And since, unfortunately, the masses today still entertain violent and bloody instincts, almost all philosophers teach the justification, the necessity and even the morality and beauty of war.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century Abbé de Saint Pierre created a sensation with his "*Projet de Paix Éternelle*" (Plan for Eternal Peace). The book is a landmark in a century of rationalism. Saint Pierre fails, as did the encyclopedists after him, to allow for the instinctive bases of human nature; he deals only with the visible surface, with inane forms of speech, which man bandies on his lips, when his feelings are asleep. It seemed to him a very simple and easy matter to abolish war in a Congress of all Nations, and to establish a world-police, whose duty it should be to maintain eternal peace among the peoples. One hundred and seventy years later the Czar found it a trifle less easy to realize the thought of Saint Pierre. The latter's contemporary, Voltaire, was cruelly amused with him, and demonstrated in his entertaining critique upon his book how utterly unfamiliar the good Abbé was with the realties of human nature and of life. Rousseau was a friend of peace on principle; but he considered Saint Pierre's plan as impracticable, although it was sensible, or, rather, because it was sensible—"for," he said, "men are insane; it would furthermore be a sort of insanity to be the only sane man among the insane."

The French "nationalists" of to-day, who acknowledge themselves with candid brutality, as worshippers of Force; who, with M. Jules Lemaître, adore the "Sword of Salvation," and with M. G. Hanotaux, praise the murderers of the officers Klobb, Voulet and Chanoine as heroes, have tried to introduce Kant as a crown witness for their theory. M. Brunetière tried to prove that the Koenigsberg philosopher speaks a word for war, by citing a disconnected sentence from a work later on repudiated by Kant himself. This is false. The most recent number of "Kant-Studies" shows the hardy ignorance of M. Brunetière, and the true opinion of Kant, who actually condemns war as a crime, and desires to introduce the same judiciary forms between peoples as hold between individuals. John Stuart Mill and Auguste Comte belong to the peace party among the philosophers.

On the other hand, Fichte is enthusiastic for war. And his "Speeches to the German Nation" are the chief source of the emotions which animated the German people in the wars of liberation. Hegel takes the same stand as Fichte. Since he teaches that everything that exists is rational, the logic of his own dogma compels him to find war rational, since it exists. But he goes fur-

ther than that; he declares that war is not only rational, but also beautiful and useful; it is the great reconstructor of humanity; the logic of his system does not compel him to go as far as that.

About the same time Xavier de Maistre wrote his fiery hymns in praise of war, which since have become the Gospel of all scrap-politicians, and whose arguments are to be found under the pen of all militarists, polished indeed, but deteriorated, like coins that have passed through many hands.

But the greatest authority of all advocates of war is Darwin. Gladly do they accept his "struggle for existence" as the fundamental law of all life and all progress; and they conclude that war is a mandate of Nature, which man can escape as little as he can the law of gravitation. I will not here discuss Darwin's theory. Neither need I show that, according to Darwin's concept, combat may assume moral and lovable forms; as in cases where the individuals of a species do not battle against one another, but turn against other species in loyal solidarity; or, in higher degrees of mental culture, against the inimical forces of nature; or, when the male bird woos the female and tries to outdo his rival by a more graceful dance-step, more beautiful song or a richer ornamentation of feathers. In such combats no blood is shed, no life is destroyed. They develop the best qualities of the combatants, and at best produce some slight distress in the egotism of the conquered. In this way, however, the pseudo-Darwinian philosophers and politicians do not understand the "struggle for existence." They always impart to the word of Darwin the sense of the prize-fighter and the gladiator and subject the history of mankind to the law of the jungle. As Christians, as citizens of communities theoretically based upon right, they felt hitherto that a sense of decorous duty impelled them to simulate a love of peace and to weep a few crocodile tears over war as a necessary evil. But since the theory of evolution has been promulgated, they can cover their natural barbarism with the name of Darwin and proclaim the sanguinary instincts of their inmost hearts as the last word of science.

Only this faintly veiled foundation of savagery can explain the fact that the ravings of Nietzsche, an insane man, suffering with psychic paresis, which finally paralyzed the enfeebled brain entirely, could be enthroned as the philosophy of fashion. Nietzsche thinks that he is an opponent of Darwin, but, in real-

ity, his work is but a parody on Darwin's theory misunderstood. And this by reason of grotesque exaggerations. "The Over-Man" —"the free-roving blond beast"—"all is allowable"—"the laughing lion"—"on the other side of good and evil"—"the morals of the classes"—these prison formulae, these shibboleths of brigandage harmonized too well with the most secret sentiments of the red-skins in dresscoat and uniform, wherewith alleged white humanity teems, not to be greeted by them with joy as the highest form of revelation.

IV.

It seems to me that the cause of peace is not being defended with proper arguments on right ground. Mr. Herbert Spencer regards the history of civilization as an evolution from war to industrialism and uses these two conditions as antitheses. They are not necessarily such. War is not abrogated by resting the entire existence of a people upon commerce and trade. If industrialism is really to mean the end of war, an equality of evolution must exist between all peoples who have reached the industrial phase of civilization. But, within the limits of calculable time, this is a greater Utopia than eternal peace through general altruism. As long as there are Free-Trade and Protection States, advanced and retarded nations, industry is also open to the temptation to handle tools and swords alternately, and to open markets, which threaten to close, or are monopolized by rivals, by force. Thus industrialism, in the present condition of things, may become a cause of war, instead of a guarantee against it. Herr Johann von Bloch, the Russian State-Councillor, recently brought into prominence through the Conference at The Hague, has, in his gigantic work of six volumes, "War," tried to prove by a multitude of figures that war is impossible to-day between the Great Powers. I fear that facts would easily convince Herr von Bloch that he errs. Where there is a will there is a way. The horrors of war are the same for both contestants, and he who enters upon the combat with the greater assurance and with the more intense craving for victory, will bear them longer than his more timid opponent. It is this ability to "bear longer" that constitutes him the victor.

One argument is on the tongue of all defenders of peace; it is

the sentimental argument. It seems to be the strongest, but in reality it is the weakest. It appeals to our sympathies with reference to the manifold sufferings which war entails upon humanity; but it facilitates the answer for the advocates of war.

The spectacle of a corpse with yawning wounds or of a heap of maimed dead is horrible. It is heart-rending to see mothers weeping for their sons, wives for their husbands—for the bread-winners of their children. But are these spectacles produced by war alone? The sociologist, who overlooks broad fields of national life from a high standpoint, will answer that war is but one of many evils which cloud human existence; and by no means the worst, although the most melodramatic. As a moral phenomenon war is a crime. As a material phenomenon it by no means plays the part in ethnic and social economy which one would suppose *prima facie* before the first impression has been mathematically controlled by means of statistics.

War destroys many human lives. It is true. Yet not so many that the rate of mortality is perceptibly influenced thereby. In 1870-71 the German army lost, in round numbers, 40,000 men, killed in battle and by disease. At that time the rate of mortality in Germany was 27 in 1,000, or, with a population of 41,000,000, in round numbers, it was 1,107,000 per year. The 40,000 fatalities of the war increased this number about 3.6 per cent. and raised the mortality less than 1 in 1,000. The French losses were greater. They amounted to 88,000 men. But the epidemic of influenza in 1890 increased the rate of mortality in France to a greater extent than the war, although the war was one of the most sanguinary of the century. Typhoid fever has claimed more victims than all wars; and shipwrecks do not rank far below it. But typhoid fever could assuredly be prevented more easily than war, by a little concerted caution, and it is probable that a large number of shipwrecks could be traced to other causes than the irresistible forces of the elements.

War brings suffering upon the people—assuredly. But these sufferings are more rare and less painful than those which every great strike, every important lockout, every loss of labor, in consequence of commercial stagnation, carries in its train. In the sections of our great industrial centres inhabited by the proletariat more continuous misery exists than in camps or villages visited by war. The coal miner is exposed to greater dangers than the

soldier in the field. The stoker on the steamer of a tropical line suffers more intolerable bodily discomfort than the soldier on the most dreadful day of battle, and receives less moral and material compensation. The cynic might say that these hysterical lamentations are raised about war because its devastation strikes all, even the upper, strata of society; while the denunciation of other causes of sickness, pain and death is neglected, because their devastations are confined to the lower layers of the people.

The sentimental argument, therefore, will not down the advocates of war, for they defend themselves readily with ethnic data and statistics.

The emotion which sustains the warlike tendencies of cultured men is stronger than religion, which preaches love to one's neighbor; stronger than philosophy, which teaches the irrationality of brute force; stronger than morals and right, which civilized man pretends to recognize as the leading powers of his life. This feeling is ruthless egotism, which lusts merely for self-gratification, and remains untouched by the concept that the neighbor also has rights which deserve respect. All the culture of to-day is calculated to strengthen this egotism, not to weaken it. Art, poetry and fiction exalt the individual. Their ideal is "sovereign personality," which knows neither self-control nor duty toward the neighbor. This "sovereign personality," which is praised as the most perfect blossom of human development, is the worst enemy of all moral advance. Anarchism, the war of the classes with the masses, political and economical rings, patriotism which swells into Chauvinism and national megalomania, are but different aspects of this delirium of self-love.

If war is to disappear from national life, the individual must first feel his solidarity with the race in his heart, and not only recognize it as mere verbal wisdom; and the law of progress must be co-operation instead of competition. But in such a world-concept, which recognizes the individual only as a social being, as a civic entity (*Zoon politikon*) and imposes upon his subjectivity the law of the collective organism, the egotism of "sovereign personality" can scarcely find room.

MAX NORDAU.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

In considering this question we must push aside as irrelevant the reason given for the recent demand upon the Transvaal. This, it will be remembered, was the wrongs of the foreigners there. The negotiation started with the presentation of a petition, ostensibly signed by these Uitlanders, imploring the Queen to consider their "wrongs" and to obtain redress. The British Government called the attention of its High Commissioner to this request and asked him to confer with the Transvaal Government. This resulted in a conference. The main demand made by the British Agent was for a shorter residence for these foreigners to render them eligible for the franchise. Britain wished five years' residence; the Transvaal proposed seven. The difference not being great, it was generally supposed that subsequent negotiations would result in a compromise and all would be well. Subsequently, five years was offered by President Krüger, under conditions which the British Agent at Pretoria, Mr. Greene, stated he thought his Government would accept, and which, Mr. Chamberlain admitted, conceded nine-tenths of British demands.

This franchise demand was very soon seen to be a flimsy foundation for Britain to rest action upon, because it placed her in the attitude of laboring for increased facilities for her own subjects to denationalize themselves and become subjects of the Transvaal. The public in Great Britain, however, did not see for a time that the Uitlanders' wrongs were merely an excuse for raising the real issue. The London *Times*, however, from near the very beginning, and continually as the negotiations proceeded, did not fail to state that this whole business of franchise for Uitlanders did not reach the problem, which was, in short, whether the British or the Dutch were to control South Africa.

When Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Morley and Sir Edward Clarke demonstrated that "the suzerainty" of Britain was abolished by the existing convention, the *Times* boldly replied that this was a matter not at all depending upon such subtle legal considerations, and stood, as before stated, upon the broad issue, Briton *versus* Boer. In this the *Times* was quite right; such is the issue and none other. Nor is it a new one. It was the issue in the last war between Britain and the Transvaal, in which the former was worsted, and there is no other issue in this war.

It is the fashion to-day to censure Mr. Gladstone's decision to end the last Transvaal war, and concede to the Boer, as the practical fruits of victory, the independence of the Republic. A party in Britain held then, as it holds now, that the war should have been continued, "Majuba Hill" avenged and British ascendency then firmly established. Mr. Gladstone's critics to-day describe him as having acted under the influence of sentiment as opposed to practical politics and giving way to the *natural* dislike of a great empire to push matters to extremes against a few Boers. In this the writer thinks they do Mr. Gladstone grave injustice as a statesman. Much to this great man's credit, he was more open to the charge of magnanimous treatment of other nations than most British statesmen; but Mr. Gladstone had the advice of the ablest men conversant with the situation in South Africa, when he decided that force, in this case, was no remedy; that far-seeing statesmanship required that the Dutch element be conciliated, not destroyed, if it were ever to be amicably merged into the British. There have always been two parties advising different courses in regard to this serious question. There were two in Mr. Gladstone's time and there are two to-day—one urging peace, the other war.

The situation may be thus described: The Dutch settled in the Cape nearly 250 years ago, and were the dominant power. Britain subsequently took the Cape as a harbor on the route to India, and has remained in power. The Dutch race has settled there, is to-day increasing rapidly and has made South Africa its home. Sufficient time has elapsed for successive generations of the Dutch strain to be reared there, who now call themselves "Afrikanders" and have a strong league, the soul of which is the idea that Africa belongs to the Afrikanders—to those who were born there, whether British or Dutch.

Britain is too prosperous at home to furnish many emigrants in our day to any foreign lands. The few who do leave Britain usually prefer Canada or the United States, those who land in the former generally gravitating to the more genial south. In the Cape Colony, the principal of the four divisions of South Africa, the Dutch are largely in the majority, which is the case also in the Orange Free State. In Natal there are only a few thousand British. In the Transvaal there were scarcely any people but the Dutch, until the discovery of the mines, which have attracted foreigners from all nations, until to-day, by counting all foreigners as British, there may be a small majority against the Dutch; but these are not all British; some estimate that there are not more than six thousand Britons among the miners. Those of other nationalities do not side with the British as against the Dutch. The vast majority of these, as well as of the British, are opposed to the present attack upon the Transvaal. Of this there can be no doubt. These people are working in the mines, receiving enormous wages, and only wish to be let alone. They do not wish to become Burghers in order to vote; especially is this true of the British. I have peculiar means of knowing this. Several of the tenants upon my Skibo estates have sons or brothers in the mines, and I have from time to time been informed of the letters which they write home. There is one now in charge of an important mine whose letters are most significant. He stated to his father, in one of these, what I have already said, and that the Britons liked the Boers, and did not wish to become Burghers. They were there as Britons to make money, and finally to return to their own home. They wanted no franchise. He stated that the petition to Her Majesty praying her to interfere was not generally signed by the Britons, and that many of the foreigners signed the petition believing that it had reference to some dreaded temperance legislation in which they were deeply concerned.

I have also met Transvaal students who attend the Edinburgh medical schools. One of these was born in Britain, and his parents took him when young to Cape Colony. His father is a judge. Another, who was born in the Cape of English parents, is the son of a member of the Cape Assembly. These young men have since returned to their homes to fight for the coming "South African Republic," which they expect, and which shall be independent of all foreign powers, Britain included.

Now, the question which presented itself to Mr. Gladstone in the last war presented itself to-day to the present Government of Britain, and there were not wanting now, as there were not wanting then, some of the ablest and most experienced British officials who counselled the pursuance of the policy which Mr. Gladstone had adopted. They reason thus: "We, the British, are in a minority in South Africa, which is becoming greater and greater year by year, as the Dutch residents multiply, and we receive but few of our own countrymen as settlers, most of those who do come being only temporary residents, looking forward always to the arrival of the day when they have secured enough upon which to return to their own home. The home of the Dutch in the Cape is Africa. Our true policy now, the only policy open to us, which promises a chance of our becoming and remaining the paramount power, is one of co-operation and of friendliness with the more numerous and constantly increasing Dutch. We must trust to the superior qualities of our race, peaceably exercised, to its ability to rise to the top and to control affairs, and to the merging of the two races into the coming South African, the product of a union of Dutch and British."

The late Commander-in-Chief of the British forces at the Cape, General Butler, was, and is still, esteemed by many as a wise Governor, but he differed from the present Government as to the true policy, and he was called home. The British Agent at Pretoria, Mr. Greene, assured the Transvaal Government that he believed the proposal they made would be acceptable to his Government. It is no secret that Mr. Greene's policy was not that of Mr. Chamberlain, although while Mr. Greene remains in the diplomatic service there can be no expression of the difference of his views. Neither can General Butler enter into public controversy with his Government. These are servants of the Government and must be silent, although disgraced.

The policy now adopted is that of forcing the issue, raising a racial war and suppressing Dutch aspirations. This policy was attractive when it was believed that the mere decision to send a full army corps of thirty-five thousand men to supplement the British forces in South Africa would so appall the Dutch element that it would never raise a finger in the face of such tremendous forces against them, feeling that it would be madness to do so. This was the belief prevalent in England. It was reported that the

new General-in-Chief assured Her Majesty when he took his departure that the British flag would wave over Pretoria by Christmas.

Warnings were not wanting that the conflict might not be restricted to the Transvaal Republic if the race issue were the cry, and that the Orange Free State Republic, which is Dutch to the core, might join forces with her neighbor, that thousands of fighting men from the Cape Colony, also overwhelmingly Dutch, might flock to the Dutch standard, were the race question pressed home.

The war party took no heed of such dangers, and the able Britons who, knowing the situation, saw these possibilities were only rebuked for their baseless fears.

It was believed by most that it would be a mere parade to the Boer capital. Attention was everywhere called to the fact that no such stupendous force ever left the shores of England. This was not the opinion of the party who counselled the continuance of Mr. Gladstone's pacific policy. These, as it has since been proved, knew the situation. What they feared has come to pass. To-day a second army corps of thirty-five thousand men is already found necessary, and is soon to sail, Britain thus denuding herself of proper reserves and laying London open, as a French critic has recently said, to an attack by a few thousand men.

It is not to be a parade as expected; quite the reverse. This racial dispute promises to prove as severe a strain upon Britain as the Crimean war, and Lord Salisbury's successor may say of it, as he has recently said of that war, that it was "one in which Britain put its money upon the wrong horse." That the resources of Britain, if fully drawn upon, can ultimately overpower the Dutch temporarily need not be questioned, but whether the end attained can justify the sacrifice seems open to question.

It does not appear to the writer that it can possibly do so, because the suppression of the Dutch element to-day, if such be the result, will accomplish nothing permanent, if the situation is to remain as before described and the Dutch are to remain in South Africa as residents and increase rapidly, being a very prolific race, and the British are not to emigrate to South Africa in great numbers, and also settle there and increase. The result must inevitably be that the Dutch will be in a majority, growing constantly greater. Even more important than this is the fact that the people born

in Africa must more and more desire to rule themselves. It will be found very hard to drive out of the mind of an Afrikander, whether of British or Dutch extraction, the idea that the country belongs to those who are born in it. The native-born must inevitably draw together and become one race, firm against any foreign race.

Should Britain endeavor to hold sway in South Africa through free institutions—such government, for instance, as Canada and Australia have—then the Parliament becomes Afrikander, as that of Cape Colony now is, as the Parliament of Canada is Canadian and the Parliament of Australia Australian—with the difference that in Canada and Australia the people have no cause to be opposed to Britain and there is no racial question involved. People living in Canada and Australia have not been crushed by a foreign power of different race from beyond the sea, which assumes to dominate them. Besides this, Britain disclaims all wish to hold either Canada or Australia against its will; for its protectorate over Canada and Australia it has the indisputable requirement, the consent of the governed. It is there by the wish of all sections of the inhabitants.

The war party made much of President Krüger's so-called ultimatum, but the wonder is not that this was issued, but that it was so long delayed. War was practically declared when Britain began the movement of large bodies of troops toward the borders of the Orange Free State, and to points which hemmed the Transvaal in. An English military critic said before the ultimatum came that for the Transvaal to allow these masses of soldiers to press closer daily would be military insanity. The British continued to mass troops, confident that the Transvaal authorities would never take up the challenge. When they did so the British forces were still unprepared.

The right of Britain to attack the Dutch simply because they were rapidly increasing in South Africa and promised soon under free institutions to regain their lost control, need not be considered. If the real issue be Briton *versus* Dutch, as it is admitted now to be by Britain, she stands condemned before the civilized world. Her conduct is indefensible and her policy foolish. No nation has a right to attack and endeavor to suppress a people so capable of self-government as the Dutch and force its own supremacy, although in a minority. So much for the moral

question. And as for the policy, the attempt must ultimately fail; for, sooner or later, the more numerous race will prevail. Hence the folly of departing from Mr. Gladstone's course.

It does not seem to the writer that to plunge South Africa into a racial war, in an endeavor to suppress the Dutch, is the best and surest way to insure the peaceful and satisfactory paramountcy of Britain. On the contrary, he believes that Mr. Gladstone was well advised years ago to adopt the policy of peaceful co-operation; that Lord Salisbury was equally well advised recently by able servants of the Crown in South Africa to continue Mr. Gladstone's wise course and avoid raising the dangerous racial issue.

It is probable that Britain will have good reason, before the contest ends, and even after it ends in a supposed victory, to ponder Shakespeare's words:

> **" When force and gentleness play for a kingdom,**
> **The gentle gamester will the sooner win."**

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

A POSSIBLE CONTINENTAL ALLIANCE AGAINST ENGLAND.

BY DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

No Englishman can have resided on the continent of Europe during the last two years, as I have done, with some special opportunities of watching the trend of political events, without becoming aware of a remarkable anti-English movement, which I may call a consolidation of Continental opinion against Anglo-Saxon expansion. It began before the United States went to war with Spain, but rather in a debating-society mood than with the serious purpose of responsible statesmen. The American public do not need to be told that the sentiment of every Foreign Office and of every nation on the mainland of Europe was against them in their contest with Spain. They also know very well that the one substantial fact which made irate potentates and irritated crowds on that continent pause before turning their sentiments into action was the presence and the power of the British fleet. The United States completed their business amid the frenzied exclamations of Continental journalists on behalf of "the innocent" and "unoffending" Spaniards. But America is far off, and when the war closed the venom and the fear of Continental Governments and nations became concentrated on Great Britain. Additional force was given to these feelings by the knowledge of the part taken by the British Government in lending its moral support to the United States, by the spectacle of the British and American peoples arriving at spontaneous agreement as to their identical interests and common mission, and by the inevitable consequence of those circumstances in the conclusion that the growth of Anglo-Saxon power, instead of being arrested, was on the point of taking a fresh and remarkable expansion.

How long these feelings might have remained in the chrysalis

stage of suppressed resentment and secret intention, if there had been no war in the Transvaal, is uncertain; but, at the present moment, the floodgates of Continental eloquence and wrath are let loose for the denunciation of England. All that was said to the discredit of the American people during the Spanish war has been written of England's action in South Africa with intensified vindictiveness and an enlarged vocabulary. It is not a question merely of the rights or wrongs of the Uitlander population being ignored and thrust aside without a moment's consideration, nor is it one as to whether some compromise might not have been discovered in the Transvaal, short of the stern arbitrament of war. A friend might hold an opinion contrary to ours without offending us or giving us the right to complain. We could make allowance for some defect in his knowledge of the facts, we should admit that his point of view was not ours. But there is all the difference in the world between the protest of a friend and the snarling of a foe. Our Continental critics leave us in no doubt as to their sentiments. They use the loftiest language, they invoke the ideal principles, they speak in the name of sublime justice, whenever they have to comment on British action; but they forget to exact from the opposing side an equal compliance with these non-terrestrial conditions, and they fail to observe them themselves when they are called on to deal with colonial problems and difficulties. The Boers may play the tyrant on the veldt without a word of censure. In their truculent intolerance they might insult the British army and drag its flag in the dirt, and the boulevard loungers would only be amused. But France may repress, as the savage disposition of some of her officers may dictate, tribes fighting for their independence in the Soudan or in Madagascar; Russia may make an example of the inhabitants of Tashkent, when they show an inclination to dispute her authority; Germany can ride rough-shod, in her characteristic official manner, over her subjects in the Cameroons; all these things may be done with impunity, while England is howled at for vindicating her authority and for punishing those who have reviled at and defied her. Only in her case does the Continental critic adopt his severest mood, take down his book of homilies, and after the most edifying admonition condemn her to the public pillory among the nations, and—what is more congenial to their mood and nearer to their practical purpose—to the dis-

comfiture and overthrow an all-powerful Deity will mete out for such iniquity. Our Continental critics and enemies who arrogate to themselves, under an appropriated decree of Providence imagined in their own conceit, the position of judge, jury and court of appeal in one, evolve out of their own rhetoric the arrest and downfall of Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

These expressions of violent prejudice and unreasoning wrath are merely the froth on the surface of the waters of public opinion. But, in the depths, there is a serious movement, a profound agitation, not to be ignored, threatening serious disturbance when it acquires the necessary volume, and calling for careful and timely examination. The questions that require consideration are not limited to the one raised in the title of this paper. They are not confined to the possibility or probability of a general Continental alliance against England. A far graver danger is threatened by the general hostility of all the Powers, which, moving on their own independent lines, are yet inspired by the common sentiment that England's further expansion must be stopped. That opinion is common to them all in different degrees of intensity, and when people are agreed in their views it is certain that they will do nothing to hinder their realization, although they may not openly combine for the purpose. I hope to make it clear, before the end of this paper, that the peril of England in this latter form already exists, and that England has begun, unconsciously, a struggle in which the whole of Europe is arrayed against her; that the struggle will pass through several distinct episodes or chapters; and that the result will decide the fate of the British Empire. In studying so momentous a problem, the most exalted persons are merely pieces on the chessboard. They are not entitled to any greater consideration than their inherent value and position on the table may give them, in deciding the course and the issue of the game. It would be absurd to discuss the question at all if we were obliged to consider the personal susceptibilities of an Emperor, to gloss over the rottenness of an administration, or to ignore the decadence of a nation.

Prince Bismarck said in 1885 that England had got enough of the world's surface. It was a moment of profound national depression and humiliation. Mr. Gladstone was in office. Majuba Hill was recent. The ineffaceable tragedy and disgrace of

Khartoum had just happened. The Berlin Conference was summoned. What occurred? In the centre of Africa was formed a great independent and neutral State, on the west and also on the east coast Germany acquired vast territories, while France came down to the Congo and its tributaries. In this manner barriers were placed in the path of further British expansion in Africa. To appreciate the full significance of that rebuff it must, however, be remembered that England had to cancel her own Convention with Portugal on the subject of the Congo, and to assent to her vassal, the Sultan of Zanzibar, being stripped of his possessions on the mainland, for the benefit of Germany.

The ten years that followed the Berlin Conference were, for England, a period of meditation on the errors of the years from 1881 to 1885, and for attaining collectedness as to how they might be repaired. With regard to the Soudan, the country gradually adopted General Gordon's weighty conclusion, that it "could not be divorced from Egypt." Hence followed the gradual reconquest of the country by Lord Kitchener, who destroyed the military power of the Khalifa at the Atbara and Omdurman. The retrieval of that part of the Gladstone legacy of national loss and discredit was almost accompanied by a war with France over the incident at Fashoda, where a French officer, with the permission of M. Hanotaux, notwithstanding the repeated warnings of our Foreign Office, erected the tricolor. The incident ended with the establishment of British predominance throughout the Nile Valley, but the French people have decided to cherish the name of Fashoda as constituting for them a humiliation, and to use it as a war cry when they close the doors of their Exhibition.

The delay of ten years in commencing the reconquest of the Soudan did not make the task appreciably more difficult, for the dervishes were isolated, and the clever scheme formed by Russia and France to make our task more troublesome by inciting and assisting Abyssinia to join the Khalifa, or at least to attack us, was not allowed sufficient time to mature or come off. But the nineteen years that have elapsed since Majuba have served to enlarge a local question of comparatively little importance into a problem of the first magnitude, affecting the general international position, and influencing more or less the attitude of the Continental Powers toward England. There is no more uncertainty as to the persons who have created for us this aggrava-

tion of difficulty in South Africa than there was about the intrigues in Abyssinia and on the Upper Nile. Germany, and, above all Germans, the German Emperor, is just as responsible for President Krüger's defiance as France and M. Hanotaux were for Marchand's appearance at Fashoda, and for the hostile intentions of M. de Bonchamps and Henry of Orleans at the court of King Menelek. But they are responsible for a great deal more. Their encouragement, advice and practical assistance, in the form of officers, drill sergeants, artillerymen and arms, have made the Boers a formidable military opponent, only to be crushed by the loss of many brave lives and by an extraordinary effort. In South Africa, as in the Soudan, British supremacy will be reasserted; but it is impossible to ignore the quarter whence the Boers received inspiration, not merely as to their line of policy, but as to their strategy in the field, which might well have gained for the Boers some military successes at the beginning of the war.

Without an alliance, therefore, it is clear that for a number of years France, Germany and Russia have been pursuing an anti-English policy, opposing our plans, raising difficulties in our path, and diminishing by extensive colorings of the map the area left vacant for the introduction of our commerce and civilization. There is no reason to suppose that these measures have been carried out on any systematic plan, but they certainly indicate the prevalence of a general anti-English sentiment, such as Prince Bismarck crystallized in the phrases, "England had got enough of the world's surface," and "It might not be Germany's interest to take any specific colony, but it certainly was her interest to prevent England getting it." These sentences were not appreciated at the time, but a little reflection will show how the ideas they expressed have influenced foreign policy during the last fourteen or fifteen years. But in no part of the world—for the time is not yet ripe for treating China after the fashion of Africa in 1885—has the effort been greater to create for England a situation of danger and embarrassment than in South Africa. When the first campaigns with the Boers were undertaken no outsiders were interested in the question. Not a gold mine had been worked, hardly one Uitlander could be discovered on the veldt. But the stubbornness and success of the Boer resistance in 1881 aroused some interest in them, and that interest has

certainly not diminished by the extraordinary gold discoveries and the consequent inrush of European adventurers and settlers, chiefly British, but with a very considerable number of Germans, Dutch and Cape Dutch, all of whom gradually adopted, as comprehensive names, those of Hollanders in the Transvaal and Afrikanders in the Cape Colony. In this way was created a party, not confined to the Transvaal, but extending its organization and influence throughout South Africa, distinct from and opposed to the British settlers and Government. The strength and cohesion of that party were insured by the use of their common language, and thus, for the first time, German and its offshoots entered the lists as a rival to English, on the ground of colonial dominion.

But if the project was not restricted to the Transvaal, it was thence that it derived its chief solidity and resources. The gold of its mines, applied to the purchase of warlike stores and to the employment of German and other officers and ex-soldiers, gave it a military power far in excess of the number or general knowledge of the inhabitants. The love of independence shown throughout Boer history, and the prestige acquired by the successes in 1881, made the Transvaal the natural leader in a Teutonic movement throughout South Africa. But not merely is the Transvaal to be regarded, in the development of the question, as a free agent acting for and on its own behalf. If it had not possessed another rôle—if, in plainer words, it had stood alone—the decisive interference in its affairs might have been put off till the disappearance of Mr. Krüger in the ordinary course of nature should have given a chance for more enlightened and saner counsels. But the Transvaal was the *imperium in imperio* which supplied our enemies with the means of organizing, within our limits, a formidable confederacy that, at the given moment of external complications, might have revealed all its power and ambition, to the serious peril and perhaps temporary disappearance of British supremacy south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Before the Jameson raid, it was well known how active German agents had grown in the Transvaal, and in the four years since that episode their activity has increased and grown more systematic and dangerous. Under these circumstances, it would have been madness to defer action any longer. The German Emperor's telegram of congratulation and support to President Krüger in 1896 was the indiscreet lifting of the

veil as to all Germany had done and intended still to do in the Transvaal.

Four years have passed since that telegram, and we are now assured that the German Emperor has purged him of his offense, and that the British plans will encounter no opposition at his hands. Before these lines can appear in print, he should have visited England, and many opinions will be hazarded as to the true significance of that perhaps farewell interview between grandmother and grandson. But even if the visit comes off, it will perhaps not enable us to see very much more clearly, or a great deal further ahead, as to the true intentions of Germany. The affectionate and confidential utterances of royal personages will not arrest the course of State policy, nor turn aside from their purpose statesmen and diplomatists whose efforts and reputation are staked on the arrest of Anglo-Saxon expansion. Any new agreement with Germany will be like that already signed, but unpublished, of which the one thing certainly known is that it *did not* give us Delagoa Bay, when its possession would have enabled us to take the Boers in flank and at a great disadvantage; or, perhaps, it will more resemble the unsigned agreement with Mr. Rhodes at Berlin, which will create German railways, without carrying us much on the road for the Cape to Cairo railway. The German Emperor has left both England and America in no sort of doubt as to his views, wishes and plans in regard to their affairs. He is their enemy, but their waiting enemy, because his fleet is in its infancy, "a mere baby," to use his own words; but it seems to have escaped the notice of his critics that babies, especially such a fine healthy baby as the German navy of today, become men.

These preliminary observations, necessary for the correct appreciation of what follows, may have made clear one thing, viz.: the hostile intentions, toward England in the first place and the United States in the second, of the three leading military Powers, France, Germany and Russia. With regard to Russia, it need only at this stage be observed that she has open to her in Asia a wide field for ambitious operations, that occupy her attention and render her less keen than the others to interfere with Great Britain in quarters with which she has little or no concern. It may be said of her at once that, if she were induced to interfere with England over any African question, it would be not of her

own free will, but under the pressure of France. The crippling of England in any quarter might bring the Cossacks nearer to the Indus or Peking, but the secret of Russia's success hitherto has been the concentration of her policy, and she may prefer to attain her objects in her own way and without seeking remote adventures. With the exception of the Abyssinian scheme, Russia has as yet shown no inclination to come into collision with England outside of Asia. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that, whatever St. Petersburg may do in support of others, the initiative of any offensive measure against England in Africa will be at Paris or Berlin. In both those capitals there has for many years been a systematic plan of embarrassing and thwarting England in Africa. The French designs were brought to a summary check at Fashoda, but the German have continued down to the present hour under a friendly guise.

But there is a radical difference between hostile intentions and a definite alliance. All the Continental nations may dislike and envy us; but they have their own relations and differences to consider. Europe is an armed camp from the Channel to the Caspian; but the explanation of that fact is not the wish to make war on England, but the need of defending their several frontiers against one another. The practical questions are: Can the Powers lay aside, even momentarily, their mutual jealousies and apprehensions, to combine against England? Do statesmen at Berlin seriously contemplate a union with Paris and St. Petersburg, in order to call a halt on the British in South Africa? Can they afford to face the consequences of the success of a policy in which they would be following the lead of France and Russia? Can they feel confident that the policy would succeed, either by England's yielding to a formidable international demonstration, or by the Powers vanquishing England on the sea? We may be sure, at least, that the German Government will carefully consider these points in all their bearings before they come to the momentous decision to quarrel with England. They will be swayed very much by their estimate of the relative strength of the Continental Powers and the British Empire. They will carefully examine, by the light of the information they possess, the condition of the allies who are only waiting their signal to present England with an ultimatum which, if signed by Germany, would make her for good and forever an enemy. If that step

would isolate England to-day, Germany at no remote date might find herself in the same position, and exposed on both her frontiers to the double peril of Slav ambition and French revenge.

The material and political condition of European countries may also appear discouraging under the close and critical examination of German spectacles. Germany is allied with two tottery States in Austria and Italy, in both of which exist serious elements of internal dissension and weakness, that might greatly diminish their value at the critical moment when Germany had need of them. With regard to any possible action against England, Austria would not count at all, and Italy is the one European Power that would certainly not take part against her, because the co-operation of the British Navy is needed, and assured by a definite understanding, for the protection of her own coasts. Spain does not seriously exist, and the sentiment of little States like Holland and Belgium, however noisily uttered, can have no influence on the question. The continent of Europe, therefore, resolves itself, for practical purposes, into the three Powers, Germany, France and Russia; and when the possibility of an alliance between those three rival Powers is suggested, one realizes the exact difficulties that lie in the path of those who would effect it.

Russia and France being already allies for better or worse, the practical point to be discovered is whether there is any reasonable probability of Germany's associating herself with them for the arrest of England's progress, and, if need were, for her more serious discomfiture. There was a time when the mere proposition would have been received with ridicule, and when an equal repugnance to the suggestion would have been shown at both Berlin and Paris. But as much cannot be said to-day. The alliance may be impracticable, but at least it excites no repugnance. The idea of such a combination has sunk into the minds of both peoples, and it will at least afford abundant material for discussion. Nor can it be forgotten that such an alliance existed, for all practical purposes, at the Berlin Conference of 1885, and still more openly in 1895, when the three Powers arrested Japan's progress and ignored England. The old theory that France and Germany could and would never combine requires at least more careful examination before passing current than formerly. It

may still be sound, but it has not such a sure foundation as it once had. France is undoubtedly willing to sink her ancient feud with Germany, in order to gratify her more pressing irritation against England. The German Emperor has but to give a nod and he can fold the French Republic, Cap of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and all, with the French army to boot, in his arms. If Germany had only to think of theatrical effect, the inclination to make the sign would be irresistible, but she must look a little further ahead and think what will come after.

It is not going too far to say that France has offered Germany her alliance against England, with the object of stopping her conquest of the two South African Republics. Of course, France has not put herself in the position of inviting a formal rebuff, but at Berlin they are in no doubt as to what France is willing to do, and also as to what France wishes Germany to do. The visit of the German Emperor to Windsor is regarded as the cold-water douche to these indirect overtures, but it may not have all the significance or importance imagined. Still, it means that Germany is not as eager as she was supposed to be to enter the lists against England. She has reckoned up the odds, and she has come to the conclusion that the fleets of the three Powers would not be certain to have the better of the English fleet, which could count on the co-operation of Japan at once, and probably of Italy as well, with the possible intervention of the United States on the same side following, perhaps, at a short interval. The paper odds of the German-French-Russian fleets against England would thus be turned into the material and incontestable superiority of England and her allies, when the nations vanquished would certainly lose their navies and their colonies. From inviting that catastrophe the Emperor William has drawn back, and just in time. Four years ago he went very near to the edge of the precipice; but, after some irritation and resentment, he seems to have placed upon himself a prudent restraint which the excited exhortations of the German Colonial Party are not likely to break down.

His policy is not dictated by any sincerely friendly feeling toward England, but by a careful regard for German interests. Perhaps the occasion will arise, before the Transvaal difficulty is settled, for him to show how very little he cares about England and her interests, although he is not disposed to enter the field

openly against her. If, for instance, as is by no means improbable, France and Russia take steps which assail our rights in some quarter, and provoke a war for which England was never more ready than at the present hour, Germany would stand aside and observe the strictest neutrality. She would not move a finger to help us, and would take a cynical satisfaction in seeing her formidable military neighbors injure themselves; and, at the same time, the damage that could not fail also to be inflicted by such a war on England would facilitate the Emperor's schemes for the commercial and colonial expansion of his own country. Moreover, the German Emperor and Government will expect to be paid for this neutrality, whether there is war or peace, by concessions in Africa or the Pacific; and, as the Germans are good hands at driving a bargain—the title of "honest broker" was not gained by Bismarck without reason—the highest value will be set on their services in order to gain the largest amount of reward. Provided there is no general outbreak of war and Great Britain is left undisturbed to establish firmly and indisputably her supremacy in the Transvaal and Orange Free States, no Englishman could object to see Germany come down to the Zambesi, when Portugal quits the East Coast, with Walfisch Bay on the West Coast thrown in. But if war ensues with France and Russia, then Germany should receive nothing unless she openly ranges herself on the side of England. It is very doubtful if the arrangements between England and Germany have provided for that contingency.

Germany has very practical reasons for not combining with France and Russia in any serious enterprise. If she contributed to their success, she would be strengthening her enemies, and a day of reckoning would be sure to arrive. If they failed, she would share in their discomfiture; and, on measuring the comparative sea forces of the world, the balance is against success.

But Germany has other reasons for pausing before she commits herself to a line of action that would make her subordinate to Russia and France. What is her estimate of the real strength and resources of those two Empires? Do the confidential reports from Paris and St. Petersburg represent them as being in a sound and healthy condition, and able to bear the strain, not of a single campaign, but of a long war, waged in every quarter of the world? No one questions the military spirit of the French

soldier, but the French soldier would have very little to say in a war with England. Nor need the merit of the best part of the Russian Army be disputed; but India and China are still a long way off, and where else is the British Empire vulnerable from Russia? Such military strength as France and Russia undoubtedly possess is not of the kind to make them dangerous opponents to England at the present moment. On the other hand, the German authorities cherish no illusion on the capacity of the British fleet to deal with that of France and Russia combined. The immediate consequences of a war would be, therefore, the sweeping of the Mediterranean Sea, the Channel, and the China Seas by the British Navy. There would be some sanguinary engagements, some losses by the victors, but the result would be to put "Paid" to the account of French and Russian schemes beyond their land frontiers. What would be the consequences of those facts in the two Empires? How would France, overtaxed, miserable as she is at heart under the overshadowing military superiority of Germany, stand the humiliation of that discomfiture? How would Russia, immature, unready and probably rotten at the core, retain her position if to the loss of her fleet were added the collapse of the position she has laboriously gained in Eastern Asia, and which is based on an insecure foundation? There is no reason to believe that an accurate dissection of either of those States, if it were possible, would reveal a thoroughly sound constitution; and the first collision of the opposing fleets would reveal the truth as under the touch of Ithuriel's spear. Germany cannot pretend to be omniscient, but she showed that she possessed good information in 1870, and there is no reason to suppose that she is less accurately informed to-day. The policy of her ruler has so far been modified that he has drawn back from the policy which would have made him the ally of France and Russia against England; and all the barking of the anti-English press incited by Dr. Leyds and his influential German friends will not make him swerve from his course. But that policy is dictated by no regard for England; it is the result of a calm consideration of all the elements in the question. For this occasion, at least, we can feel sure that Berlin will not dance to the music set by Paris and St. Petersburg.

The possible Continental alliance against England resolves itself, by a process of elimination, into the opposition of France

and Russia—an opposition which, however serious, the British Empire can face with a reasonable amount of equanimity and confidence in the result. It is regrettable to see that, after over eighty years of peace and on some occasions of alliance, the rivalry and hatred of France for England exist just as keenly as at any time during the previous eight centuries of war. The French hate the Germans, but are afraid of them. They know that, unless they can produce a military genius of the highest order, the odds are overwhelmingly against them in any renewed struggle with Germany, and their "great" generals of late bear the names Boisdeffre, Mercier and Roget! They think it safer, therefore, to take out of the cupboard their old animosity toward England, and to provide their army with an opportunity of redeeming its good name at the expense of *"perfide Albion."* That is a dangerous sentiment to cherish against a State which has legitimate grievances against France's attitude from Newfoundland to the Chinese Province of Yunnan. A spark may at any moment produce an explosion in such a magazine of internal irritation and discontent as is the France of to-day. The further forbearance of England is not to be relied on if a Waima incident occurred on the Burmese frontier, or if Pierre Loti repeated in any form at Cabul Marchand's theatrical exhibition at Fashoda. Anglo-French relations have entered on a phase which must inevitably have a hostile termination, unless France has the wisdom to tack and steer an opposite course.

Neither the Russian Government nor the Russian people are swayed by any bitterly hostile feelings toward England such as animate all the nations of French race. They see in the British Empire a rival with which, at some future date, they will probably come into collision; but they have no wish to hasten the date. The rivalry of England and Russia is like the approach of a comet toward our planet. The political astronomers have not been able to fix the date of the impact, nor can they be absolutely sure that nature will not, at the eleventh hour, provide some means of averting the collision. But Russia is tied to France for better or for worse, and the conditions of her ally may cause her some reasonable apprehension. In a choice of evils, Russia may prefer to accompany France along a course that she does not approve of to leaving her in a state of internal discontent and disorder, which may sap her value to Russia as an ally. Even

during the Fashoda business, France received assurances that Russia would not fail her, although that Power hoped there would be no war. Nor was Russia's action confined to words. She sent 10,000 more troops to Central Asia, and strengthened her garrisons on the Afghan frontier. If she did this in regard to the Upper Nile difficulty, it is certain that she would do a great deal more in so important and interesting an occurrence as an attempt to save the Transvaal from becoming British. But there is no fear that France and Russia will attempt anything so Quixotic as helping the Boers to emerge from their condition as the vassals of England. All the denunciation in the press of England's tyranny and ambition will not, on the eve of a new century, induce those Powers to openly oppose what they know England has a perfect right to do. The practice of throwing projectiles, in the form of abuse and epithets, at the head of the English has always been a favorite pastime with Continental journalists. It amuses them and does not hurt us, as the song says; but the Governments know very well that the Boers have brought their punishment and changed fate on their own heads.

The action of France and Russia will be of a different form to that. It will not be less hostile to England, but it will be more practical. They cannot dream of aiding the Boers directly; nor, without the co-operation of Germany, which, I have shown by weighty reasons, they will not get, can they think of presenting an ultimatum to England of "Hands off the Transvaal!" But they may think that England is so occupied in South Africa that she will not oppose their proceedings somewhere else, and that she will look on while they appropriate certain points which they think will prove advantageous to them in the future. They may hold this opinion so strongly that, like the Emperor Nicholas I., they will believe that England, under the very considerable provocation they propose offering her, will still not fight at such a time as she is employed in South Africa, and, like that ruler, they may find that they are mistaken and have gone too far. At this moment it is not very certain what steps these two Powers are going to take; but one of the steps is undoubtedly a joint naval demonstration in the Persian Gulf, and another is probably a similar movement in the vicinity of Ceuta. In regard to both movements, Russia would take the lead, and it is believed in well informed circles that Count Mouravief arranged for the occupa-

tion of Ceuta during his visit to Spain. Russia wishes to obtain a port on the southern coast of Persia, in order to secure a terminus for her projected line across that country and to anticipate the arrival of the Germans down the Euphrates. In regard to France, the direct practical advantage of these two moves is far from being clear, even if they were accompanied by a sentimental gain in the marriage of a Spanish princess, and possible future Queen, with so patriotic and chauvinistic a Frenchman as Prince Henry of Orleans.

Such are the schemes of our enemies, and the only practical question is whether the British Government will allow them to be carried into effect. The position of Ceuta is so admirable that the proposition has sometimes been put forward in Spain to offer it in exchange for Gibraltar. If there never was any strong reason for believing that the proposal would be accepted, there was at least nothing in the offer to make it appear ridiculous. If Ceuta was a strong place twenty years ago, the increased range of fortress artillery has made it more formidable than ever, and Gibraltar itself would be within the reach of its guns if it fell into the hands of a first-class Power. Before these lines can appear in print, the policy of the two Powers may have been unmasked, and England may have shown how she will regard it and what measures she proposes to take to safeguard herself. But it may be confidently predicted that any attempt to seize Ceuta will be treated as a *casus belli*. With regard to the proposed demonstration in the Persian Gulf, it is not possible to speak so clearly and positively. It depends very much on the size of the demonstration and the incidents accompanying it. It would not be a friendly step, of course, but its gravity might not warrant a declaration of war. We can all see that Russia is bound to have a hand in deciding the future of Persia, just as she is of China. These sick Asiatic countries will have to be healed by some one or other, and it is problematical if Russia will be stronger with a port on the Persian Gulf or without one. If Russia and France confine themselves to some movement in this quarter, war may be averted, because England can adopt counter precautions of her own at the Indian entrance to the Persian Gulf. The only obscurity is what benefit France expects to derive from measures so exclusively Russian. Perhaps she will receive assurances of future support in regard to her plans in southwestern China,

plans that are certain to bring England and France as rudely into conflict as they were brought on the Nile.

Taking a broad view of the international situation, and in the endeavor to pierce the clouds hanging over the European world, the final word may still be given in favor of the balance turning for peace, and for the adjournment of any serious effort to cripple England. This is probably the last occasion on which the hostile Powers will place a restraint on themselves before, taking wishes for certainties, they cross swords with the British Empire. The French people will conceal or restrain a little longer their desire to fight England. They may talk and threaten, but they will not imperil the success of their Exhibition. Russia is quite willing to wait, and also prefers her own slow methods to the impetuosity of her vivacious partner. The risk is that they may both go a little further than the British Government can stand, and before they well know what they have done they may find themselves engaged in a naval war that they little expected. The French military authorities cherish many fine schemes of establishing their reputation by a brilliant stroke at the expense of England. They have had, for some years, a plan for throwing a force across the Channel and seizing Dover. Its merit may be inferred from the fact that General Boulanger drew it up; and now they have added a project for seizing Malta or Gibraltar, one or both, by a *coup de main*, in which absolute treachery would play no small part. It is not strange that French generals should conceive these schemes, but it certainly is strange that they should think the schemes can be kept secret.

The real danger of the hour to England comes, then, from France, behind whom stands Russia, and if there is to be war, "the rescue of the Boers" will be as good a cry as any other. It will be received with general acclamation by the European public in States which have no pretense to have a voice in the matter, and even in Germany, where the decision to remain neutral will not prevent the mass of the people from hoping that England will meet with discomfiture and damage. At the latest, the close of the year will tell us what we must expect; but, in the worst event, the British Empire of to-day will give a good account of Russia and France combined and make them bitterly regret their decision to assail it.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

SOME CONSECRATED FALLACIES.

BY AMOS K. FISKE.

In the course of human history many fallacies have been propounded, with the sanction of such high authority that they have imposed upon the minds of men and produced delusions which generations of growing enlightenment have been unable to dispel. The framers of the American Declaration of Independence were inspired by an ardent patriotism and by lofty motives, and their statements embodied a sufficient justification of the cause to which they sought to devote their countrymen; but there was no revelation of universal and eternal truth in the "glittering generalities" with which they prefaced those statements. On the contrary, they consecrated to perpetuity some of the most obvious fallacies that were ever promulgated to mislead men.

They proclaimed it to be a self-evident truth "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Whatever interpretation and exegesis may do for this declaration, in the sense in which it is commonly accepted and used in the place of argument, it is neither self-evident nor truth. There is nothing more evident to human observation and human reason than the inequalities with which men come into the world and pass through it and out of it. Not only are different races unequal in capacities of various kinds, but the members of the same race present every diversity of inequality. Nor can any power at the command of mankind make them equal in this world or in the processes of time, whatever may be their destiny in eternity.

It is useless to argue around this immutable fact, or try to interpret into the Declaration a meaning which it does not con-

tain. All men are simply not created equal in any possible sense of the word. The negroes held in slavery by some of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were not created the equals of their masters nor of the average members of the race to which their masters belonged. The mass of the white people of the colonies were not all created equal, nor were the people of Mexico and South America at that time created equal to the people inhabiting the Republic then in the throes of birth.

The creation of men has been a gradual process of evolution, and they have been coming into being in different parts of the earth, through long generations, with differences and inequalities which development has varied and widened, and not obliterated. There are wide inequalities at birth and through life among the people of the United States, and inequalities less wide among the people of the Philippine Islands, and there is a large inequality between the people of this continent and of those islands. The fact is too glaring to be obscured by rhetoric.

Nor, in any strict sense of the word, can all men, or any men, be said to be endowed by their Creator with any rights whatever. Rights, in the political sense and in the social sense, are acquired or conceded as society and polity develop. There are principles of right which are fundamental and unchangeable, and as men advance they come more and more clearly to recognize and apply these, and thereby rights are slowly gained and firmly established. They are not the natural endowment, though they may be the far-off heritage, of all men. Rights, when once acquired, are not inalienable. Every human State and every human society has, perforce, to define and curtail the rights of its members; otherwise it could not exist and make progress. It grants and it modifies rights, and it is continually compelled to alienate and forfeit rights that have been inherited or acquired. It is still so in the freest and most enlightened land on earth.

Rights are alienated or forfeited by crimes against the State and offenses against social order and safety, and by incapacity to exercise them without harm to the general well-being. And among the rights alienable for such causes are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The wilful murderer of his fellow-man forfeits his right to life at the stern demand of justice, one of the immutable principles of right. The State justly alienates from the malefactor the right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Many

men voluntarily surrender their rights for the benefit of their country, or for their own advantage; and all men's rights in civilized society are more or less curtailed and restricted, and in so far alienated, for the sake of harmony and security to the whole. The extent of the alienation depends upon the necessities of the case and the requirements of human order, and not upon degrees of divine endowment. This is the universal fact of human experience, whatever may be demanded by ideal theories.

Without doubt, governments are instituted among men to establish and secure rights, and to maintain that balance which is necessary to safety and progress. Do they derive their just powers from the consent of the governed? Let us not be blinded by the glitter of a generality, the meaning of which is not clearly defined. A statement which is susceptible of various interpretations and may have different and conflicting meanings, to suit the exigencies of polemics, is not an expression of universal and absolute truth. What is the consent of the governed?

Certainly the individual is and must be in many cases governed without his consent, and even against his protest, if social and political order is to be maintained and the general well-being subserved. Not only were the slaves held by some of the "fathers of the Republic" not the equals by creation of their masters, but they were governed in a kind of patriarchal system without their consent, though not in all cases against their will. The subjects of any kind of government are necessarily constrained to submit to an established authority, though they neither consent to its existence nor approve of the way in which its powers are exercised.

Is it, then, a question of the consent of the majority? That depends upon how the majority is composed, and what is the effect of its influence upon government. It is not really a question of the "greatest good to the greatest number," according to the judgment of the greatest number, but of the highest good to the whole, attainable by the combined wisdom and power of the whole. There was much distrust of the wisdom and of the power of numbers among the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of the Federal Constitution. None of them practically regarded the consent of a majority of the subjects of government as the source of its just powers, or as necessary to their equitable exercise.

The ordinary, if not the universal, manner of expressing popular consent is by a vote of the people. Most of the authors of the Declaration and the founders of the Constitution believed in a qualification of the suffrage that has been found necessary to the attainment of the ends of government and the security of the actual rights of its subjects. It would not be necessary in a commonwealth where intelligence was universal and education general, and the degrees to which it is necessary in the present human state vary with the intellectual and moral condition of the governed. It is the right of the organic whole of a community to be ruled by the preponderance of wisdom and ability to govern, rather than by the preponderance of numbers. In the nation launched by the Declaration of Independence, and in the States created under the Constitution, there have been various qualifications and modifications of the suffrage to secure better results in government, the very purpose and intent of which was to lessen the dependence of the government upon the consent of the governed.

Does consent of the governed, then, signify the acquiescence of a State, or of a community, in the control of any central or external authority that may be established over it? That, too, depends upon circumstances and conditions, and not upon any universal rule of right or self-evident truth. When the slave States withdrew their consent to the exercise of that national jurisdiction which the Federal Constitution had established, was the national Government bound, politically or morally, by the sacred principles of the Declaration of Independence to "let the erring sisters go?" We know the cost, in treasure, in the blood of men and in the tears of women, of bringing them back under the national authority without their consent. Was truth defied, was justice outraged, was the foundation principle of our Government subverted in the performance of that dreadful task, or was a stern but sacred duty discharged in saving the Union of States from overthrow?

But how about that very revolt of the thirteen colonies against the government exercised over them by the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland? It was for that emergency, and not for the future government of this or any other people, that our great Declaration was fulminated. Its authors deemed the colonies as already a "people," connected by political bands to another, but entitled by the laws of nature and of nature's God to a separate

and equal station among the powers of the earth. They believed that the time had come, in the course of human events, when those political bands should be dissolved, and, out of a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, they declared the causes that impelled to the separation.

In the situation of the country as it then was, with the alternative of oppression or independence confronting them, believing the people of the colonies to be the equals of those of the mother country, and equally entitled to a voice in the government to which they were subject, they prefaced their Declaration with that sweeping and glowing utterance, which had a broad application as truth to their case, but which becomes a delusive bundle of fallacies when promiscuously applied to the universal state of man, and which has taken the consecration of 1776 as giving it an "equal date with Sinai and with Ararat." But, in point of fact, the Revolution was not based upon any self-evident truth of the equality of men, or upon the theory that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

It was impelled by the wrongs which the colonies suffered at the hands of the mother country. It was induced by the unjust government that was exercised over them and the evil consequences that were thereby entailed upon their people. England's offense was not imposing her government upon the people of the colonies without their consent, but exercising that government unwisely and wrongfully to their harm. It was the circumstances of the case that justified the revolt and that made it successful, and no universal truth of the equality of men or fundamental principles of the consent of the governed. Circumstances made the people capable and fit for self-government, and they knew it. Circumstances justified them in declaring their independence and circumstances enabled them to achieve it. When they came to frame their own government, they acted upon the dictates of practical wisdom and exercised a saving common sense, which is our best heritage; and they thought no more of the native-born equality of all men or the theory of the consent of the governed. In all our history since, our political action has been determined by the practical requirements of every situation and the demands of the national well-being, and not by the dreamer's interpretation of the Declaration of Independence.

But suppose a people to be already independent; or, either

alone or with the assistance of another people, to have broken away from a power that had previously ruled it, whether justly or unjustly. Can any nation be justified in stepping in and establishing a government over that people without their consent? This, again, depends upon the circumstances and conditions of the case, and not upon some universal truth or fundamental theory of human government.

The time has come in the course of human events when no people on the face of the earth can live for itself alone. With the progress of civilization, the peoples are coming so in contact with each other, and into such mutual relations, that the rights of one are affected by the rights of another, and adjustments are made necessary in which more than one voice must be heard. Circumstances, and the methods of Spain's administration in her colonies, made her government of Cuba without the consent of its people an outrage and a wrong. The damage of that government to the interests of the United States justified intervention to put an end to it. Do any of these facts or any antecedent truth make of the people of Cuba the equals of all created men, or do the laws of nature and of nature's God necessarily entitle them to a separate and equal station among the powers of the earth? The question of fitness for self-government—and nobody denies that there is such a question—involves the assumption of inequality of natural endowment among men. No people, as a people, can exercise the unrestrained right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness regardless of the rights and interests of their fellow peoples upon the earth. The right of the people of Cuba to independence and self-government depends upon their ability to exercise it to their own benefit and without detriment to the other peoples, who cannot escape relations with them of mutual good or harm. If intervention was justified to save them from the misrule of Spain, because interests of the United States were injuriously affected, intervention to save them from their own misrule might be justified for a like reason. There is no universal truth or fundamental principle which forbids their being governed without their consent, if rights and interests broader and higher than their own require it.

Take the present case of the Philippine Islands, to which our consecrated fallacies have been so freely applied of late. We are not concerned for the moment with questions of policy or the

wisdom of what has been done. But are the people of those islands, by creation or as the result of experience, as a whole and on the average, the equals of the people of the United States? Are they capable of governing themselves in a way which will secure to all the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness within their own domain, and safeguard the interests of others who cannot avoid holding relations with them? If not, are they entitled, by the laws of nature and of nature's God, to take a separate and equal station among the powers of the earth, regardless of what those powers may say or do in their own behalf? If they have that title, it is certain that it will not be respected by all the powers of the earth, and it can hardly be made valid by the consecration of the American Declaration of Independence.

The course of events in the last two years, whether rightly or wrongly we need not inquire, has placed the United States in a peculiar relation to the Philippine Islands, involving responsibilities to itself, to them and to the rest of the world. What the situation requires of us we will not discuss; but suppose it be admitted that the interests of all concerned—the United States, the Philippine Islands, and the rest of the world—would be best subserved by the exercise of the powers of government over the islands by the United States, is there any sacred truth, any principle of right or justice, that would forbid that consummation, without the consent of the people of the islands first had and obtained? Must the lack of that consent, even though induced by ignorance or incapacity of judgment, stand against a better judgment of what is for the well-being of the islands and their people; stand against the interests of the United States in that part of the world, however important they may be; stand against the interests of other nations toward whom we have assumed responsibilities, without regard to any and all consequences that might be entailed by our refusal to exercise the governmental powers which a situation of our making demands, but which cannot be derived from the consent of the governed?

We do not in fact know whether we would have that consent or not. A large proportion of the people know little and understand less of the controversy that is going on, and are in no position to give or to withhold their consent. Another large proportion, there is reason to believe, would gladly give their consent, if the opportunity were offered. The proportion which, under

the dominant influence of a few strong and ambitious leaders, is actually resisting American control is a small one, but it makes a situation which renders a test of the question of consent impossible now. But the question is on the whole irrelevant. It is raised and seriously debated solely on the strength of an announcement which is either radically fallacious, or which has been rendered fallacious by misapplication, and which is held to be consecrated only because it is embodied in an instrument that all Americans revere for good and sufficient reasons. But the practical common sense of the American people will continue to insist upon the settlement of the political problems of the nation upon considerations of wisdom and justice, as they are able to see them to-day, and not under the sway of delusive fallacies solemnly promulgated a century and a quarter ago.

AMOS K. FISKE.

THE PRACTICE OF CONFESSION IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY THE REV. R. F. CLARKE, S. J.

THERE is no institution in the Catholic Church to which the average Protestant, whether he be an American or an Englishman, has a more deeply rooted antipathy than to the practice of auricular confession. He regards it as an unwarrantable invasion of the privacy of the individual conscience, an intrusion into the sacred domain of domestic life; as dangerous, demoralizing, a source of weakness to the will, and destructive of the habit of independence and mental self-reliance. I know that I am advocating an unpopular cause in undertaking to plead in its behalf, and that the very name carries with it an unpleasant sound in the ears of a majority of my readers.

At the same time, I feel sure that they will accede me a fair hearing. I ask them to listen to me, as far as they can, with minds unprejudiced, while I speak, from my own knowledge, of a system of which I have had a long and intimate experience, and which I have learned to love and value more and more in the last thirty years, during which I have myself been to confession at least once a week, and have, as a priest, heard many thousand confessions in various English-speaking countries.

I do not propose to enter on the thorny paths of religious controversy. I am no controversialist, and I doubt not that most of my readers share my dislike to controversy. My object in the present paper will be to state, as fairly and impartially as I can, the manifold advantages to the individual and to society which are the result of habitual confession, and to try to remove, if I can, some of the misconceptions which prevail respecting it, even among honorable and educated men. I need scarcely say that I

do not propose to enter the lists against the anti-Popery lecturer, or the professional declaimer against the "abominations of Rome." These unfortunate products of modern bigotry and intolerance I shall leave entirely alone. The class to whom they appeal are, for the most part, impervious to reason, and the infamous literature that they sow broadcast is of itself sufficient to condemn them.

The history of confession is too wide a field for me to attempt to enter upon. I will only say that Christians, from the very beginning, taking in their literal and obvious sense our Lord's words to His Apostles—"As my Father hath sent me, even so I send you. Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven to them, and whose sins you retain, they are retained"—have always seen in the ministers of the Church the delegates and representatives of Christ, and have, in obedience to His command, made confession of their sins to them. The early literature on the subject is, indeed, scanty and imperfect; but it is sufficient to show that the practice of confession prevailed from the very first. Whether, in the first fervor of primitive Christianity, this confession was in all cases made in public, or whether this severe ordeal was confined to grave sins which gave serious scandal (the rest being confessed privately), is a disputed point. Modern investigation, however, tends to prove that, even in the earliest times, private sins were privately confessed.

Be this as it may, the writings of the Fathers and the decrees of local synods bear ample witness to the general custom of auricular confession as prevailing in East and West alike. The Lateran Council, in 1215, did not impose the practice on the faithful, but simply determined the minimum that the Church required. To argue from the decree of this Council, ordering that all shall confess their sins at least once a year, that confession was never previously enforced, is an utterly unwarrantable inference. It would be just as reasonable to conclude that if a Government were to order a mathematical examination of boys in all public schools to be held once a year, no mathematical examination had ever been previously exacted; or that if a State Legislature were to direct that all the children in its industrial schools were to have a bath at least once a month, the children in them had never been made to take a bath before. What the Council did was to define what had hitherto been undefined, to determine what was the minimum of obligation for the faithful all the world over. I

merely notice this in passing, for I am now considering auricular confession, not historically, but in its relation to the needs of men in modern society, and as affecting for good or evil those who habitually practise it.*

The natural origin and fountain-head of confession is to be found in an instinct of human nature, which leads us to communicate to others any strong emotion present to the soul, any powerful influence engendering in us joy or sorrow, hope or fear, self-approbation or self-reproach. If some counter motive render concealment necessary, the suppression will be painful to us, and will aggravate our suffering, where the influence present to the soul is one unfavorable to its happiness. Now, a sense of guilt is, of all emotions which affect the soul, the one which causes the most deeply rooted misery, and is the most destructive of all true peace. Shame, self-reproach, fear, remorse, disgust at the thought of the past, and despondency at the prospect of the future, all combine to make life almost intolerable. The desire to exterminate that which is the source of our mental suffering sometimes becomes irresistible. The story of Eugene Aram is an instance in point, as is that of the murderer who approached the cradle of his victim's infant in order that he might whisper to a human ear the crime that he could no longer bear in silence. Probably most of my readers have, in the course of their lives, listened to the confidences of some friend or acquaintance who poured forth, in the gloaming or by the dull fire-light, the honest and self-accusing story of his past misdeeds. I am not concerned with the source of this curious instinct of self-revelation, but the fact of the relief that it affords to the heavily burdened soul is undeniable. It certainly is much stronger among Christians than among those who belong to other religions; and the reason of this is that the sense of the evil of sin is far more keen in those who believe in the Incarnation and death of the Son of God. Almost every revival of religion, outside the Catholic Church, has been accompanied with some form or other of public or private confession. The early Wesleyans related in public their religious "experiences," and the leaders of the evangelical movement at the beginning of the present century received

*A valuable bit of evidence on the practice of Confession in England in Anglo-Saxon times is found in the "Dialogue of Egbert" (A D. 766-91.) "*Haec, Deo gratias, a temporibus Vitaliani Papæ et Theodori Dorobernensis Archiepiscopi inolevit in Ecclesia Anglorum consuetudo, ut etiam laici cum conjugibus et liberis suis ad confessores suos pervenirent, et se. . . . cum eleemosynarum largitione mundarent, quatenus puriores Dominicæ Communionis perceptionem in Natale Domini perciperent.* (Haddan & Stubbs; Councils, III. 413.)

from their disciples a "manifestation of conscience" that was little else than a confession of their sins. The rapid growth of the practice of confession among the Ritualists is not a mere imitation of Rome, but is the natural outcome of their religious earnestness and sincerity.

All this proves the necessity of providing some carefully guarded and recognized outlet for that instinct of human nature which leads a man to give relief to his sense of personal guilt by some external manifestation of his evil deeds. The more intense his sense of guilt, the more unbearable does it become, unless he has the opportunity of getting rid of, or at all events of lightening, his burden, by revealing the source of his misery to some one or more of his fellow-creatures in whose prudence and sympathy he can confide. I have myself known several instances in which the sense of sin made life so intolerable as to lead to an attempt, and in one or two cases a successful attempt, to commit suicide. Our lunatic asylums contain patients not a few who have lost their reason from the same cause. All of these, or most of them, would certainly have been saved if they could have had recourse to the Catholic confessional and poured out their tale of misery and sin into the sympathetic ears of the confessor. I have myself often heard from the lips of those who had told some sad tale of wilful and long-continued sin the joyful exclamation, "Now, father, I begin to feel better." The inexpressible relief was due, in great measure, to the mere outpouring of their sad story. They were employing what was the natural, as well as the supernatural, means of escaping from the crushing and intolerable burden.

But there is a further provision for the needs of human nature that confession, and confession only, can supply. Every one who goes astray has an undefined and vague intention of beginning, at some time or other, a new and a better life. He wants to give up the evil which in his heart he hates, and he means to do so when a convenient season comes. But the difficulty is to determine the time when that happy moment shall arrive. We are all procrastinators, especially where immediate action means a struggle with ourselves and the relinquishment of that to which we are attached. So we put off and put off, until the chain that binds us down becomes so strong that it is a moral impossibility to shake ourselves free of it. Men sometimes fix for themselves a special day which is to be the beginning of a new life—their next birth-

day, for instance, or the first day of the coming year. But, in point of fact, the promised reformation very rarely takes place when the appointed day arrives, or if, for a short time, there is a change for the better, the improvement, unsupported as it is by any fresh influences for good appertaining to the new era, soon fades away and disappears.

Now, this need of a turning point for good, of a special date and limit from which the old things shall have passed away, and all things shall have become new, is supplied by the confessional as nothing else in the world can supply it. The Catholic who is desirous of turning over a new leaf and of overcoming his past faults and frailties, but who at the same time is conscious of his own weakness, turns instinctively to that wholesome tribunal, where he knows that he will find a kind and attentive listener, a man who has had long experience of the various snares and pitfalls that beset our path through life, and who can, therefore, sympathize with all the difficulties that have to be encountered by one who is entering on a struggle with evil, and on the serious pursuit of what is good. The sinner who has learned to hate himself, and who feels himself unable, by his own unaided efforts, to free himself from the yoke of sin, will there find a prudent, patient and skilful counsellor, who will have a hundred devices to suggest for meeting the force of temptation, and a hundred means by which he may strengthen himself in the practice of virtue. The confessor will make for him "the crooked ways straight, and the rough places plain." He will encourage him where encouragement is needed, and warn him where there are dangers to be avoided. So he betakes himself—perhaps in fear and trembling, but still with a hope long unknown to him and a confidence to which he has long been a stranger—to that fountain provided for the washing away of sin and uncleanliness, and for the strengthening of good resolutions and aspirations after a new and better life, which is to be found in every Catholic church. In the priest in the confessional he knows that he will have a father, a friend and a guide. In him he sees God's own representative, and there rise to his lips, instinctively and naturally, the words of the prodigal in the Gospel, "I will arise and go to my father, and will say to him, 'Father, I have sinned.'" In this way the tribunal of penance, quite apart from the grace of the sacrament, with which I am not now concerned, is simply an invaluable instrument of reformation.

How valuable and how effective it is, is of course better known to priests than to any other class; and it is one of the greatest consolations of their sacred ministry to think of the hundreds whom they have thus helped over the rough places that beset the first struggle after virtue, and who will one day tender them their grateful thanks for the help that they have received from them in their sore time of need.

In close connection with this "ministry of reconciliation" is a further and a scarcely less important advantage attaching to the confessional, that it affords a sure and a safe resort to all who are in any kind of moral or intellectual perplexity or distress. I imagine that very few of my readers have not, at some time or other in their lives, found themselves in some harassing doubt or difficulty from which they knew not how to extricate themselves. Their trouble may have arisen from their own fault, or it may have been entirely independent of any action of their own. It may have arisen from within, or it may have been the result of exterior circumstances which have hedged them in with embarrassment that for the time made their lives a misery, or, at all events, very seriously interfered with their happiness and peace of mind. Those who have delicate consciences, men with a naturally high sense of honor or justice, are especially liable to these storms of mental suffering. Their very anxiety to do what is right aggravates their trouble; they are torn asunder by a number of opposing motives and influences, and sometimes do not know which way to turn. Let me take one or two instances such as often occur in modern life. A man in a position of responsibility has, under stress of some pressing need, borrowed (or embezzled) some of his employer's money. He has tided over the difficulty by some dishonest falsification of his accounts. There is every chance of his escaping undetected, for he is a man whose character stands high, and in whom his employer placed the most implicit confidence. But his conscience will not let him rest. He is simply miserable at the thought of his betrayal of his trust. He is bound to confess his misdeeds to his employer, to be dismissed in shame and disgrace, to drag down to misery those near and dear to him, his loving wife and his innocent children. Another man is in business for himself, say as a picture dealer, and he is much troubled in conscience as to certain misrepresentations which he has made with regard to the antiquity or the origin of the pictures that he

wishes to sell. These misrepresentations are not actually false, but they are of a nature to mislead the intending purchaser. They are in line with the universal practice of the trade in the city where he dwells, and without them his business would be liable to be ruined. What is he to do under these difficult circumstances? Or, to take a very different case. A girl is living at home with her mother and sister. She is not necessary to her mother's happiness or comfort, but, without doubt, she adds much to it. She has, however, for some time felt strongly drawn toward consecrating her life to God among the good Sisters of Charity, whose self-sacrificing devotion to the poor has made their white caps and gray dress dear even to non-Catholics. What ought she to do? Is she bound to obey the voice within and to leave those dear to her, in order to follow out at any cost what she believes to be her vocation? Or is it all a delusion, her real duty being to be the solace of her mother's advancing years? How conducive, how necessary, to her peace of mind that some wise counsellor should help her in deciding the question she cannot decide for herself! Children, too, have their own difficulties. Every confessor of boys has been asked, "Father, is it a sin to go out of bounds without leave? Is it a sin to use a crib? Is it a sin to have a fight with another boy?" Even little girls are sometimes perplexed in conscience. "Father, is it a sin to slap my little sister when she is naughty? Is it a sin to take chocolates out of mother's work-box?" Sometimes the questions are on matters of more serious import, for the voice within does not always clearly promulgate even the precepts of the natural law. In all these questions, great and small, it is of incalculable benefit to young and old to be able to resort to one who will clearly draw the line between right and wrong and set at rest the troubled conscience.

In all such cases the confessional furnishes a counsellor who is perfectly unprejudiced, whose one and only desire is to promote the happiness and well-being of his penitent, who speaks with the authority belonging to his office, whose long experience gives weight to his words, and who, above all, knows the severe account that Almighty God will exact of him, and the awful responsibility of the task entrusted to him. He knows that if he swerves one hair's-breadth from the law of God in the advice given, out of any human respect, or desire to please, or any other inferior motive, he will be guilty of a great sin before God. What better means than

this could possibly be devised for giving peace to troubled souls, or for settling doubts and difficulties that, to those who are entangled in them, often seem insoluble? I do not mean to say that the confessor is infallible, or may not judge the case wrongly. But there is every possible chance that his judgment will be the right one, and that he will be able to give such advice as may release the perplexed conscience from its difficulties and dangers. My own experience is that seldom have I encountered any problem as to future action, however apparently hopeless, which did not admit of a solution that was not only practically possible, but that could be carried out without any very serious difficulty by the person asking advice.

Another benefit attaching to the practice of confession is one that, I think, cannot fail to be appreciated by any one who calls himself, even in the widest sense, a Christian. One of the great dangers of the present day is a want of a sufficient appreciation of the evil of sin as an offense against Almighty God. Utilitarianism holds a pernicious sway over the opinion of modern society respecting right and wrong. If the law of God forbids any course of conduct which utilitarianism declares to be beneficial to society, well, so much the worse for the law of God. I do not mean to say that any except an extreme school of modern theorists would put the matter in this crude form; but it underlies a great deal of the opinion now prevalent respecting right and wrong. This or that course of action cannot be bad, because it does no possible harm to others; it must be good, because it can be shown to be advantageous to society. Why should we regret any of our actions in the past if neither we, nor any one else, are, as far as we can judge, a whit the worse for them?

This habit of mind is one that is fostered by a career of prosperity and success. It is all very well to say that we all have within us the dread tribunal of conscience, declaring, with a voice that cannot be silenced, the guilt of sin and its hatefulness in the sight of God, apart from any evil results that may proceed from it. This is true; but conscience, if it be disregarded, soon ceases to speak with the same distinctness, or else the deafened ears fail to hear its sentence of condemnation. It needs an external sanction, a human voice without, that shall be the echo of the voice of God within. It needs, moreover, the help of some authoritative tribunal, outside of him, which shall compel the wrongdoer to

take counsel of his conscience and reckon up with its help the different occasions on which he has disobeyed its voice, in order that he may obtain forgiveness by a full and frank confession of them all to one who must, as God's representative, take cognizance of them all, and pass on the guilty accuser of himself a sentence of punishment which shall in some way correspond to the heinousness of his sin. One of the most valuable elements of confession is the examination of conscience that necessarily precedes it. It brings a man face to face with his sins as nothing else can. He knows that if they are to be forgiven, not one must be concealed; and he knows, too, that he must use all care and diligence to see that none is, through any negligence on his part, omitted from the black list. They must all be told, the number however great, and the kind of sin however disgraceful and humiliating. I can scarcely imagine anything that has a greater power to quicken the sense of the heinousness of sin than this necessity of first coming face to face with it in careful self-examination, and then putting into words the results which that self-examination has revealed. And here I may remind my readers that this advantage is altogether lost unless the integrity of confession is strictly enforced. Once allow the penitent to tell what seems good to him, and to omit whatever he is reluctant to confess, and the value of confession, as enforcing a sense of the evil of sin, disappears. The judge must know all the details of the offenses committed, else how can he pass a just sentence? Nothing must be hidden from him, inasmuch as he is God's representative. It is the telling of this humbling tale which keeps alive in the heart of the Catholic that keen appreciation of the evil of sin, the fading away of which is an irreparable loss to Protestant society.

And it is the fact that the tale is such a humbling one that furnishes the tribunal of penance with another most potent weapon for the encounter with evil and for the salvation of souls.

Of all sins there is none so deadly and so hateful to God as pride, and, on the other hand, there is no virtue more indispensable to all those who desire to follow in the footsteps of Christ than the virtue of humility. Without humility every other virtue is a mere pretense and counterfeit; with it every good and perfect gift can be obtained from the Most High. Nothing is more prominent in the teaching of Our Lord and His Apostles than the all-importance of humility. The Pharisees were liberal in their

alms, mortified in their lives, lengthy in their prayers; but their pride spoilt it all. The publican beating his breast was humble, and therefore was forgiven. While God has compassion on sinners, we are told that He hates the proud. But there is no need to dwell on the truism that, of all Christian duties, the most essential is that we "humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God." Now, of all Christian practices I think that there is none so humbling, so humiliating, as the practice of confession. To tell to a fellow-creature the evil thoughts that we have indulged, the mean, selfish, disgraceful acts that we have done, and to tell them in all their naked hideousness, is a process which knocks the pride out of a man better than any other that I know of in the whole world. It is this which makes the confessional so unpopular with average Englishmen in the present day. Cardinal Manning said in one of his temperance speeches that drunkenness is the besetting sin of England. Drunkenness is bad enough, God knows, not only in itself, but because of the other sins which follow in its train. Nevertheless, I do not agree with His Eminence. I am quite certain that pride is far more subtle, more dangerous, more deadly, more ruinous to the souls of men, than drunkenness. It is a respectable vice, a vice which breeds no remorse in the soul, a vice which is often accompanied with a great show of virtue, and even of piety, a vice which carries with it a fatal blindness and hardness of heart, a vice that renders a man impervious to the sweet influences of God's grace. Now, a true, heartfelt confession of sin is incompatible with pride. This is why the tribunal of penance has always been one of the most cherished institutions in the Catholic Church. This too is the reason why it never can take root and flourish in any of those forms of religion which have thrown off the yoke of the Church, and proclaimed the right of private judgment and the autocracy of the individual conscience. To confess one's sins to God, Who knows them all already, requires no exercise of humility, such as is involved in confessing them to a human being, who knows nothing of them beforehand. It would be simply an intolerable abasement of self, at least to the ordinary Christian, unless he saw in that human being God's delegate and representative, and unless he knew that this abasement of himself is a necessary condition to the salvation of his soul.

I must add yet another advantage of confession of a very different kind. It has probably often occurred to the mind of

most Catholics, as it has often occurred to my own, that if there were no other proof of the paramount claims of the Catholic Church, we should find a sufficient one in the elaborate care with which she watches over the innocence of the young. To guard from evil and corruption the lambs of the fold is one of her chief duties and privileges. This loving care she inherits from her Divine Founder, Who was the friend and lover of little children. Now, I do not think that it is possible for any unprejudiced and well-informed person, who compares the practical working of the Catholic system with that of any other religious system in the world, to deny her unrivalled and unapproachable superiority in this respect. She shields her little ones in their early childhood with all the jealous care of the most tender mother, and when the time comes for the safe seclusion of the parental roof to be exchanged for a freer intercourse with their fellows, she provides safeguards for their purity that are unknown, or almost unknown, outside her fold. For the due education of boys, large schools, and for those of the upper class, large boarding-schools, are a practical necessity. Then comes the dangerous time, and how great the dangers of that time are is well known to every one who has had an experience of the inner working of English public schools. To keep boys safe from a most perilous, if not a fatal, contact with vice and sin, is a problem which has exercised the mind and troubled the conscience of every one who has taken part in the management of any of our large schools and colleges; and those among Protestant educators who have studied the subject most deeply, and who have had long experience to guide them, have had to admit, with sorrow and grief, that the task was a hopeless one. They have had to submit to what they considered an inevitable evil, and their best hope has been by personal influence to mitigate to some extent that which they knew they were powerless to prevent. But is the evil one for which no remedy can be provided? God forbid! The Catholic Church provides an effective remedy for this, as for every other evil incident to human life. Here I can speak from a large experience, and with a full knowledge of the subject. Again and again I have been assured by boys who have passed through Catholic colleges, from the lowest to the highest form, that during the whole of their time there they never heard one immodest word, or came into contact with any sort of temptation to evil from those with whom they associated. I have

known some who at the end of their school course were as innocent of moral evil as on the day they entered, and were utterly shocked and disgusted when they were thrown into the vortex of the world outside, and had to listen to the kind of talk that too often forms the common staple of conversation among those who have had a Protestant education.

I shall, perhaps, be told that the Catholic system is a "hot-house system," and I accept the simile. Does the prudent gardener expose his tender plants, during their early growth, to the cold east wind and the nipping frosts? If he wants them to be strong and sturdy, he watches over them and shelters them from the fatal influences that will blight their growth and leave traces of evil that can never be wholly removed. In like manner does the Catholic Church. She, too, guards her tender plants, and with prudent vigilance avails herself of the means with which Christ has provided her, to train them up to habits of virtue and to a hatred of sin, fostering their moral strength and their love of all that is pure and of good report, that so she may send them forth, when their manhood shall have come, armed in full panoply, to do battle with all the perils which they will then have to encounter and with the evils which will then beset their path. I do not say that the Church is always successful in her endeavors. It is quite possible that, even in a Catholic school, evil may for a time run riot. One sinner may destroy much good. But the evil never lasts long, and the Catholic system brings about a speedy recovery. What I do assert is that the moral perils to which a boy is exposed in a Catholic school are infinitesimal as compared with those which will surround him in any of the Protestant public schools and colleges.

In all this the chief engine for the good work is the confessional. There are, of course, many others. There is the personal influence, and the keen sense of responsibility, of those who are in authority; there is the close and intimate friendship existing between the teacher and the taught, which is something utterly different from the comparatively cold relations and official reserve which make the Protestant master far more of a stranger to his boys. But it is the weekly or fortnightly confession that is the real safeguard. It is in the confessor that he has his trusted friend, to whom he freely talks of all his dangers and temptations; it is confession that keeps the moral atmosphere healthy and pure;

it is confession that maintains the high standard of life and conversation prevailing, through God's mercy, in our Catholic schools and colleges; it is confession which enables the Catholic parent to entrust his boy to the good priests, whether secular or regular, who devote themselves to the work of education, without any of those qualms or fears, that anxiety and foreboding about the future, that fill the heart of the Protestant parent when he bids farewell to his innocent child on his first plunge into the vortex of a Protestant public school.

But there is one charge, one false and cruel charge, which some Protestant writers bring against confession. They say that it introduces the young and innocent to a knowledge of subjects which are *sacro digna silentio,* and even suggests to them evil of which they would otherwise be ignorant. I can only assure my readers (in answer to this gratuitous calumny), on the word of an honest man, that during the twenty years and more that I have been constantly hearing confessions of men and women, boys and girls, of every class and in various countries, I have never once known of a single instance of any knowledge of evil having been imparted in the confessional. I am sure that I may speak for all my fellow-priests all over the world, when I say that I would, with God's help, far rather be torn in a thousand pieces than say one word in the confessional that could endanger the purity of the young or impart a knowledge of evil to one previously ignorant of it.

But if there should be any of my readers who are not willing to accept my own personal assurance, there is another consideration which ought to convince them. If there were in this accusation the smallest element of truth, every good mother would, in her tender care for her children's innocence, have the greatest horror of seeing her little ones kneeling before the priest, and every careful father would forbid his boys and girls from incurring the risk of such contamination. Is this the case? Do we find good Catholic parents dreading the influence of the confessional for their children? On the contrary, there is nothing that gives them more hearty satisfaction than to know that their sons and daughters are, from their earliest years, regular in making their confession month by month or week by week. They regard it as the best possible safeguard for their innocence and virtue. They are alarmed and anxious if, when boyhood merges into youth, their sons grow

irregular in frequenting the tribunal of penance. They fear there must be something wrong. They urge and entreat them not to fall away from the practice of confession. Joy fills the mother's heart when she sees her son once more returning, it may be after long absence, to that fount of mercy and of grace, where she knows he will obtain pardon for the past, and strength and help for the struggles of the future. Ask any of the heads of those Catholic families whose names are a household word for all that is noble and honorable and of good report, what is their opinion of the institution which is thus maligned, and they will tell you, one and all, that it is for themselves a continual source of comfort and happiness and consolation and peace, and that their best wish for all those dear to them is that they shall share the incalculable benefits that they know by their own experience it confers. They will tell you that it is their stay and support, that it binds together the members of a household, reconciles those who are at variance, teaches children to be obedient to their parents, and parents to be gentle and patient and forbearing with their children; the wife to obey her husband, and the husband to love and cherish his wife; in a word, that it teaches all to fulfil the duties of their station, to observe the laws of God and of the Church, to live a chaste, sober, honest, godly life, and to die a holy and happy death.

I have said little or nothing of the supernatural benefits attaching to the confessional, or of the sacramental grace that flows into the souls of those who avail themselves of it. My object has been to dwell chiefly on the natural advantages of the confessional. And I have been speaking of the Catholic confessional, and of it alone. For confession, like every other great instrument for good, has its dangers, and very serious ones. Against these dangers the Catholic Church takes the most careful precautions; but I do not see how they can be guarded against in a communion where no such precautions exist; where the confessor has no recognized training for his difficult and responsible duties; where the practice is discouraged and discountenanced by those in authority, and is regarded with suspicion and dislike by the mass of those who are invited to avail themselves of it.

R. F. Clarke, S. J.

AFTER THE YACHT RACE.

BY SIR THOMAS LIPTON.

In accepting the courteous invitation of the Editor to say my say about the yacht race in these pages, I am delighted to repeat and to emphasize to the people and press of the United States, and to Mr. Iselin himself personally, my acknowledgements of their kindness and their fairness in all that related to me and to my challenge. Their fairness I took for granted from the first, as some readers of this Review will, no doubt, remember. If any one else ever thought that the course could not be kept clear, for example, or that the challenger would be hampered in any way whatever, I do not envy him his reflections now. Captain Evans might well have hoisted the broom, as a symbol of the masterly way in which he swept those seas.

I went to America with high hopes of winning the Cup, and with the expectation of a friendly reception. My hopes have been disappointed, but my expectations have been far exceeded. Never can I forget the thousand and one acts of goodwill shown me during my stay in American waters, nor the multitude of friendly faces that watched my departure from her shores. I did not win the Cup, but I did secure a much better token—that of the abiding brotherhood of our two peoples.

Of the press, I should like to add a special word, and it will be this—that it showed itself always considerate in its most enterprising moments, and that I made in America many friends among journalistic masters of the art of concealing under a light style the labors incidental to the very efficient exercise of their professional duties.

The Government itself was in absolute accord with the popular sentiment, and its offer of a way of landing at Sandy Hook,

and of the use of its wires and its workshops, will always be held in memory by me, and I think I may add, without any nonsense, by a large number of my fellow-countrymen.

It was my good fortune to be present at the welcome given to Admiral Dewey, and to have a place in that wonderful procession, for which the two Jubilee processions in London had only partially prepared me; so that I had before me this great object lesson of America's fervent patriotism and of America's generosity of good feeling toward myself as the representative of another country. It was impossible not to be impressed by the one sentiment and the other, and doubly so by their existence in harmony together.

Many people have spoken to me of the useful revival in our own time of some of the offices fulfilled of old by the Olympian games. The athletic and poetic contests that took place between States of ancient Greece politically independent of each other and lying as far apart as Rhodes from Sicily—and that gave Pindar, from yet another State, the opportunity for an ode to the victor—did undoubtedly serve to create a national solidarity of race, of religion, even of literature and language. I do not see why the modern contests in cricket, in football, in yachting or in various other forms of sport, should not serve the same end to-day. My preference is with yachting, a form of contest that involves a high intelligence in designer and skipper, that has no taint of cruelty in its exercise, and that provides a spectacle as pretty as any in the world.

"Shamrock" bore her name with a purpose; yet she had no warmer wishes for her success in Ireland than she had in England, in Scotland, or in Wales. She had the colonies, too, to wish her good luck. She rode triumphantly over any seas dividing our own peoples; she gave us solidarity at home. Perhaps the uses of the race did not end wholly with this agreeable example of unity between the three kingdoms, or with the amity it exhibited between England and America. If the Book of Job had to be written again, a windless day off Sandy Hook, while two yachts were waiting to pit against each other their vast expanse of sail, might serve the purpose of the allegory. That was a school of patience in which it is something to have graduated, as did we who planned the race, and as did they who assembled to see it.

It is proverbially unwise to try to repeat a pleasant experiment. The repetition is apt to pall. Well, we are not all wise always. However, I can say no more on that subject, until I have had opportunities of consulting Mr. Fife, not yet recovered from the illness which was so unfortunate for himself during the contest, and unfortunate, perhaps, for the "Shamrock."

These are the reflections and recollections which arise in my mind as I recall the memorable weeks spent on the "Erin" in American waters; and I have really nothing to add, except one more most grateful acknowledgment of all the pleasure and instruction I derived from the whole episode—a pleasure with so many ramifications that the failure to lift the coveted Cup seemed hardly to diminish it.

THOMAS LIPTON.

EAST INDIAN WOMEN.

BY MRS. F. A. STEEL, FORMERLY PROVINCIAL INSPECTRESS OF GOVERNMENT AND AIDED SCHOOLS IN THE PUNJAB.

CONSIDERING that the general conditions of womanhood in India are capable of verification by the least inquiry and a very small amount of observation, it is surprising what an amount of --I will not say ignorance but what is worse—the misconception which comes from imperfect knowledge exists concerning the question even among Anglo-Indians who have passed their lives within easy reach of the facts.

I scarcely think I exaggerate when I say that nine-tenths of the English women who manifest that somewhat over-sentimental interest in their Indian sisters, which shows itself in working for zanana* bazaars, are firmly imbued with the belief:

(1.) That no widow in India is allowed to marry again;

(2.) That every girl is married, not betrothed, before her teens;

(3.) That every woman is secluded.

Now, all these three beliefs are not only false, but they make it impossible to arrive at the truth in regard to many another question.

The erroneous impression in regard to the universality of enforced widowhood does the least harm of the three, since the legislation necessary to give the individual freedom on this point is already an accomplished fact. This is all the more curious, because the only practical effect of abolishing *suttee*† (as we did by a stroke of the pen) was to substitute a soul-sickening life for a soul-satisfying death. The real laying of the axe to the root of

*Zanana, women's apartments; from the Persian *Zan*, a woman.

†*Suttee*, properly *sati*, good, pure. Used to designate the good, chaste wife who immolates herself on her husband's funeral pyre. The practice was forbidden by the English in 1829, but is not yet extinct.

the upas tree which overshadowed so many a poor soul was when, by removing the civil disabilities of widowhood, we made life bearable.

But this upas tree, at most, overshadows but half the total number of women in India. Even amongst Hindoos, enforced widowhood is not universal. Many of the agricultural tribes practise the Mosaic law of re-marriage to the dead husband's younger brother; and in India brothers include cousins. I have no wish to minimize the flagrant injustice of condemning a woman to go through life without a chance of fulfilling the functions of her womanhood. At the same time, I would point out that there is an ever-increasing number of Western girls who are in similar case. These may have consolations, more than consolations, for what is, virtually, a celibacy enforced by the custom of the society in which they dwell. They say they have, at any rate!

But the Hindoo widow also has hers, in the conviction of the indissoluble bond with the dead man, which is only comparable to, though it is absolutely distinct in its impersonality from, the sentimental exaltation of feeling which, with us, makes a woman remain unmarried for the sake of a dead lover. Some of the happiest women I have known in India, certainly some of the best, have been widows indeed.

In regard to the second belief in the universality of child marriage, the margin of error introduced by it is far greater; so great as to prevent a right solution of the problem. By believing it to be, as it were, inherent in the family life of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, we inevitably make any legislation on the subject almost inconceivable. Now, my personal experience—I admit that this is a broken reed in regard to a huge continent like India, but it is all I have to offer—tells me that the actual ceremony of the *makh lawa, gauna* or *garbhadau*—in other words, what we should call marriage—seldom takes place, even among Hindoos in Upper India, until the age of twelve. For their own convenience, the parents will delay this till sixteen; and among some agricultural tribes, notably the Jâts, it is no unusual thing for a forlorn husband to have to sue for the possession of a virgin wife out of her teens, some buxom lass whose services are valuable on the ancestral farm. The tendency amongst even educated natives is to deny this experience of mine, for very

few, even amongst them, are willing to confess that child marriage has no religious sanction whatever; and they have the very greatest reluctance to admit a fact which would weaken their claim to non-interference; namely, that they themselves constantly set this custom aside for their own convenience.

Nevertheless, most will admit that the ceremony which marks the entry into actual conjugal relations only dates, as a separate function, from the sixteenth century. Before that, everything points to the betrothal—marriage taking place in such close sequence as practically to prove that it was necessary for the bride to have reached a marriageable age. Indeed, the fundamental idea which underlies the duty of the earliest possible marriage—that is, the semi-material, semi-spiritual subtlety which finds murder even in the prevention of possible life—shows that this possibility of life must be the potent factor in determining the age for marriage, and so puts this plea for infant marriage out of court.

We must, therefore, look elsewhere for the cause which has forced down the betrothal age, dissociated it from actual marriage, and made the latter possible when one or both the contracting parties are practically immature. As regards the higher classes, Mr. Ibbetson and Mr. Risley are doubtless right in attributing early betrothal to the necessity for hypergamy; but this affords us no clue to the cause which brought about what is actually a setting aside of the whole Indian theory of marriage from a religious point of view. And it is idle to say that this setting aside is due to imperfect physiological knowledge and a false estimate of natural phenomena. Here, again, my practical experience tells me that the mothers of India were quite as much alive to the futility of attempting to steal a march on nature as I was myself. It has been suggested, of course, that this forcing down of the marriageable age was made necessary by the lawless libertinism of Mohammedan conquerors; but, except that they are synchronous, I fail to find any possible connection between the two facts. Neither the presence, nor the absence, the reality nor unreality, of a prior claim affects mere lawlessness. No doubt, the bride's parents would attempt to shift their responsibility on the husband as early as possible; but it is equally sure that the latter's parents would not allow this, unless the bride was actually of an age to be a useful member of the household.

Again, if this theory of the protective power of a husband were true, we should certainly expect to find the custom of early marriage strongest amongst those who were most exposed to the risk of such libertinism. But that is exactly what we do not find. In the Punjab and down the Gangetic Valley, where the Mohammedan hordes marched and countermarched for centuries, immature marriage is the exception, not the rule; while among the peasantry, amid the infinitely great risks of outdoor laboring life, the marriageable age touches its highest limit. In Robtak, Gurgeon, Karnal, all districts in the immediate vicinity of Delhi, the centre round which Mohammedan conquest raged, the Jâts and other cognate races stand pre-eminent both for the freedom of their women and the mature age to which marriage is deferred.

Finally, it is inconceivable that the Hindoos should resort to the uncertain shield of a husband, when the new fashion of seclusion, which is also synchronous with conquest, gave them a far more efficient one. Indeed, I fail to see why they should have adopted seclusion from their conquerors, as they did with astonishing speed, had it not been for the immunity from all but organized outrage on their women which it afforded.

Therefore, though it is undoubtedly true that the colonization of India by Mohammedan races had the effect of dissociating betrothal from marriage, and so by degrees lowering the age for both, I see no reason for putting this down directly to libertinism. That most likely led to a whole-hearted adoption of seclusion; but it is the seclusion itself which led to child marriage, as I hope to show further on.

And this brings us to our third erroneous belief, namely, that every woman in India is secluded. This is the most harmful of all, for it is responsible for a great deal of quite unnecessary respect for the laws governing a custom which is considered to be universal. Even Lady Dufferin, than whom no one has a better right to speak on the subject, seems to me to help toward maintaining this false impression when she wrote in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* entitled "Woman in India," that "*under the present conditions of Eastern life, seclusion offers many undoubted advantages,*" and that "*neither the men nor the women of the country are prepared for its abolition.*"

I remember how, when I was reading these sentences, my mind's eye reverted to an incident of my camp life in India — to

a wide plain of golden grain, circled by a rim of golden sky; to a group of women, stalwart and strong, with a gleam of looking-glass embroidery in their full blue petticoats, a sheen of yellow silk upon the madder-red veils cast back from their honest faces, their full brown throats, and their capable arms, whose hands still grasped the sickle (despite the brown babies set astride their hips!). A group which waylaid me to ask why the *Hugoos* (my husband, the district magistrate) had not sent for *them* to inquire of the crops and the oxen, since they knew quite as much about the welfare and work of the village as the men!

Is it not to cast an unmerited slur on the lives of women like these (and there are millions of women as free to come and go, to labor beside their men-folk, to speak to strangers, as these Jâtins were), to say they are not fit for such freedom? As a matter of fact, fully one-half of the women of India have such freedom without suffering the least moral deterioration thereby. My experience is that the gad-about women lead more moral lives than the secluded ones. That this is, in a measure, due to the more healthy and natural tone of country, as distinct from town, life—for strict seclusion is a thing of cities—is no doubt true; but, as their own saying, "the gad-about's virtue has no screen between it and the truth," points out, the mere fact of publicity necessitates circumspection. And though the record of criminality in our police courts is against the unsecluded women, this has to be largely discounted by the fact that the veil hides from the public ken vice as well as virtue!

If, then, Indian society in the upper or secluded classes is not fit for the freedom already enjoyed by their sisters in the lower ones, so much the worse for the upper classes! Personally, however, I cannot consent to throw such wholesale doubt on the moral strength of secluded women, though no one who has lived in a Zanana, even for twenty-four consecutive hours, can fail to feel how utterly demoralizing the atmosphere is, and must be.

Given, however, this sweeping assertion of unfitness for freedom, it is not surprising to find its corollary in the line of policy laid down by the admirable fund which bears Lady Dufferin's name; that it should "respect to the very uttermost all the laws which govern the *purdah*."*

*Purdah, literally a screen used to denote seclusion. Thus it is said of a woman: "She is *purdah-nishin*," literally, sitting in a screen.

Now, apart from the unmerited slur which I have mentioned, the implied assumption here is that such respect is necessary to the welfare of the work; and this gives an absolutely false impression to the general public. As a matter of fact, if not one single secluded woman were treated, the task of the charity would still be far beyond its present strength. We should not, of course, be giving medical aid to secluded women, but we should be giving it to women who need it to the full as much. There are some, myself among the number, who hold that this would be better, since we should run less risk of unnecessary temporizing with a system which is in itself responsible for half the physical ailments we have to treat in the zananas; who think that, by so treating them, we not only spend time and money in perpetuating a vicious circle of error, but also lose the strongest fulcrum we have against the dead weight of a vicious custom—the strongest because it is always the one nature uses—the fulcrum of pain.

But that is another story. And I will pass on to a further false impression which is given by the words quoted above, namely that the system of seclusion has been, as it were, acquitted by experts of any active responsibility for the crying evils of Indian social life; since, otherwise, toleration could scarcely be the keynote of our desire to do good.

But this is not the case. No one, as I have said before, who has lived even for four and twenty consecutive hours in the ordinary atmosphere of an ordinary zanana, can fail to see its inevitable effect upon the children who are brought up in it. Briefly, this drawing of a veil between womanhood and the lustful eyes of the world makes it impossible for the children to be blind. Nor is this surprising. It does not need a doctor to tell us how the exclusion of all interests save one, the concentration of the whole mind on but one function, is invariably followed by a marked development in that interest, that function.

And in the zanana the underlying assumption that the claims of sex are paramount, finds expression in almost every detail of life. It is the *stri achchar*, or "woman's tradition," which is practically responsible for child marriage, as it is undoubtedly for the thousand and one unmentionable rites and ceremonies which, aped as they naturally are by the unsecluded classes—since gentility is always aped—make the whole subject seem so revolting to English women.

Yet there is no reason why this should be so; for no higher ideal of marriage exists than that inculcated by the Hindoo religion; though not, alas! by the average Hindoo woman.

This is not merely the expression of my own opinion. Bahoo Mohin Chander Sen writes that it is "the mother, the mother-in-law and the female relations generally, who combine to force the child into premature marriage;" and most native gentlemen will admit that this is the case and that they are helpless before the *stri achchar*, though they will admit it with reluctance. But if further proof of the fact that women are all powerful on this point is needed, it may be found in the absolute impotence of even educated natives to break through its fetters at the time of the agitation concerning the Age of Consent Bill. It was purely pitiable. It was then that I began to suspect that seclusion was responsible for immature marriage and the ever-increasing ritual —born of woman's idle and morbid imaginings—which has grown up around it. Of this ritual the men speak with assumed contempt but with real awe; for they know that, so long as a woman's life finds its sole interest in itself, the *stri achchar* will remain strong enough even to upset an Act of Parliament—as, virtually, it has, since the Age of Consent Bill is absolutely a dead letter. Personally, I never came across a woman who was even aware of its existence, and my insistence on it has only provoked a contemptuous amusement.

But the *stri achchar* does more than this. It defies nature. It disperses the mist with which she wisely shrouds the great problem of sex until the solver's foot hovers on the edge of it.

And it is this fact which makes child marriage possible. For it *is* possible to an Indian child who has been taught to play in deadly earnest at marrying her doll, to lisp curses on anyone who shall supplant her in her husband's desire, and to look forward to her womanhood as to a festival of pleasure. This is my quarrel with seclusion. It prevents nature from rearing her children in the happy normal state of ignorance in which she rears all young things up to a certain point; it makes it impossible for her to take her own way, unchecked, yet unforced. And this is the reason why the general impression that seclusion is universal, that it is impossible to work for the women of India if we refuse it respect to the uttermost, that for the sake of either physical or mental comfort it is necessary to tolerate it, seems to me productive of so

much harm. Personally, I deprecate any exotic sympathy with the sorrows and sufferings of seclusion which will tend to prolong its life, because I believe it to be entirely responsible for nearly all the social difficulties of India. Of course, now-a-days, physical pain is held to be the only unmitigated wrong; but, even from this point of view, it is possible that a lesser pain, long drawn out, holds as much pure martyrdom to the individual as a shorter, more severe one.

Of course, it is quite impracticable to tilt at seclusion as if it were a windmill; on the other hand, I do think that many of the Western women who are doing so much in India yield to its claims far too easily. Take, for instance, the case of girls' schools. I have had, in a professional capacity, to examine them by hundreds, and nothing has amused me more than the ever-varying claims for conveyance and chaperonage to and from the school, on the ground of pupils being secluded; claims which, in every case, mean the spending of public money. In my own schools, I let it be known that I would pay for neither, and I never suffered from any lack of pupils; but, of course, the mere fact that I insisted on religious instruction in its own faith being given in each school, whether Hindoo, Sikh, or Mohammedan, made such a stand possible.

Naturally, also, the old problem as to which came first, the owl or the egg, makes it difficult to decide whether we are not justified in tolerating the results in order to attack the cause. Lady Dufferin says that "most English ladies who interest themselves in ameliorating the condition of their Indian sisters. . . . have ultimate designs on the *purdah;*" and she is right. But I am not sure how far what I may call a constructive denial of their aim is permissible. No good fight was ever fought under a false flag.

One thing seems to me certain, the impossibility of effecting any radical change, such as was attempted in the Age of Consent Bill, until we get rid of the women's apartments. Mr. Mohun Ghose believes the Government strong enough to legislate on the marriageable age of all Her Majesty's subjects. So it is ; but the *stri achchar* is strong enough to defy legislation.

At the same time, I think it is possible to make our own position in regard to the results of this woman's tradition as to marriage more free of blame than it is, by the simple expedient

of treating a betrothal contract in our courts exactly as we treat any other contract. I can conceive of no reason why it should not be included in the list of all other contracts between minors, as not cognizable under the code, so that no dispute arising out of it could be referred to our courts. The objection that this would not affect existing custom appreciably, if it were the only disability—if the betrothal or marriage were to be considered ratified on the attainment of legal age without such dispute—appears to me a point in its favor. It means nothing drastic.

Nevertheless, since the credit and consequent value of a contract depends entirely on the certainty of its fulfilment, the impossibility of enforcing such fulfilment would, if it did nothing else, certainly tend to shorten the period during which evasion was possible. And this must tend to bring the date of betrothal closer to the age at which it can be legally ratified. Which is exactly what we want. In addition, we should throw the *onus* of coercion on the religious and social beliefs which are supposed to enjoin the existing custom; which, again, is also desirable. This policy, too, has its sanction. "Ye have a law, see ye to it."

F. A. STEEL.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN IRELAND.

BY W. B. YEATS.

I HAVE just come to a quiet Connaught house from seeing a movement of thought, which may do much to fashion the dreams of the next generation in Ireland, grow to a sudden maturity. Certain plays, which are an expression of the most characteristic ideals of what is sometimes called "the Celtic movement," have been acted in Dublin before audiences drawn from all classes and all political sections, and described at such length in every Nationalist newspaper, that the people in the cottages here in this quiet place are talking about them over the fire. Whatever be the merit of these plays, and that must be left to the judgment of time, their success means, as I think, that the "Celtic movement," which has hitherto interested but a few cultivated people, is about to become a part of the thought of Ireland.

Before 1891, Unionists and Nationalists were too busy keeping one or two simple beliefs at their fullest intensity for any complexity of thought or emotion; and the national imagination uttered itself, with a somewhat uncertain energy, in a few stories and in many ballads about the need of unity against England, about the martyrs who had died at the hand of England, or about the greatness of Ireland before the coming of England. They built up Ireland's dream of Ireland, of an ideal country weighed down by immemorial sorrows and served by heroes and saints; and they taught generations of young men to love their country with a love that was the deepest emotion they were ever to know; but they built with the virtues and beauties and sorrows and hopes that would move to tears the greatest number of those eyes before whom the modern world is but

beginning to unroll itself; and, except when some rare, personal impulse shaped the song according to its will, they built to the formal and conventional rhythm which would give the most immediate pleasure to ears that have forgotten Gaelic poetry, and have not yet learned the subtleties of English poetry. The writers who made this literature or who shaped its ideals, in the years before the great famine, lived at the moment when the middle class had brought to perfection its ideal of the good citizen, and of a politics and a philosophy and a literature which would help him upon his way; and they made a literature full of the civic virtues, and, in all but its unbounded patriotism, without inconvenient ardors. They took their style from Scott and Campbell and Macaulay, and that "universally popular" poetry which is really the poetry of the middle class, and from Beranger and that "peasant poetry" which looks for its models to the Burns of "Highland Mary" and "The Cottar's Saturday night." Here and there a poet or a story-writer found an older dream among the common people or in his own mind, and made a personality for himself; and got shoved away and forgotten; for everybody wanted to be moved by the same emotions as everybody else; and nobody who understands how much self-sacrifice is the shadow of their desire will blame it.

II.

The fall of Parnell and the wreck of his party and of the organizations that supported it, were the symbols, if not the causes, of a sudden change. They were followed by movements and organizations that brought the ideas and the ideals which are the expression of personalities into Irish political, economic and literary interests. Those who looked for the old energies, which were the utterance of the common will and hope, were unable to see that a new kind of Ireland, as full of energy as a boiling pot, was rising up amid the wreck of the old kind, and that the national life was finding a new utterance. May be, the hand that broke the ball of glass, that now lies in fragments full of a new iridescent life, obeyed some impulse from beyond its wild and capricious will. More books about Irish subjects have been published in these last eight years than in the thirty years that went before them, and these books have the care for scholarship and the precision of speech which had been notor-

iously lacking in books on Irish subjects. An appeal to the will, a habit of thought which measures all beliefs by their intensity, is content with a strenuous rhetoric; but an appeal to the intellect needs an always more perfect knowledge, an always more malleable speech. The new writers and the organizations they work through—for organizations of various kinds take the place held by the critical press in other countries—have awakened Irish affections among many from whom the old rhetoric could never have got a hearing, but they have been decried as weakening the national faith by lovers of the old rhetoric. I have seen an obscure Irish member of Parliament rise at one of those monthly meetings of the Irish Literary Society when the members of the society read their poems to one another, and ask leave to read a poem. He did not belong to the society, but leave was given him, and he read a poem in the old manner, blaming the new critics and praising the old poems which had made him patriotic and filled his imagination with the images of the martyrs, and, as he numbered over their names, Wolfe Tone, Emmet, Owen Roe, Sarsfield, his voice shook and many were angry with the new critics.

The organizations that are making this change are the Irish Literary Society in London, the National Literary Society in Dublin, which has just founded the Irish Literary Theatre, and the Feis Ceoil Committee in Dublin, at whose annual series of concerts of Irish music, singers and pipers from all parts of Ireland compete; and the Gaelic League, which has worked for the revival of the Gaelic language with such success that it has sold fifty thousand of its Gaelic text books in a year. All these organizations have been founded since the fall of Parnell; and all are busy in preserving, or in moulding anew, and without any thought of the politics of the hour, some utterance of the national life, and in opposing the vulgar books and the music-hall songs, that keep pouring in from England. All but the Gaelic League, which considers language and nationality inseparable, use the English language, preparing, as some think, for a day when Ireland will speak in Gaelic, almost as much as Wales speaks in Welsh, within her borders, but speak in English to other nations of those truths which were committed to her when "He set the borders of the nations according to His angels;" and, as it seems, believing that the use of English, now it has become the

language of so different countries, need no more make Irishmen think like Englishmen than did the use of Latin make the lettered classes of the Middle Ages think like Romans. But this is a dispute which concerns ourselves principally; for what concerns others is that a new kind of romance, a new element in thought, is being perhaps moulded out of Irish life and traditions, and that this element may have an importance for criticism, even should criticism forget the writers who are trying to embody it in their work, while looking each one through his own color in the dome of many-colored glass.

III.

Contemporary English literature takes delight in praising England and her Empire, the master-work and dream of the middle class; and, though it may escape from this delight, it must long continue to utter the ideals of the strong and wealthy. Irish intellect has always been pre-occupied with the weak and with the poor, and now it has begun to collect and describe their music and stories, and to utter anew the beliefs and hopes which they alone remember. It may never make a literature pre-occupied with the circumstance of their lives, like the "peasant poetry," whose half deliberate trivality, passionless virtue and passionless vice has helped so many orderly lives; for a writer who wishes to write with his whole mind must knead the beliefs and hopes, which he has made his own, with the circumstance of his own life. Burns had this pre-occupation, and nobody will deny that he was a great poet; but even he had the poverty of emotions and ideas of a peasantry that had lost, like the middle class into which it would have its children absorbed, the imagination that is in tradition without finding the imagination that is in books. Irish literature may prolong its first inspiration without renouncing the complexity of ideas and emotions which is the inheritance of cultivated men, for it will have learned from the discoveries of modern learning that the common people, wherever civilization has not driven its plough too deep, keep a watch over the roots of all religion and all romance. Their poetry trembles upon the verge of incoherence with a passion unknown among our poets, and their sense of beauty exhausts itself in countless legends and in metaphors that seem to mirror the energies of nature.

Dr. Hyde has collected much old Irish peasant love-poetry, and, like all primitive poetry, it foreshadows the unmeasured emotion, the ideal passion, of poetry whose intensity of emotion, or strangeness of language, has made it the poetry of little coteries. His peasant lover cries:

"It is happy for you, O blind man, who do not see much of women.
O! if you were to see what I see, you would be sick even as I am.
It is a pity, O God, that it was not blind I was before I saw her twisted hair.
I always thought the blind were pitiable, until my calamity grew beyond the grief of all,
Then though it is a pity I turned my pity into envy.
In a loop of the loops in a loop am I.
It is sorrow for whoever has seen her, and it is sorrow for him who does not see her every day.
It is sorrow for him who is tied in the knot of her love, and it is sorrow for him who is loosed out of it.
It is sorrow for him who is near her, and it is sorrow for him who is not near her."

Or, he cries:

"O, Maurya! you are my love, and the love of my heart is your love—
Love that is without littleness, without weakness,
Love from age till death,
Love growing out of folly,
Love that will send me close beneath the clay,
Love without a hope of the world,
Love without envy of fortune,
Love that has left me withered in captivity,
Love of my heart beyond women;
And a love such as that, it is seldom to be got from any man."

Or, he cries:

"My love, O, she is my love,
The woman who is most for destroying me,
Dearer is she for making me ill than the woman who would be for making me well.

She is my treasure, O she is my treasure,
The woman of the gray eyes.
A woman who would not lay a hand under my head.

She is my love, O she is my love,
The woman who left no strength in me;
A woman who would not breathe a sigh after me,
A woman who would not raise a stone at my tomb.

She is my secret love, O she is my secret love.
A woman who tells me nothing.
A woman who does not remember me to be out.

She is my choice, O she is my choice,
The woman who would not look back at me,
The woman who would not make peace with me.

She is my desire, O she is my desire:
A woman dearest to me under the sun,
A woman who would not pay me heed if I were to sit by her side.
It is she ruined my heart and left a sigh for ever in me."

All are not like *this*, but the most inspired and, as I think, the most characteristic are like this. There is a square stone tower called Ballylee Castle, a couple of miles from where I am writing. A farmer called Hynes, who had a beautiful daughter, Mary Hynes, lived near it some sixty years ago; and, all over the country side, songs are still sung in her honor, and old men and old women still talk of her beauty. The songs are not very good, for Gaelic poetry has fallen from its old greatness, but they come out of the same dreams as the songs and legends—as vague, it may be, as the clouds of evening and of dawn, that became in Homer's mind the memory and the prophecy of all the sorrows that have beset and shall beset the journey of beauty in the world. A very old woman who remembers her said to me, and to a friend who was with me, "I never saw one so handsome as she was, and I never will until I die. There were people coming from all parts to look at her, and maybe some of them forgot to say, 'God bless her.'* Any way, she was young when she died, and my mother was at her funeral, and as to whether she was taken, well, there's others have been taken that were not handsome at all, and so its likely enough she might have been, for there is no one to be seen at all that is handsome like she was." The old woman sang us a song, too, that Raftery, a famous poet in his time, made in Irish, and it told how he had met her on the road, and after that "travelled the hills and the mountains of Ireland, but could never see one that was like her," and that "it would take a thousand clerks to write down all her ways!" The spirit of Helen moves indeed among the legends that are told about turf-fires, and among the legends of the poor and simple everywhere. A friend of mine was told awhile ago, in a remote part of Donegal, of a young man who saw a light before him on the road, and found when he came near that it was from a lock of hair in an open box. The hair was so bright that, when he went into the stable where he slept, he put the box into a hole in the wall and had no need of a candle. After many wanderings

*They should have said "God bless her," so that their admiration might not give the faeries power over her.

he found her, from whose head it had been taken, and after many adventures married her and reigned over a kingdom.

The peasant remembers such songs and legends, all the more, it may be, because he has thought of little but cows and sheep and the like in his own marriage, for his dream has never been entangled by reality. The beauty of women is mirrored in his mind, as the excitement of the world is mirrored in the minds of children, and like them he thinks nothing but the best worth remembering. The child William Blake said to somebody, who had told him of a fine city, that he thought no city fine that had not walls of gold and silver. It may be that poetry is the utterance of desires that we can only satisfy in dreams, and that, if all our dreams were satisfied, there would be no more poetry. Dreams pass from us with childhood, because we are so often told they can never come true; and because we are taught with so much labor to admire the paler beauty of the world. The children of the poor and simple learn from their unbroken religious faith, and by their traditional beliefs, and by the hardness of their lives, that this world is nothing, and that a spiritual world, where all dreams come true, is everything; and therefore the poor and simple are that imperfection whose perfection is genius. The most of us think that all things, when imagined in their perfection, that all the images which emotion desires in its intensity, are among the things nobody has ever seen or shall ever see; and so we are always reminding one another not to go too far from the moderation of reality.

But the Irish peasant believes that the utmost he can dream was once or still is a reality by his own door. He will point to some mountain and tell you that some famous hero or beauty lived and sorrowed there, or he will tell you that *Tir-nan-og*, the country of the young, the old Celtic paradise, the Land of the Living Heart, as it used to be called, is all about him. An old woman close by Ballylee Castle said to a friend of mine the other day, when someone had finished a story of the poet Usheen's return from Tir-nan-og, where he had lived with his fairy mistress: "Tir-nan-og? That place is not far from us. One time I was in the chapel of Labane, and there was a tall thin man sitting next to me, and he dressed in gray; and after the mass I asked him where he came from. 'From Tir-nan-og,' said he.

'And where is that?' I asked him. 'It's not far from you,' he said. 'It's near the place where you live.' I remember well the look of him, and he telling me that. The priest was looking at us while we were talking together."

There are many grotesque things near at hand, the dead doing their penance in strange shapes, and evil spirits with terrible and ugly shapes, but people of a perfect beauty are never far off; and this beauty is often, I know not how often, that heroic beauty "which changes least from youth to age," and which has faded from modern painting and poetry before a fleeting voluptuous beauty. One old Mayo woman, who can neither read nor write, described it to me, though with grotesque comparisons. She has been long in service, and her language has not the simplicity of those who live among fields. She was standing in the window of her master's house, looking out toward a mountain where Queen Maeve, the Queen of the Western Spirits, is said to have been buried, when she saw "the finest woman you ever saw" travelling right across from the mountain and straight to her. The woman had a sword by her side and a dagger lifted up in her hand, and was dressed in white, with bare arms and feet. She looked "very strong and warry and fierce, but not wicked;" that is, not cruel, at all. The old woman had seen the Irish giant, and "though he was a fine man, he was nothing to this woman, for he was round, and could not have stepped out so soldierly." "She was like Mrs. ———," naming a stately lady of the neighborhood, "but she had no stomach on her and was slight and broad in the shoulders, and was handsomer than anyone you ever saw now; she looked about thirty." The old woman covered her eyes with her hands, and when she uncovered them the apparition had vanished. The neighbors were "wild" with her for not waiting to see if there was a message, for they are sure it was Queen Maeve, who often shows herself to the pilots. I asked the old woman if she had seen others like Queen Maeve, and she said: "Some of them have their hair down, but they look quite different, like the sleepy-looking ladies you see in the papers. Those with their hair up are like this one. The others have long white dresses, but those with their hair up have short dresses so that you can see their legs right up to the calf." After some careful questioning I found that they wore what appeared to be buskins. She went on: "They

are fine and dashing-looking, like the men one sees riding their horses in twos and threes on the slopes of the mountains, with their swords swinging." She repeated over and over, "There is no such race living now, none so fine proportioned," or the like, and then said: "The present queen is a nice, pleasant-looking woman, but she is not like her. What makes me think so little of the ladies is that I see none as they be," meaning the spirits; "when I think of her and of the ladies now, they are like little children running about, without being able to put their clothes on right. Is it the ladies? Why, I would not call them women at all!"

There are many old heroical tales about Queen Maeve, and before she was a queen she was a goddess and had her temples, and she is still the most beautiful of the beautiful. A young man among the Burren hills of Clare told me, a couple of years ago, that he remembered an old poet who had made his poems in Irish, and had met in his youth one who had called herself Queen Maeve, and asked him if he would have money or pleasure. He said he would have pleasure, and she gave him her love for a time, and then went from him and ever after he was very sad. The young man had often heard him sing a lamentation he had made, but could only remember that it was "very mournful" and called her "Beauty of all Beauty."

Many, perhaps most, of those that I have talked with of these things have all their worldly senses, but those who have most knowledge of these things, so much that they are permitted, it is thought, to speak but broken words, are those from whom the earthly senses have fallen away. "In every household" of the spirits even, there is "a queen and a fool, and, maybe, the fool is the wisest of all." This fool, who is held to wander in lonely places and to bewitch men out of the world—for the touch of the queen and of the fool are deadly—is the type of that old wisdom from which the good citizen and the new wisdom have led the world away, forgetting that "the ruins of time build mansions in eternity." The poetry that comes out of the old wisdom must turn always to religion and to the law of the hidden world, while the poetry of the new wisdom must not forget politics and the law of the visible world; and between these poetries there cannot be any lasting peace. Those that follow the old wisdom must not shrink too greatly from the journey de-

scribed in some verses which Miss Hopper, the latest poet of our school,* has put into the mouth of Dalua, the faery fool:

> "The world wears on to sundown, and love is lost or won,
> But he recks not of loss or gain, the King of Ireland's son.
> He follows on for ever when all your chase is done,
> He follows after shadows, the King of Ireland's son."

Alone among nations, Ireland has in her written Gaelic literature, in her old love tales and battle tales, the forms in which the imagination of Europe uttered itself before Greece shaped the tumult of legend into her music of the arts; and she can discover, from the beliefs and emotions of her common people, the habit of mind that created the religion of the muses. The legends of other European countries are less numerous, and not so full of the energies from which the arts and our understanding of their sanctity arose, and the best of them have already been shaped into plays and poems. The Celt, as it seems, created romance, when his stories of Arthur and of the Grail became for a time almost the only inspiration of European literature, and it would not be wonderful if he should remould romance after its most ancient image, now that he is recovering his ancient possessions.

IV.

The movement of thought which has made the good citizen, or has been made by him, has surrounded us with comfort and safety, and with vulgarity and insincerity. Churches which have substituted a system of morals for spiritual ardor; pictures which have substituted conventionally pretty faces for the disquieting revelations of sincerity; poets who have set the praises of those things good citizens think praiseworthy above a dangerous delight in beauty for the sake of beauty, are a part of its energy and its weariness. The Romantic movement from the times of Blake and Shelley and Keats, when it took a new form, has been battling with the thoughts of the good citizen, as moss and ivy and grass battle with some old building, crumbling its dead stone and mortar into the living greenery of earth. The disorders of a Shelley, or a French romanticist of our own time, in art, and in their lives that mirror their art, may be but a too impetuous ardor of battle, a too swift leaping of ivy or of grass

*The reader will find, in the collection of recent poems by Miss Hopper which immediately follows this article, a most attractive illustration of the theme discussed by Mr. Yeats in such an interesting manner.—EDITOR N. A. R.

to window ledge or gable end; and the intensity and strangeness of a painting by Rossetti or by Watts is but a sudden falling of stones. Moss and ivy and grass gather against stone and mortar in unceasing enmity, for, while the old is crumbling, the new is building; and the Romantic movement will never have perfect victory unless, as mystics have thought, the golden age is to come again, and men's hearts and the weather to grow gentle as time fades into eternity. Blake said that all art was a labor to bring that golden age, and we call romantic art romantic because it has made that age's light dwell in the imaginations of a little company of studious persons.

Because the greater number of persons are too busy with the work of the world to forget the light of the sun, romantic art is, as I think, about to change its manner and become more like the art of the old poets, who saw the golden age and their own age side by side like substance and shadow. Ever since Christianity turned men's minds to Judea, and learning turned them to Greece and Rome, the sanctity has dwindled from their own hills and valleys, which the legends and beliefs of fifty centuries had filled so full of it that a man could hardly plough his fields or follow his sheep upon the hillside without remembering some august story, or walking softly lest he had divine companions. When the valleys and the hills had almost become clay and stone, the good citizens plucked up their heart and took possession of the world and filled it with their little compact thoughts; and romance fled to more and more remote fairylands, and forgot that it was ever more than an old tale which nobody believes. But now we are growing interested in our own countries, and discovering that the common people in all countries that have not given themselves up to the improvements and devices of good citizens, which we call civilization, still half understand the sanctity of their hills and valleys; and at the same time a change of thought is making us half ready to believe with Ecclesiasticus that "all things are made double one above another," and that the forms of nature may be temporal shadows of realities.

In a little time, places may begin to seem the only hierographs that cannot be forgotten, and poets to remember that they will come the nearer the old poets, who had a seat at every hearth, if they mingle their own dream with a story told for centuries of some mountain, that casts its shadows upon many

doors, and if they understand that the beauty they celebrate is a part of the paradise men's eyes shall look upon when they close upon the world. The paradise of the Christian, as those who think more of the order of communities than of the nature of things have shaped it, is but the fulfilment of one dream; but the paradise that the common people tell of about the fire, and still half understand, is the fulfilment of all dreams, and opens its gates as gladly to the perfect lover as to the perfect saint, and only he who understands it can lift romance into prophecy and make beauty holy. Their paradise, Tir-nan-og, the Land of the Living Heart, the Grass Green Island of Apples, call it what you will, created that religion of the muses which gave the arts to the world; and those countries whose traditions are fullest of it and of the sanctity of places, may yet remould romance till it has become a covenant between intellectual beauty and the beauty of the world. We cannot know how many these countries are, until the new science of folklore and the almost new science of mythology have done their work; but Ireland, if she can awake again the but half forgotten legends of Slieve Gullion, or of Cruachmagh, or of the hill where Maive is buried, and make them an utterance of that desire to be at rest amid ideal perfection, which is becoming conscious in the minds of poets as the good citizen wins the priests over to his side; or if she can make us believe that the beautiful things that move us to awe, white lilies among dim shadows, windy twilights over gray sands, dewy and silent places among hazel trees by still waters, are in truth, and not in phantasy alone, the symbols, or the dwellings, of immortal presences, she will have begun a change that, whether it is begun in our time, or not for centuries, will some day make all lands holy lands again.

V.

Ireland has no great wealth, no pre-occupation with successful persons to turn her writer's eyes to any lesser destiny. Even the poetry which had its form and much of its matter from alien thought dwelt, as the Gaelic ballads had done before it, on ideas living in the perfection of hope, on visions of unfulfilled desire, and not on the sordid compromise of success. The popular poetry of England celebrates her victories, but the popular poetry of Ireland remembers only defeats and defeated persons. A

ballad that is in every little threepenny and sixpenny ballad book, asks if Ireland has no pride in her Lawrences and Wellingtons, and answers that these belong to the Empire and not to Ireland, whose "heart beats high" for men who died in exile or in prison; and this ballad is a type of all. The popular poetry, too, has made love of the earth of Ireland so much a part of her literature, that it should not be a hard thing to fill it with the holiness of places. Politics are, indeed, the forge in which nations are made, and the smith has been so long busy making Ireland according to His will, that she may well have some important destiny. But, whether this is so or not, whether this destiny is to make her in the arts, as she is in politics, a voice of the idealism of the common people, who still remember the dawn of the world, or to give her an unforeseen history, it can but express the accidents and energies of her past, and criticism does its natural work in trying to prophesy this expression; and, even if it is mistaken, a prophecy is not always made all untrue by being unfulfilled. A few years will decide if the writers of Ireland are to shape themselves in our time for the fulfilment of this prophecy, for need and much discussion will bring a new national agreement, and the political tumult will awake again.

W. B. Yeats.

"A CAROL OF BIRDS" AND OTHER POEMS.

BY NORA HOPPER.

A CAROL OF BIRDS.

Little Christ in the winter
Opened first His eyes ;
Saw a star above His bed,
Shining near His mother's head ;
Saw the frosty skies
Full of angels, singing slow,
Singing low
Lullabies.

Little Christ in the summer
Made a pretty play,
Shaping doves and sparrows
Out of wetted clay ;
Bade each lift a living wing
In the sunshine, preen and sing,
Gladdening
Soar and fly away.

Little Christ in the autumn,
With the passing birds,
Sang a song of wondering
Sweet beyond all musicking
Holpen out with words.
Leading with a quiet pace
To the trodden drinking-place
The day-weary herds.

Little Christ in the spring-time
Found a ruined nest,

And so sweet a prayer He prayed
That the gentle Father bade
A dead robin live again,
That her cold eggs might be made
Singing creatures free and fain,
Unafraid.

Little Christ a-sleeping
Fell and dreamed a dream.
Birds of feather and of clay
At the dying of the day
Came and sang to Him.
Sparrows chirped a merry note,
But one mother-robin's throat
Shrilled of death and holy rood.
Was it ill or was it good,
Such a dream ?

THE FAERY FOOL.

If I'm the Faery fool, Dalua—
Ay me, the Faery fool !
How do I know what the rushes say,
Sighing and shuddering all the day
Over their shadowy pool ?
How do I know what the North Wind cries
Herding his flocks of snow ?
The menace that lies in the Hunter's eyes
How do I know ?

If I'm the Faery fool, Dalua—
Ay me, the Faery fool !
I cry to them that sent me here
To laugh and jest, to geck and fleer,
To scorn at law and rule :
" Why did ye also give to me
Beauty and peace to know,
The ears to hear and the eyes to see
And the hands that let all go ? "

I cry to them that bade me jest :
" Why made ye me so slight,

And put a heart within my breast,
An evil gift, an evil guest,
To spoil me for delight?
Made for mere laughter, answer why
Must I have eyes for dool?
Take from me tears, or let me die,
For I am sick of wisdom, I,
Dalua, the Faery fool."

NIAM.

Mouth of the rose and hair like a cloud—
After my feet the wind grows loud :
The red East Wind whose rumor has gone
From Tir-nan-Og* to Tir-na-Tonn.†
Under my feet the windflower grows,
After my feet the shadows run,
Over my feet the long grass blows.
All things hail me and call me on
Out of the darkness into the sun,
Love and Beauty and Youth in one.

Under my feet the windflower grows.
Men called me Niam when first arose
My splendid star : but what now ye call
Me, do I heed if I hear at all ?
Look in my eyes—are they gray or blue ?
They are the eyes that the Fenians knew,
When out of the sunshine, into the shade,
I called to Oisin, and he obeyed.
Across Fionn's banner my dark hair flew,
And safe in its leash my love I drew.

I called to Oisin and he obeyed—
Out of the sunshine into the shade,
Though the words were out and the warhorns blew
And wisdom and pride my voice gainsaid.
But a hundred years, or a thousand years,
I kept my lover from hopes and fears—
In Druid dark on my arm he slept.
Shall I not keep men even as I kept ?

* The Country of Youth. † The Land under the Sea.

'Twixt a man and his wisdom let blow my hair,
The man is beside me, and wisdom's—where ?

The Fenians died and the high Gods die,
But spring's immortal, and so am I.
I am young, I am swift, I am fair to see,
My blood is the sap running new in the tree.
Shall I not keep men even as I kept
Oisin free from his falling sept ?
Who shall deny me, or who gainsay,
For the world is beginning anew to-day ?
Youth is glad, for the world is wide ;
Tarry, O Youth ! Love is here at thy side.

The world is beginning anew to-day ;
Fire is awake in each clod of clay ;
The ragweeds know what has never been told
By the old to the young, or the young to the old.
The hawthorns tell it in broad daylight ;
The evening primrose awaits the night,
Her beautiful secret she shuts in close
Till the last late bee goes home from the rose.
And I am the secret, the flower, and the tree ;
I am Beauty ; O Youth, I have blossomed for thee.

THE WEAVER.

I weave life upwards through the grass,
I weave death downwards through the mould.
Before the ordered stars I was :
Before my eyes the flowers pass ;
The seed, the cup of living gold,
The bulb, the blossom white and cold.
All life within my hands I hold,
All death and change my fingers fold.
My looms are full, my shuttles fly,
The weaver and the weft am I.

I keep all secrets ; I disclose
Wonder of sweetness to the rose.
I fill the dandelion's stem

With milk ; I give the maidenhair
A gift not sweet, and ill to bear—
The gift of weakness. Here I bid
The lily in the dark be hid
From all her kin ; and yonder I
Quicken harsh rue and rosemary.
Blossom and bud and seed are mine,
All bear my sigil and my sign,
They are of me, and I of them.

I weave death downwards through the mould,
And weave life upwards through the grass.
And which is best I know not—I—
Which gift were best to sell or buy
If life and death were bought or sold.
Sad hours are lavished, glad hours doled ;
Buyers and sellers come and pass;
Some, warm with love ; and some, acold ;
Some, with sealed eyes ; and some behold
Through their own tears, as in a glass,
Me and my weaving. Black and gold,
Ash-gray, rose-red—all colors flow
One with another, to and fro,
As endlessly my shuttles go.
I was before the stars began,
Or God had ever thought of man,
And with the stars I grow not old.
I weave life upwards through the grass,
And weave death downwards through the mould.

NORA HOPPER.

THE HIGHWAYS OF THE PEOPLE.

BY HUGH H. LUSK.

As commerce is the essential condition of national wealth, so it may be said, with equal truth, that effective transportation is the essential condition of successful commerce. No amount of patient industry on the part of a people can avail to make the community wealthy, except under conditions that render commerce safe and easy. No amount of natural riches in a country has ever availed to make its commerce great, or its industries widely profitable to its inhabitants, without the assistance of some system of transportation generally available to its people. The history of the United States, compared with that of Russia or of China during the past century, serves to illustrate the extent to which this is true.

In their natural conditions, Russia and China bear more resemblance to the United States than any other country. Both are of great extent, embracing a great variety of climates; both are wealthy in vegetable and mineral treasures; and both contain large populations of exceedingly industrious inhabitants. The physical features of both countries have also much in common with those of the United States. China, particularly, resembles the middle section of the continent of North America, in the possession of not a few great navigable rivers, which offer themselves as the most easy means of transportation for the people and the products of the country. Yet, experience has shown that, both in Russia and in China, the increase of wealth has been slow—so slow, indeed, as hardly to have affected the condition of the mass of the people at all; while in the United States the increase of commerce and the accumulation of wealth have exceeded anything of which the world has elsewhere had any experience. This has not been due to greater natural riches

of soil or climate in the United States, because there is no evidence that, in either respect, this country has any advantage over China, or much, if any, over the greater part of inhabited Russia. There is no reasonable ground for attributing it to greater mineral treasures in America, for these are believed to be immense both in Russia and China, though, as yet, very little developed. It certainly has not been occasioned by greater industry and diligence on the part of the people, because no more patiently industrious populations exist than the millions of Russia and China, and, especially in the latter country, the inhabitants are ingenious as well as diligent.

The secret of the startling contrast between these countries, in their development and in the increase of their wealth during the past century, is to be found in their respective facilities for transportation. Had America depended on her coastal trade and her rivers for opening up the country and for developing its commerce, the energy of her people would undoubtedly have made itself felt, but the results must have been vastly less than those we see around us. A strip along the Atlantic shore, perhaps another along the Pacific coast, the valleys through which navigable rivers find their way to the ocean or to the Great Lakes, would have constituted the largely productive districts of the country. Outside of these boundaries, settlers might, indeed, have lived, and in a degree they might have succeeded in developing commerce; but the development would have been slow, and wealth would have been accumulated in a deliberate fashion. Canals would have done something here, as they have done something in China, to provide for the needs of commerce, but, in the very nature of things, it must have been little. America has owed her phenomenal progress, and the unprecedented increase of her wealth as a country, to her system of railroad transportation. Without this the country could not have been occupied; her great inland centres of commerce and manufacture could not have been created; without it, in a word, the end of the century would have found her still a nation of the second rank, in population and in wealth.

So far it cannot be questioned that the energy and enterprise of the capitalists to whom this country owes its great systems of railroads have been of immense service to the country and to its people. It is another question how far these services may have

been discounted by the price paid for them by the people; or how far experience, in America and elsewhere, supports the idea that the method hitherto pursued in the United States is the best and most economical for the future. It cannot be questioned that this question is taking a leading place in the list of the economic problems of the end of the century, and it is one which must be discussed, if any intelligent answer to it is to be obtained, or any reasonable basis established for an economic policy for the coming years.

The record of railroad construction in America is a remarkable one, and it is very naturally pointed to as the most convincing proof of the excellence of the system which has been pursued here, and of the policy which has sustained it. No other system than that of private construction and ownership, it is confidently asserted, could have accomplished for America and her people what has been accomplished by private speculation and private ownership of railroads in the last fifty years; and if this has been so in the past, why should any change be made in the future? Why should not the highways of the people, equipped with rails and provided with traction power, everywhere take the place of the old-world highways, on which every individual laboriously dragged his own produce with his own team? It is true that, by such a policy, the right of each individual to use his own team would practically be limited, but it would be for his own good and for the benefit of his neighbors.

To this line of argument there are two replies, each of which is sufficiently important to entitle it to more than a cursory examination. In the first place, it is alleged that, however great the benefits of railroad construction may have been to the people of America, there is no evidence that they could not have been equally well obtained without the intervention of the private capitalist; and that, however excellent the management of the railroads may be, there is nothing to show that they could not be equally well managed by public officers on behalf of the people, without the intervention of the capitalists at all. In the second place, it is suggested that, even for the best and most important services, it is possible to pay too much, and that such is already the position of the people in their relations to the owners of the railroads. It is broadly stated that the monopoly of the transportation of the country implies the establishment of

an oligarchy of wealth, and arms that oligarchy with the means of subverting the liberties and undermining the prosperity of the great majority of the people.

Space would not permit the examination of both these lines of argument here, but something may be done to elucidate the first. To do this, it is, fortunately, not necessary to enter upon seriously questionable matters of fact. For the purposes of the argument, most of what is alleged on behalf of the existing system of private ownership of railroads may be admitted. It may be granted that the results of private enterprise in America have been to supply the people with railroads at least as well equipped and managed as those of Europe, and to an extent which, in proportion to population, throws European countries into the shade. It may be freely admitted that this is the more remarkable because in this country the population is a widely scattered one, compared with that of any European country, so much so that private enterprise has provided as much railroad accommodation for every three hundred and ninety people as private enterprise and Government interference combined have provided for every two thousand people in European countries. The question really at issue is not whether these things are so, but whether all the good things which private capital claims to have done for America, in providing transportation, could not have been as well or better done by the people through their Government for themselves.

Experience alone can satisfactorily answer such a question. Mere opinion is of no value in such a case, because even honest opinions will differ; but if it can be shown that the experiment has been made and is even now in full operation, the answer need no longer be one of opinion. To be thoroughly available, such an experiment must have been made in a country somewhat resembling this country in its conditions. It must have included both the construction and the operation of railroads by the Government on a large scale, and the Government must not be a despotic but a popular one, as nearly resembling that of America as possible. Fortunately, there is one country which lends itself in nearly every respect to such a comparison.

It may fairly be said that the island continent of Australia presents every one of the features necessary for such a comparison as has been suggested. If America is a new country, over

much of which the population is widely scattered, Australia is even more new, and its population is still more thinly scattered. Its people are of the same race, and the methods of its Government are in all essential respects similar to those of this country. The people of Australia have adopted the policy of public ownership and public operation of the country's provision for railway transportation; they have constructed their own railroads with public money, and they operate their railroads by means of public servants; they have, moreover, done this in no niggardly way, but have supplied to themselves even a larger amount of railroad accommodation than private enterprise has given to the people of America. To these things may be added the fact that the system gives entire satisfaction to the people of Australia, who would, under no circumstances, consent to the abandonment of the policy which has now been in operation for thirty-five years.

The statements that follow are in no case matters of opinion or conjecture, but they rest on public accounts and official documents, open to all. For purposes of convenience, the five colonies of Australia are treated as one, there being no considerable difference in the policy pursued, and but little in the results obtained.

The settled districts of Australia do not as yet extend across the continent, but are confined to a strip of country following the eastern, southern and southwestern coasts for a distance of fully four thousand miles, and extending toward the interior for a distance of from three to five hundred miles. The country has few navigable rivers, and the problem of interior transportation in Australia has consequently been very similar to that which has confronted the people of America. Forty years ago, internal communication in all parts of Australia was carried on by means of stage coaches for travellers, and by bullock wagons for merchandise; and it was no unusual experience for the wagons bringing wool to a port to consume a month or six weeks in the journey, and as much more on the return trip. In each of the colonies the earliest attempts to supply better means of transportation were begun by private enterprise, and it was not until the inadequacy of that provision made itself apparent to the people and the people's Government that the system of State ownership was resorted to. From the date of the inauguration of the new policy of State railroads to the present

time, each of the five colonies has steadily proceeded with the construction, year by year, of new lines; until it may be said, with literal truth, that no item of the public expenditure of any one of these colonies can be looked for with more certainty in the year's Parliamentary appropriation than that for the extension of the railroads of the colony. It may be said, indeed, that the Parliaments of Australia have systematically recognized the fact that in making railroads they were but carrying out the time-honored policy of every civilized Government the world has ever seen, by providing highways for the people.

The claim has been made in America that the people of this country owe it to the policy which has left the supply of modern transportation to private enterprise that they have obtained a supply of such conveniences, alleged to be far in excess of that supplied to any other nation. The claim is a mistaken one. Whatever might have been the result of entrusting to the enterprise and public spirit of the people of America and their representatives and Government the supply of transportation suited to their needs, it is beyond question that the experiment has been successfully made in Australia. The American capitalist points triumphantly to the fact that where European Governments have undertaken to supply their people with railroads they have only constructed one mile for about nineteen hundred people, while the capitalists of America have supplied a mile for every three hundred and ninety people in the country; and this they have pointed to as the essential difference between private enterprise and a cautious national policy of construction. The experience of Australia would seem to show that it is not the distinction between policies, but between different races and varying conditions, which accounts for America's supremacy over European countries in this respect. The young communities of Australia have been far more liberal in their supply of railroads to their own people, through the agency of their Governments, than even enterprising capitalists have been to the American people. There are to-day, as nearly as possible, three million eight hundred thousand people in Australia, and they have constructed, and are now operating for themselves successfully, as nearly as possible, twelve thousand nine hundred miles of public railroad—that is to say, one mile of road for rather less than three hundred people, or nearly one-fourth more accommodation

than that which has been supplied at so great a cost to the people of America. In the mere quantity, therefore, of the accommodation supplied to the people it is manifest that private enterprise can claim no superiority over a policy of national ownership.

But the question next arises as to the cost. It is conceivable that there may be communities so reckless of financial consequences that they would urge on railroad construction at a ruinous expense, merely because it would supply public work and public spoils; and such a policy could not be held up as an argument favorable to national ownership of railroads. What, then, has been Australia's experience of the cost of railroad construction; and how does it compare with America's experience? The Australian lines have been made at an average cost of $48,930 per mile. There, as here, all the lines have not been made on the same scale, nor have they all been equally costly, but it may be said with confidence that, with the exception of four or five of the greatest lines in this country, none others exceed the national railroads of Australia, either in construction or in equipment, while not a few compare very unfavorably with them in both respects. The cost of constructing and equipping the railroads of this country has amounted—if the returns made by the companies themselves are to be relied upon—to an average of upward of $56,000 per mile, or about $7,000 more than the people's lines in Australia. It is evident, therefore, that it is no necessary incident of Government railway construction that the people should be plundered in the process. The testimony of experts, and the yet more convincing evidence of the traffic carried and the cost of maintenance, make it clear that the people of Australia have succeeded in obtaining quite as good value for their money as the railway kings of America have been able to get for theirs.

This, however, is by no means all that has been gained by the people of Australia and denied to those of America. Not only have their railroads been supplied to them at a less cost per mile; not only have more miles been supplied in proportion to the numbers of the settlers; the money which went in building and equipping the lines cost a good deal less than that which was spent on the American lines. At first sight this may appear remarkable, but it is, after all, one of the elements in the whole question which cannot be overlooked. The credit of a whole people is always better than that of any part of it, however

wealthy that part may be; and hence a whole community can borrow money more cheaply than any railroad company whatever within that community. The Governments of Australia are young, and the people are not yet numerous, compared with other nations, while they are few indeed compared with the millions of America; yet they are able, with ease, to borrow such money as they need for public works at an average rate of three and a quarter per cent. to-day. When the policy of constructing railroads at the public cost was inaugurated money was more costly; but the average interest now payable on the whole of the railway loans, amounting to upward of $600,000,000, for the whole of the colonies, is barely three and three-quarters per cent. It is only necessary to point out that the average interest on the bonded debts of the American lines is five per cent., and that, in addition to this, dividends are earned and paid upon a merely nominal paid-up capital, amounting to nearly two per cent. more, to make it evident that the people of Australia have obtained their railroads at hardly more than half the annual charge for interest which falls on the American people.

This, it must also be remembered, is by no means all that the people of America pay for their railroads. To induce the capitalists to speculate in building railroads in that part of the country which most nearly corresponds to all the settled districts of Australia—that is to say, the districts west of the Mississippi—the people of America have presented them with public lands nearly one-fourth part greater in area than the whole of the British Islands. When the Australian people had borrowed the money with which to construct and equip their railways, they knew exactly what they had cost them, and what they must pay in interest year by year for the advantage: nobody knows—nobody can even guess—what the people of America have paid, when they bestowed nearly ninety millions of acres of land—much of it the pick of the country—on the capitalists, on whom they conferred, at the same time, the privilege of charging the people practically what they chose for the privilege of transportation over the lines.

So far, therefore, as the original cost of constructing railroads is concerned, the experience of Australia is conclusive: it costs very much less for the people, through their Governments, to build their own railways than it does to have them built for

them by capitalists. The original expense is less rather than greater, and the cost of the money with which the work is done would appear to be about one-half as great. And, in addition to these advantages, the people need give no bonuses in the shape of lands, which put the practical control of the country into the hands of a small class of its people, and which may endow them with vast mineral wealth, leading to permanent social inequalities, and containing the germs of all that is worst in the class distinctions of older and less popularly governed countries.

But supposing this to be true, it may still be asserted that the railroads, once in operation, must be less economically and efficiently operated for a Government than they are by the servants of the capitalists. It may be reluctantly conceded that Governments, if they were honestly conducted, might succeed in building and equipping railroads as well and as cheaply under contract as private capitalists could do, and, in the face of the universal experience of Australia, this can hardly be denied; but it is the custom to treat as almost inconceivable the suggestion that, when constructed, they could be as well or as cheaply operated. Once more, the experience of Australia gives a conclusive answer to the question. Taking the returns of traffic on all the American lines in 1897, and of all the Australian lines in the same year, it would appear that the Government railroads in Australia were operated more economically than those of America. In this country the working expenses of the lines absorbed rather more than seventy per cent. of the earnings, leaving rather less than thirty per cent. of earnings to pay interest and dividends on loans and capital; in Australia the working expenses, in the same year, consumed rather more than fifty-eight per cent. of the earnings, leaving nearly forty-two-per cent. to meet the claims of interest—there being, of course, no dividends payable. It is to be noted that in every one of the Australian colonies the rates of wages for railroad workers of all grades, except the highest, are distinctly higher than for the same classes of workers in America; and also that the average rates for both goods and passengers are certainly not five per cent. higher than they are upon the lines of this country. That they are higher at all is caused by the fact that the policy adopted favors keeping the charges as low in the newest and most scantily settled districts reached by the lines as in the older and more densely peopled districts.

The people's railroads in Australia do not yield any direct profit to the treasuries of the colonies, nor was it ever intended that they should do so. There is no reason, indeed, why the people's roads—with rails or without them—should be looked on as a source of revenue, any more than the postal service of the country. All that has been aimed at is to conduct them on such business principles as will prevent them from becoming a burden on the revenue. When they have paid working expenses; when they have borne the cost of all renewals of road or equipment; when, finally, they have paid the actual interest upon loans expended in their construction, they have earned all which it is desirable they should earn. The purpose of the State-owned railroads in Australia is the benefit of the settlers, and that alone; and in most of the colonies the traffic rates are kept below the level which yields enough to pay the actual charge for interest, on the ground that policy demands and justifies such rates inasmuch as they open the country to more extensive settlement, and the deficit will be repaid to the Treasury in land rents, and in the prices paid for the freehold of lands, which, in Australia at least, have not been given away to the capitalists. Such deficiencies in railway earnings are made a charge against the general revenue, and the average of such deficiency is from a quarter to a half per cent. on the railway loans. For purposes of comparison I append the official returns, showing some of the results of the system in force in the two countries in tabular form:

Country.	Capital cost.			Working expenses in proportion to gross revenue, 1897.	Per train mile run.		
	Total cost in millions of dollars.	Cost per mile.	Revenue return per cent.		Gross revenue.	Working expenses.	Net revenue.
America under private ownership	9,977	$56,715	4.01	70.4	$1.36	$0.96	$0.40
Australia under State ownership	623	48,930	2.98	58.7	1.47	.87	.60

There still remains the alleged danger that in a country governed popularly by the votes of the people great political evils must of necessity follow upon the adoption of any system of State railroads. It may be admitted at once that very much

depends upon the people themselves. If the people adopt the degrading and pernicious doctrine that the community at large is a proper and natural subject for plunder at the hands of politicians, and of the tools and supporters of politicians, then it may be true that State railroads—or, for that matter, State armies and navies—will become hot-beds of corruption and menaces to the well-being of the country. On the other hand, the experience of Australia shows conclusively that it need not be the case if the people and their representatives have less unworthy ideas of government and a more honest code of conduct.

There has never been even a suspicion of undue influence brought to bear, by parties or by Governments, on the officials of the colonial railroads; it has never been even alleged that the service was used as a means of adding strength to an administration, or that its offices were filled with partisans. The system pursued in all the colonies practically prevents such a thing, and must do so, unless undermined by an organized system of corruption. That system consists in vesting in a small board of expert commissioners, appointed by the Government with the consent of Parliament, the absolute management and control of the lines and department, subject only to the railway act passed by each colony, and the schedules of regulations appended to it. Under the system the Commissioners can be removed during the term of years for which they are appointed—generally from seven to ten years—only for misconduct, in the same way in which a judge of the Supreme Court can there be removed. And the system extends throughout the service. The Commissioners make all appointments, but the official once appointed can only be removed for cause, and can demand a trial before a commission of inquiry when suspended for alleged cause. The result has been efficient service by good men who respect the public—whose complaints must be attended to if made against any official—and who likewise respect themselves, as the holders of positions of which they cannot be arbitrarily deprived.

Such, very briefly, has been the experience of Australia; and under it her people have been placed in the position of obtaining conveniences of transportation exceeding, in proportion to their numbers, those supplied to any other people whatsoever, at a cost which is less, by far, directly and indirectly, than is paid by any other community. It may be supposed by some persons that

even this experience can have no practical bearing on conditions existing in America, where a different system is already so strongly entrenched; and upon so large a question it would manifestly be impossible to enter here. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that, great as the railroad system of America now is, it is but small when compared with the provision that must be made for the increasing population of the future. It may even be true that, compared with that future, when every road will be provided with rails and some kind of motive power, the system is but in its infancy to-day. What, then, it may be asked, of that future? Are the capitalists of America to absorb the whole of the avenues of locomotion, and to own as one vast franchise all the means of the country's transportation? The experience of Australia has made it clear that that plan is not a cheap one for the vast majority of the people, as compared with national ownership; but the experience of Australia, or of any other country, fails even to suggest the results that may be expected to flow from handing a people over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of the owners of large amounts of realized wealth. If any country can present an object lesson of that kind to-day, it is America; and it should need but a little investigation of the results to make thinking men consider the merits of any alternative system.

HUGH H. LUSK.

HAS CONGRESS ABDICATED?

BY JOSEPH PULITZER.

I.

On April 18, 1898, Congress, by a vote of 42 to 35 in the Senate and of 311 to 6 in the House, declared:

"That the people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent."

And it affirmed:

"That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is completed to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

The evacuation of Cuba by the Spaniards was finished nearly a year ago. The "pacification" of the island is complete. Yet what has been done to carry out the solemn pledge of Congress to "leave the government and control of the island to its people?" Who expects ever to see a free and independent Cuba, or doubts the determination of Mr. McKinley that Cuba, like the Philippines, shall forever remain American territory?

On the 14th of February, 1899, Senator Bacon offered a joint resolution declaring the intention of Congress in ratifying the Spanish treaty. It affirmed:

"1. That the Government and people of the United States have not waged the recent war with Spain for conquest and the acquisition of foreign territory. . . .

"2. That in demanding and receiving the concession of the Philippine Islands it is not the purpose of the Government of the United States to secure and maintain dominion over the same as a part of the territory of the United States, or to incorporate the inhabitants thereof as citizens of the United States, or to hold said inhabitants as vassals or subjects of this Government.

"3. That . . . in recognition and in obedience to the vital principle announced in the great Declaration that governments receive their just powers from the consent of the governed, the Government of the United States recognizes that the people of the Philippines are and of right ought to be free and independent. . . .

"4. That the United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said islands, and assert their determination, when an independent government shall have been duly erected thereon entitled to recognition as such, to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people."

This resolution received a tie vote of 29 to 29, and was rejected only by the casting vote of the Vice-President.

The Senate afterward adopted the McEnery resolution, in redemption of a pledge made by the Republican leaders to secure the ratification of the treaty, and without which pledge it could not have been ratified. This resolution declared:

"That by the ratification of the pending treaty of peace with Spain it is *not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of said islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands* as an integral part of the territory of the United States. But it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands, to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands."

What effect has this purpose of Congress, explicitly declared even in the weaker resolution adopted, had upon the policy of the President? Is it not a serious matter when a deliberate declaration of Congress is not regarded seriously by anybody—by the Executive least of all?

If the will of Congress is treated with universal indifference or contempt, what becomes of that respect for law which is essential in popular government?

II.

In that wise system of checks and balances embodied in the Constitution of the United States—an instrument which, although regarded in some quarters as antiquated, if not obsolete, is still the chart of our liberties, the foundation and framework of our Government—the vital powers of the Government were committed to Congress.

Congress was to levy and collect taxes, to borrow money on the credit of the United States, to coin money and regulate the value thereof, *to declare war,* raise and support armies, provide and maintain a navy, to admit new States to the Union and to *"dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States."*

These are sovereign powers, essential to the very existence of the Government. Without them the Union could not endure.

In the distribution of powers and functions by the Constitution the President was made the Chief Executive. He was to execute the will of the people as declared through their representatives in Congress. He was authorized to make treaties and appointments to office only "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

Every article of the Constitution contains proof of the purpose of its framers strictly to limit the authority and influence of the President. They designed to found a real government of, by and for the people, and to get as far as possible from the one-man power—the imperialistic idea—against which they had successfully rebelled.

A wide departure from these principles and from the early practice of our Government has gradually been made, but it was never so complete nor so startling as under the present Administration.

We are at war in the Philippines. Our troops engaged there are or soon will be 70,000 strong—an army larger than this nation has ever before actively employed against a foreign foe. They are supported by a fleet of forty-five war vessels. Yet war against the Philippines was never declared nor directly sanctioned by Congress. Congress may have had this contingency in mind when it authorized the increase of the army, but there is absolutely not one word of law nor a line of resolution to show that this increase was not voted as a precaution against possible European complications. In a matter so momentous as war the Constitution is to be strictly interpreted. War is too weighty an affair to hang upon an inference.

There is not a constitutional monarchy in Europe in which the sovereign would dare venture upon such a war as President McKinley has undertaken, without the express consent and sanction of the parliamentary body.

The Philippine conquest is in truth and in fact Mr. McKinley's personal war, just as the Empress Eugénie, who forced the conflict with Germany in 1870, was credited with the saying, "This is my war." To affirm that such a tremendous military and naval movement is merely a President's posse for the "suppression of an insurrection" is to insult the intelligence of the people.

In addition to this the President, through one of his generals, has made a treaty or compact with the Sultan of Sulu, by which the United States have agreed to continue this potentate as the satrap of his dominions, to permit the existence of slavery and polygamy as "recognized institutions" of the islands, a "part of their religion," and to pay him and his chiefs and aids a monthly stipend of $510 for recognizing in turn our "sovereignty" in the Sulu ports. Could the Emperor William—could the Czar of Russia—perform an act of more absolute imperialism than this in settling the status of remote savage islands over which they might claim to have acquired jurisdiction?

But this is not all. We are exercising a protectorate over Cuba. We have secured Porto Rico by cession from Spain and are governing the island by military power. We have occupied the Island of Guam. We have annexed Hawaii.

And yet Congress adjourned in March without adopting any measure or giving any direction whatever for the government or control of one of these islands. It left them and the Philippines much more completely under the control of the President than ever the conquered provinces of Rome were under the rule of Cæsar. And Congress did this at the express wish of the President, conveyed through his mouthpiece in the Senate, that he be given a "free hand" in his "colonial" policy.

Was not this an abdication of the constitutional power of Congress over "the territories and other property of the United States?" Was it not an unprecedented departure from the principles and traditions of the Republic? By giving the President a "free hand" for nine months in a war of conquest in the Philippines, and in military administration in our other possessions that we really possess, has not Congress rendered possible—nay, invited—results that are likely to prove irrevocable, and yet that were never approved by the people or their representatives, and that are as repugnant to the best moral sense of the nation as they are certain to be detrimental to its highest welfare?

In failing to exercise its prerogative betimes, Congress has enabled the President and his associates to commit the Government to a policy which the Senate expressly disavowed in the McEnery resolution, and from which there is reason to believe the House would have emphatically dissented had a free expression of its views been permitted.

This enormous "expansion" of the Executive power—this usurpation of the authority of Congress, to give the action its right name—has been promoted by two potent influences, not foreseen, or at least not provided against, by the framers of the Constitution.

III.

The first is party spirit. The President has become the head of a party. He is a party chief as well as the Chief Executive of the Government. No prerogative conferred upon him by the Constitution is so potent as this. It arrays behind him, if he be a shrewd politician—as Mr. McKinley is—the forces of party organization, party discipline, party loyalty and party rewards. We saw in the recent elections how "loyalty to the flag" was made synonymous with loyalty to the President. No man in Congress, no ambitious politician anywhere, can oppose the President's policy without "going against his party." And to go against the party, whenever the President chooses to enter upon a war of "criminal aggression," is, in the view of the party organs and orators, to commit treason.

What all this means in ostracism and abuse the very few Republican Senators and Representatives who have had the courage to oppose the President's progressive militarism have learned to their cost. The force of party spirit, when invoked in support of the President, is seen in the failure of even so strong and courageous a leader as Thomas B. Reed to avow his convictions in an attempt to stem the tide of imperialism. By far the ablest and most courageous Republican in the House, a man of far more intellectual force than the President, with the enormous power of the Speaker in his hands, resigned his seat and quit public life largely because he could neither support nor successfully stand against the policy to which the President had, through the supineness of Congress, unalterably committed the party.

To continue and enforce the illustration: Mr. Reed's succes-

sor, Speaker Henderson, who has delivered one of the most graphic and powerful philippics against war ever uttered, and who was originally opposed to the forcible annexation of the Philippines, has been constrained by his ambition and by the forces dominating his party through the Administration to smother his convictions and to give his support to a war of "criminal aggression."

IV.

The other and allied force which has gradually made the President the master of Congress is the power of patronage. This was unknown to the earlier Presidents, or at least was not employed by them. Such an attempt as Mr. McKinley has successfully made to sap the independence and to influence the course of Senators and Representatives by honorary appointments and profitable patronage would have been vigorously resented in the earlier Congresses and have aroused the indignation of the people.

Examples of this misuse of the Executive power were Mr. McKinley's appointment of members of Congress on the Hawaiian Commission; his selection of two Senators, both members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, as commissioners to make a treaty with Spain, upon which they were to sit in judgment in the Senate; his tender of the English Ambassadorship to Senator Hoar, in the hope of silencing that conscientious statesman's opposition to the Philippine scheme; the commissioning of Representatives as Generals in the Army, in direct contravention of the Constitution, and the bestowal of offices and patronage upon Democratic Senators in return for votes for the Spanish treaty. Another and even more scandalous case was the desertion of his party to vote for the treaty by a Democratic Senator then under indictment in a Federal court for a criminal offense, and the quashing of the indictment against him by a Republican appointee of the President, within a short time after the ratification of the treaty *by a single vote.*

Still another illustration of this power of the President is found in the action of Mr. McKinley's Philippine Commission. At the head of this body, sent to the islands to inquire into the conditions there prevailing, was Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University—an institution founded in the true spirit of democracy, and dedicated to the education of young men in the

atmosphere and principles of genuine republicanism. When asked by the *World* on August 31, 1898, for his opinion as to "What shall we do with the Philippines?" President Schurman replied:

"*This Republic, whose soul is self-government, does not want Asiatic dependencies or the military despotism they would entail.* **The proximity of Cuba made its misgovernment our affair.** *But we are not called upon to rectify the tyrannies of Africa or Asia.* **Nor are we under any obligation to Aguinaldo and the insurgents.** *Let us keep to our own hemisphere, seeking only naval stations in the Old World.*"

In the face of these wise and unanswerable truths, so tersely stated, Mr. Schurman, after a brief enjoyment of Executive honor and favor, joins in a report to the President not merely favoring this "Asiatic dependency," with the "military despotism" which it has entailed, but proposing to undertake the impossible, the grotesque task of making their millions of semi-civilized or wholly savage inhabitants "more American than the Americans themselves."

The opportunists in politics are now joining the partisans of the President in saying that the whole question of the disposition and government of the Philippines will be "in the hands of Congress" when resistance to our "sovereignty" shall be suppressed. What a mockery of words! With the islands and their inhabitants purchased from Spain, according to Judge Day, and then subjugated by order of Mr. McKinley, what alternative is left to Congress? Will a Republican Congress nullify the President's war by giving to the Filipinos the freedom for which they have been fighting? Could there be a more ridiculous and stultifying climax to his campaign of "benevolent assimilation," so costly in blood and treasure, than a notification to the surviving natives that Congress had decided not to assimilate them?

No! Congress, it is perfectly well known, will do whatever party policy requires, and the party policy has been irrevocably determined by the President. There may be a few voices raised in protest, the feeble sign of a surviving "remnant of conscience" in the great party whose first platform had for its corner-stone the Declaration of Independence; but the majority are bound hand and foot and committed in advance to the President's European policy. They will take their cue from his message—their lines from the White House. Already, on the eve of the assembling of Congress, it is announced by the leaders of the

majority in both houses that there will be "no legislation for the Philippines or for Cuba." It is more than doubtful if even Hawaii or Porto Rico will be released from the control of the President's "free hand"—which is in the very nature of the case the military hand.

V.

It may be said that this is simply criticism, and that no remedy is suggested for the evils pointed out. "In a Republic every needed reform is possible," but the first condition of any reform is that the people shall be made aware of its necessity. Two practical remedies, however, almost suggest themselves:

1. *A Constitutional amendment extending the President's term to six years and making him ineligible to re-election.*

If this were done we should no longer see the President beginning on the very first day of his term to plan and work for a second term. We should not see our Presidents indulging in the menace of a foreign war to make capital for re-election, as President Harrison did in the Chili affair and President Cleveland did in the Venezuelan incident, or actually leading the country into a war of conquest and "empire," as Mr. McKinley has done in the Philippines. A single term for the Executive, as was the original intention of the Constitutional Convention, would limit the ambition of the President and remove the temptation, which is now apparently irresistible, to use his power for personal and partisan ends.

2. *The withdrawal from the hands of the President, by a radical and permanent system of civil-service reform, of the enormous patronage involved in the distribution of more than* 100,000 *offices.*

It is by the use and the temptation of this patronage that the President makes himself the dictator of his party and secures the support not only of Senators and Representatives, but of the bosses who control State organizations and hold Presidential delegations in the hollow of their hands. The power of patronage personally wielded by the President is greater than that exercised by any sovereign of Europe. It is an anachronism in modern government, an absurd anomaly in a Republic. Our entire subordinate and routine civil service should be taken out of partisan politics and established permanently upon a basis of merit and fitness. That this would tend greatly to keep the President within

his constitutional limitations and to restore the independence of Congress no student of history can doubt.

When the people's representatives prefer patronage to power and party servitude to conscience—when they obey their party boss instead of asserting their own authority—Congress has failed as a check upon the Executive and is no longer the guardian of popular liberty. The genius of republican institutions requires that Congress shall direct, guide, control the Executive. But to-day the President directs, guides, controls Congress.

JOSEPH PULITZER.

CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT AND THE PHILIPPINES.

BY PERRY BELMONT.

THE country has expressed, with more or less distinctness and unanimity, a desire that Congress, when it assembles this month, shall legislate in regard to the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the islands recently ceded to the United States; taxation reform; currency and banking reform, and trusts.

There are reasons why the first-named of those subjects of legislation should have precedence, and the civil rights and political status of eight or ten millions of people be not postponed till after enactments relating to the other three topics.

The millions of native inhabitants of the ceded islands have now, under the Paris Treaty, no civil rights. The inhabitants who were born in Spain have political rights stipulated by the treaty, but the natives have none. The United States promised Spain that Congress would determine "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants." That obligation is as yet unfulfilled.

It is unusual for human beings not to have any nationality. Spain was constrained to abandon those natives, and sunder their allegiance to her. The United States did not by the treaty make them citizens, nor naturalize them, nor give them an opportunity to become citizens. Probably the wisest lawyer cannot say whether the natives could leave the islands till Congress has given permission, although the right of expatriation, repatriation and naturalization is cherished in our country, nor whether the natives now owe such allegiance to our Government that they can be punished for treason if they levy war on the United States.

The precise condition, in our American law, of inhabitants of a country ceded to the United States is obscure till Congress has made a definition, if the treaty of cession does not prescribe it. The Supreme Court is reported as saying in Rapentigny's case, that "the conqueror, who has obtained *permanent* possession of the enemy's country, has the right to forbid the departure of his new subjects or citizens from it." If the native inhabitants of the Philippines could not depart therefrom without permission from Washingon, they would be like mediæval feudal serfs.

Up to the date of recent treaty, cessions of foreign territory to the United States determined the *status*, as to citizenship, of the inhabitants. The Spanish treaty, ceding Florida, admitted them, declared the Supreme Court, in Canter's case, "to the enjoyment of the privilege and immunities of the citizens of the United States." That was the invariable rule of our treaties of cession up to 1898.

It was expedient to make a new departure in the recent treaty, the two chief points of contention disclosed in the protocols being the Cuban debt and the cession of the Philippines. Denying that, under the August protocol, the American plenipotentiaries were entitled to demand cession of sovereignty over the Philippines, Spain proposed to submit that question to arbitration, but the American plenipotentiaries rejected the proposal, and offered to Spain twenty millions for the Philippines, which offer Spain accepted. Thereupon the rights of the inhabitants to choose their citizenship was considered, and it was agreed that the natives of Spain be allowed a year in which to decide whether or not to remain Spanish subjects, or adopt the nationality of "the territory" in which they might reside, but to the natives of the islands that right was refused by the American plenipotentiaries. Their civil rights were, by the ninth article, put absolutely in the hands of Congress which, our plenipotentiaries declared, "will enact laws to govern the ceded territories." That pledge, as an inducement to the signatures of the treaty, should be promptly met by fulfilment. The treaty does not declare that the "United States" (as in the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution relating to a "guarantee of a republican form of government") or the President, but that *Congress* shall determine the rights of the natives.

Existing uncertainty regarding the citizenship of children of

natives born in the islands since April 11, 1899, is another reason why Congress should now clear up the question as far as it can. The fourteenth article of the Constitution declares that "all persons born, or naturalized, in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside," and the fifteenth article adds "that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied, or abridged, . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

If the Philippines were "in" the United States on April 11, 1899, and a child of a native was born "subject to the jurisdiction thereof," then such a child became a citizen despite any present or future enactment by Congress. Was and is the Philippine archipelago "in" the United States? The treaty is silent on that question. If the parents and the child, being in the Philippines, were not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, then to the jurisdiction of what country were they, and are they now, subject? If such a child came to reside in New York, would it be a citizen of New York? It has been recently decided by the Supreme Court that a child even of Chinese parents is, if born in one of our States, a citizen of that State, and of the United States. Residing in Manila, the child would not, of course, be a citizen of any State of the United States, but *under* the fourteenth article would the child not be a citizen of the United States, and would it not have a status defined by the Constitution? Congress should express its opinion.

There is a most cogent reason, growing out of the Federal revenue, why legislation by Congress regarding Porto Rico and the Philippines should have priority — the doubt whether or not importations from those islands into our home ports are dutiable, and whether or not Congress is constitutionally bound to levy and collect duties on foreign imports into those islands uniform with those levied and collected at our home ports on like articles. The Constitution is explicit that "all duties . . . shall be uniform *throughout the United States*." Will Congress declare that the word "throughout" and the restriction apply only to the ports of forty-five States now in the Union? The Supreme Court has twice decided that the words "throughout the United States" embrace all of what Chief Justice Marshall described as the "American empire" and all of our "country."

There is another reason why the Philippine problem should have priority, which is that "involuntary servitude" exists there in the form of Mohammedan slavery, and debt slavery, presenting, on the one hand, the relation of the slave to his owner as property, and on the other hand, to the United States as a human being. The thirteenth article of the Constitution forbids slavery, or involuntary servitude, to exist "within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction," except as a punishment for crime for which the party shall have been duly convicted. Must such convictions be by a common law jury?

The pens of pessimists and cynics in our politics will be sharpened if the Republican party in the present Congress, born as that party was, less than fifty years ago, of hostility to slavery and polygamy in our territories, should now protect or even tolerate those "twin relics" in the Philippines.

Besides these questions, arising under the last clause of the ninth article of the recent treaty, there are innumerable others growing out of the first ten additions, or amendments, to the Constitution. The first amendment especially, which is addressed to Congress by name and forbids it to do certain things, seems in effect to forbid the United States to do anywhere within its jurisdiction or under its sovereignty the enumerated acts, or to permit, in time of peace, the tyranny known as martial law. Will any one after reading that first amendment of the Constitution contend that Congress can, no matter what is in a treaty of cession, establish in any colony, or dependency, systems of religious faith and worship, or prohibit the full exercise of any system, or abridge free speech or the right of petitioning Congress to redress grievances?

The war against Spain, and the treaty ending the war and securing peace with Spain, are not now in issue. Those great transactions have been closed. The treaty has been, since that date, a supreme law of the land. The Philippines and Porto Rico are possessions of the United States by as valid and secure a title as are now New Mexico and Alaska.

There have been two theories regarding the possession of sovereignty over an area conquered and actually occupied, either by a foreign enemy, or by internal rebels. After Dewey had conquered the Bay of Manila, was its sovereignty in the United States or in Spain up to April 11, 1899? One theory, and an

old one, is that it was in the United States, but the more modern and probably the better one is that the United States had full rights of occupancy and government, but the sovereignty of Spain was intact till the conquest had been completed by treaty, although the United States had legal authority to do there whatever was necessary for the prosecution of war. The Filipino insurgents were rebels against Spain. They had, outside of Manila, subdued Spanish resistance, and occupied as against Spain all of Luzon, as the Schurman Commission has recently declared. Taxes were paid to the insurgents and they were the *de facto* rulers, precisely as before the protocol of August 12, 1898, Dewey ruled in the harbor, and afterward Merritt or Otis ruled in the city of Manila. The Paris treaty was negotiated on the theory that Spain held the sovereignty and ceded to the United States a valid title to sovereignty over the entire archipelago. The fact that Luzon was, outside of Manila, held by the insurgents as conquered and occupied, and the United States had not at that time sovereignty over even the city, bay and harbor of Manila,should, it may be said, have constrained the President to be passive and unaggressive under the August protocol till the treaty had been ratified, and the ratifications exchanged.

That much-debated second clause of the third section of the fourth article of the Constitution, relating to the government of territories by Congress, requires a "belonging" to the United States. If Congress has the right to govern colonies and dependencies, not from the clause just referred to, but from the right to acquire them, or from the former and latter combined, then obviously acquiring and possessing the sovereignty are a condition precedent to governing.

It is easy and safe to say now that, since April 11, 1899, further enlargement of territorial area has not been a feasible and winning issue, in a political and partisan sense, but the immediate application by Congress of the Federal Constitution to such recent enlargements still holds the field as the pre-eminent duty of the legislative power.

Shall it be said that the present Government of the United States, created by the Constitution, can disregard the Constitution on land or sea over which our flag floats as an emblem of sovereignty, and require or authorize acts to be done which the Constitution has forbidden? Shall Congress destroy those limit-

ations on its own powers over States, territories and dependencies? Can the Government wander into the Orient so far that the Constitution is inoperative?

In an interview published last June, I said: "If such a severe test should be made as a choice between the Constitution or the Philippines, Democrats would, in my opinion, let the Philippines go. But no such test is likely or necessary. The President should satisfactorily punish Aguinaldo and his followers for their assault, early last February, on our army at Manila. When that has been accomplished, and Congress has assembled, there will be real problems that will press for solution."

An enlargement of the area of the United States is not to be decried, if an expansion of their political institutions, as prescribed by the Federal Constitution, shall accompany the territorial enlargement. Democrats do not condemn the successive enlargements which their party made under treaties with France in 1803, with Spain in 1819, and with Mexico in 1843 and 1853, but which the Whig party condemned. In all of them the Constitution expanded over the acquisitions. No one now denies that the Constitution extends over New Mexico, but some deny that the Philippines are a *part* of the "United States," as the term is used in the Constitution. They declare that the Constitution will not extend over the Philippines till after Congress has placed it there, arguing that the treaty ceding the Philippines is so radically and intentionally unlike all former treaties of cession that no judicial decision regarding "territory" can be a precedent. In all former treaties they say it was stipulated that the people of the ceded possession could, if remaining therein, be citizens of the United States. They are heard insisting that the body politic, described as "the United States," embraces, in strict law, only "States;" that the Constitution restrains Congress only when legislating for "States" and their inhabitants, and that, therefore, the Philippines are a dependency outside the Union and the Constitution till Congress shall bring them in by appropriate legislation.

An argument diligently put about of late and denying that Congress will be restrained by the Constitution, in executing the last clause of the ninth article of the treaty with Spain, is something like this:

The Constitution has created two kinds of jurisdiction—one

for internal and one for external and imperial affairs. The former is now confined to the existing forty-five States, and is limited in scope, but the latter is unrestrained, excepting possibly by the law of nations. Under it the Government of the United States can lawfully do all that any nation can, unless the Government hamper itself by treaty or by a statute, accepting the Constitution as a restraint. In the latter sort of jurisdiction Congress has, it is said, whatever power may be needed. Therefore, as the treaty with Spain has not imposed any restraint on Congress the legislative power will be unimpeded in Porto Rico and the Philippines, and till Congress shall have legislated to the contrary, the President, will, under the law of nations, have a free hand in the islands. Will Congress abstain from enacting restraint?

Imperialism exultingly reminds us of the truth that a judicial precedent, although made by Marshall and Taney, cannot bind, under the recent treaty, excepting in a case the facts of which cannot be distinguished from those of the decided case, and that therefore there will be no binding precedents for the questions arising in governing Porto Rico and the Philippines. What then is to restrain the rude hand of power and party passion in President or Congress from enacting a *post facto* law, or making arrests by general warrant, or prosecuting a second time for the same offence, or making property of a human being, or taking private property for a public purpose without payment, or denying jury trials, or depriving persons of life, liberty or prosperity without due process of law, or confiscating property held by churches, Catholic or Protestant, by monasteries, convents, priests, monks or friars?

Empire, Emperor and Empress seem now to be captivating words all over the world. They are modern revivals of the old. It is less than a quarter of a century since, by act of Parliament under Lord Beaconsfield, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland assumed the title of "Empress of India," the great dependency being as much outside of the United Kingdom and the British Constitution as the Philippines would be outside of the United States and the American Constitution—if those to whom I have referred carry out their intention. "Territories" are nothing new in our political system. The word is in our Constitution. There have been differences of opinion as

to whether or not the Constitution, *proprio vigore,* covers a foreign territory as soon as acquired, as well as over the question of the power which Congress can exercise in a territory. The last question precipitated the war of the Secession. Whether or not the amendments of the Constitution enforcing trial by jury must be applied in a territory has, since then, been repeatedly considered by the Supreme Court.

If the Philippines are not to be "a part" of the United States, nor to be under the Constitution, nor to have a civil government, is it material whether the titular designation of our Executive shall be "President of the United States of America, and Emperor of the Philippines?"

Debate in Congress ought not to be postponed, evaded, or avoided by pleading the existing war. There is no war in Porto Rico. The debate must come. It is due to the Porto Ricans that it come now and they know whether or not the American Constitution and the Supreme Court are to protect them. Is the Constitutional question of the power of Congress different in Porto Rico from what it is in New Mexico? Can Congress go outside the Constitution in the exercise of civil authority in Porto Rico?

The end and aim of war is peace, and the quickest route to peace with the Filipinos is for Congress to intervene, inquire into the facts, convince the natives of the good faith of the United States, and prescribe terms of pacification. When that has been done, the natives will know their fate. Whatever the reason for retaining the Philippines—whether as a trust only for the good of the native inhabitants, or as a military and naval station, or as a trading country under our flag, or a stepping-stone to Asia, or as an American commercial rival to British Hongkong and Singapore, or as a point of easy departure when China, the "sick man," is on a death bed—the first and indispensable thing is for our Congress to win and deserve the confidence and friendship of natives now alienated from us.

There are those who say that if the Government at Washington is to be restrained in dealing with the Philippines, by the taxing clauses of the Constitution, by the first ten amendments, and by the thirteenth and fourteenth as well, then it will be impracticable to rule all over the islands. A code of criminal law in the island of Sulu, for example, requiring conviction for

crime by a jury, an indictment, a judge and petit jury would, it is said with cogency, make world-wide merriment. It may, however, be that if Congress refuses to tolerate in our new islands the things which the Constitution declares shall not anywhere be done, self-government there will not be a failure.

Many experts assume that free trade between Porto Rico, the Philippines and all our ports, if the same rate of duties are levied in those islands as at our home ports on foreign imports, is impracticable. Therefore it is suggested, in order to avoid the danger, that if Congress shall execute at all the last clause of the ninth article of the treaty, or shall in any manner legislate for Porto Rico and the Philippines, the restraints of the Constitution will attach themselves to Congress and the Supreme Court will acquire jurisdiction, Congress abstain from any action, and thus the Constitution will be circumvented by permitting the present military power of the President to continue indefinitely. That device comes from those who fear the Constitution will expand over the new islands, and restrain Congress, whenever it shall legislate for the islands, and shall determine the status of the natives. It does not come from those who contend, as so many do with great subtlety, that with the single exception of prohibiting slavery, the Constitution was made only for the States in the Union, and does not expand over territories, or colonies, or dependencies, and that Congress is as free to do what it pleases in the Philippines as the British Parliament is to do as it pleases in India, or any crown colony.

As an indication of tendency of opinion regarding the scope of the President's war powers, and their continuing duration, the following publication, a few days ago, is significant: "Attorney-General Griggs after a careful consideration has decided that the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and not as President, could make appointments of Civil Governors without legislation by Congress. He thus holds that the President exercises absolute control over territory held through military occupation, and that none of his acts regarding such territory can be called in question so long as they are not made in his purely civil capacity as President."

The vast powers of the President in a foreign country, as Commander of the Army and Navy, after Congress has declared war, or war exists, are not adequately realized by all of us. He

is in theory under the restraint of the Constitution and Congress, but yet his power is in practice uncontrolled. We have seen that in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. The Constitution adopts the law of nations which prescribes the usages of war, which usages impart to the President that tremendous power so unlike that which he possesses in time of peace. When peace came, that despotic power fell.

The President claims it was revived by another war, undeclared by Congress, but created by the conduct of the Filipino insurgents on the fourth of February last. On April 11, 1899, the Spanish political system disappeared from the Philippines, and an American political system took its place, established by necessity and by its own force. What was that American system, thus applicable to the Philippines? The treaty defined it as to be the one to be prescribed by Congress. But Congress was not convened by the President. What then was his power in the newly acquired islands after April 11, 1899? It was settled in California a half century ago. It was debated in Congress and finally determined by the Supreme Court. At that time, there was in California, a young lieutenant of army engineers who was Secretary to the Military Governor, and subsequently, as General Halleck, produced out of that large practical experience a treatise on the American laws of conquest and cession, and on the President's power when Congress has not legislated, which treatise was referred to at Paris by both Governments as an authoritative text book. If there be a difference between the President's power in California and in the Philippines, after proclamation of the treaties of peace, it is to the diminution of McKinley's power in comparison with Polk's, because the recent Spanish treaty, unlike the Mexican treaty, distinctly excluded executive power by requiring Congress to prescribe a political and civil code.

It is argued with more or less plausibility, that Porto Rico and the Philippines have been since the middle of last April "a part" of the United States and under its sovereignty in foreign affairs and in an international sense, but not a part thereof, and under Constitutional jurisdiction, in domestic affairs, and in a national sense. Constitutional and legal truth respecting our new acquisitions cannot be long obscured. A case presenting the problem may find its way to the Supreme Court. An importer com-

pelled to pay duties on an import from one of those islands may do so under an adequate protest presenting for interpretation the phrase, "throughout the United States," appeal from the Collector's decision to the Treasury and, if the Collector be sustained, begin a suit to recover back the money paid.

Whatever may be the final outcome of argument and debate of those Constitutional questions, Congress cannot well evade, quite apart from obligations imposed by the treaty, the task of prosecuting an inquiry in order to ascertain what have been, since May, 1898, the real relations of Aguinaldo to the President, as well as to the naval and military authorities. Such an impartial inquisition is needed in order to ascertain how peace in the Philippines can be most safely obtained and assured.

Aguinaldo may be in captivity or exile before this paper has been published, but the question why so many natives of Luzon have so long followed his standard of revolt from the benevolent assimilation promised in the President's December military order will remain to be explained by Congress.

It has been industriously put about that those who delayed ratification of the treaty from the fourth of January (as if that were an excessive period of time) till the sixth of February, are chiefly responsible for insurgent conduct on the fourth of the last named month, which created belligerence around Manila. The recent preliminary report by the Schurman Commission has put an end to that, by showing that a falling out between the natives and our troops began on Merritt's arrival; that then the Filipino newspapers started anti-American feeling, and the "popular clubs" were organized to assail us within and without Manila. The Commission affirmed that "the relations between the two forces were strained from the beginning;" that after the landing of our troops Aguinaldo decided to start the insurrection. The Commission has said he did not openly declare that he intended to attack our troops, but he aroused and excited his followers, and especially the military element, by claiming independence. The Commission was not distinct and explicit regarding the relative responsibility of Aguinaldo and the co-operative natives, but the following sentence in the report alluding to failure of negotiations by the Commission with Aguinaldo's representatives, inculpates the former as most to be blamed: "No better proof could be furnished that the primary object of his struggle is not, as is pre-

tended, the liberty of the Filipino peoples, but the continuance of his own arbitrary and despotic power."

It may be inferred that the negotiations referred to broke down because Aguinaldo asked for a "suspension of hostilities," which the Commission refused to discuss "as being a military matter," and because the Commission, not representing Congress, could not deal with the insurgents with sufficient authority. It issued a proclamation on the fourth of last March, declaring "the principles by which the United States would be guided in exercising the sovereignty which Spain had ceded to us over the Philippine islands, and assuring the people not only of their rights and privileges, but also of the largest participation in government which might be found compatible with the general welfare and reconcilable with the sovereign rights and obligations of the United States," and verbally assured Aguinaldo's agents "of a liberal form of government when they laid down their arms," but all the Commission offered, or could offer, was necessarily vague and unsatisfying, because the Commission did not represent Congress.

What Admiral Dewey, on arriving at New York, has been reported as saying to the Associated Press agent is more illuminating, in explanation of the failure of the President's Commission, than the official report he signed as Commissioner. This is it:

"Aguinaldo was a junior clerk in the navy-yard. He is a pretty smart fellow. I know him pretty well. In fact we were great friends, and are, for the matter of that, but he has not the brains. There are people behind him, some of them lawyers and able fellows, who make a tool of Aguinaldo. The fight in the Philippines should be easily ended. The people had been so badly treated for such a length of time by the Spaniards that they were distrustful. This is the great difficulty in dealing with them. Where we have met them and they have been in such contact with us so as to learn that we mean to treat them well; where they have seen that we mean what we say, there is no trouble. They stand by us all the time."

A Commission sent by Congress, instead of by the President, might have met a better fate.

When Congress seriously takes in hand the real relations at Manila since May, 1898, between the United States and the for-

mer rebels against Spain, it will naturally look to see what the President's plenipotentiaries said and did at Paris regarding Aguinaldo and the forces standing around him. The precise nature of the "political pledges," expressed or implied, that were given may not be accurately known by the public in our day, if ever. Each reader of narrations of the events from April 15 to August 15, 1898, will, nevertheless, draw his own inferences.

It is indisputable that the subjects of Spain led by Aguinaldo gave aid to Dewey and Merritt in accomplishing the capitulation of Manila. In the annex to the thirteenth protocol of the Paris treaty, the American plenipotentiaries are recorded as saying:

"The city was closely besieged on the land side by the insurgents. It was in extremities for provisions, and the insurgents controlled the water supply. The Spanish forces had been unable to raise the siege, and therefore could not escape from the city on the land side."

Again, in the first protocol, it is set forth that the Spanish plenipotentiaries, having alluded to the Tagalo rebels as forming, during the campaign, "an auxiliary force to the regular American troops," the American plenipotentiaries replied in the fifteenth protocol that alliance with the Filipinos "is not a relation which the Government of the United States intended to establish, but it must, at least, be admitted that the insurgent chiefs returned and resumed their activity with the consent of our military and naval commanders, who permitted them to arm with weapons which we had captured from the Spaniards, and *assured them of fair treatment and justice.*"

Those last seven words indicate that assurances of a definite nature were, by somebody, given to the insurgents, and yet President McKinley in his last annual message describing to Congress the surrender of Manila did not allude to them. It is open to him to argue that he never encouraged, authorized, or ratified the acts of our Consuls in bringing Admiral Dewey and Aguinaldo together, or sanctioned what Admiral Dewey did in placing Aguinaldo in a position to fight against Spain at the head of the insurgents. In August, 1898, he instructed Adjutant-General Corbin to cable General Merritt that there must not, by Aguinaldo's insurgents, be joint occupation with us of Manila, and that they must obey the proclamation of a truce under the protocol. Congress will explore and decide.

Our Consuls at Manila, Singapore and Hongkong wrote fully concerning Aguinaldo to the State Department, and on June 16, 1898, it replied by order of the President to Consul-General Pratt at Singapore, admonishing him to make no promises to Aguinaldo, or "any alliance with the Philippine insurgents," but "to obtain the *unconditional personal assistance* of General Aguinaldo in the expedition to Manila would be proper if, in so doing, he was not induced to form hopes which it might not be practicable to gratify."

Consul-General Pratt brought Admiral Dewey and Aguinaldo together and, under the eye of Dewey, Aguinaldo, before Manila capitulated, conquered, and held by conquest, a great part of Luzon as the Schurman Commission affirmed. Aguinaldo's "personal assistance" had been obtained, and accepted.

The Schurman Commission reported that "he (Aguinaldo) arrived with thirteen of his staff on May 19 and immediately came on board the "Olympia" to call on the Commander in-Chief, after which he was allowed to land at Cavité and organize an army. This was done with the purpose of strengthening the United States' forces and weakening those of the enemy. No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo, nor was any promise of independence made to him, then or at any other time. Shortly afterward the Filipinos began to attack the Spanish. Their number was rapidly augmented by the militia, who had been given arms by Spain, all of whom revolted and joined the insurgents. Great Filipino successes followed. Many Spaniards were taken prisoners, and while the Spanish troops now remained quietly in Manila, the Filipino forces made *themselves* masters of the entire island, except that city." Mention of the furnishing of arms to Aguinaldo by Dewey was omitted in the report.

General Merritt testified at Paris:

"It was not the wish of the Government to make any promises to the insurgents, or act in any way with them. I had telegraphed to the War Department of the possible trouble that might arise with the insurgents, and asked for instructions as to whether I should consider them as enemies, and treat them accordingly in such case. *To that request I had no reply.*"

The injunction of secrecy was by the Senate removed from that testimony of January 11, 1899. Its publication was ordered. Anybody's imagination is equal to fancying its effect on the Fili-

pinos and Aguinaldo when read by them, as it should never have been.

It may not be necessary that a Committee of Congress visit the archipelago. There are witnesses, documents, records, letters and cable messsages in Washington. If the Executive will submit all of them to Congress, they may, when collected, be examined and analyzed, and a keen, free debate in both houses of Congress had thereover furnish all the light that is required in execution of the ninth article of the treaty.

The members of the Schurman Commission have been and are, collectively and individually, zealous in denial that hopes were officially held out to the insurgents between the middle of March and August, 1898, which the President has not fulfilled or recognized. It is plainly disclosed in Senate Document No. 62, pages 318 to 362, that Consuls Williams, Wildman and Pratt, and Admiral Dewey, had frequent conversations with Aguinaldo before the capitulation of Manila. All those officers are now accessible, and cross-examinations by a Committee of Congress ought to uncover the truth.

By the protocol signed at Washington on August 12, 1898, the United States were to hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila, and nothing else, "pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace," which treaty when signed stipulated that to be binding it must be ratified by our Senate and President, by the Queen of Spain, and the ratifications be exchanged at Washington within six months. Otherwise there was no treaty. The Philippine islands were not to be evacuated by Spain till after such exchange of ratifications, and, meanwhile, the protocol of August 12, 1898, was to remain in force. The treaty was not ratified by our Senate till February 6, 1899, nor by Spain till March 19, 1899, nor were ratifications exchanged till April 11, 1899. Till the last-named date, the United States had therefore no title to, or sovereignty over, the Philippines, and had not lawful power to hold and rule any part of the archipelago excepting the city, bay and harbor of Manila. Outside of that limit, Aguinaldo and his forces had, by public law, the right to rule wherever, and so far only as, their conquests and military occupation completely expelled Spanish power. Over that area, the people, styling themselves the "Philippine Republic," or by any other name, had as good a right in law to rule as the United States had to rule over Santiago imme-

diately after its conquest early in July. That was the situation on December 10, 1898, and up to April 11, 1899. The United States could not lawfully invade the area held by Aguinaldo till the treaty had been ratified because the protocol forbade.

In that situation of the facts and applicable law, the President, only eleven days after the signature of the treaty of Paris, and before it had been ratified even by himself, ordered the Secretary of War to proceed to "the actual occupation and administration of the entire group of the Philippine islands," and to the extension, with all possible dispatch, of "the military government, heretofore maintained by the United States in the city, harbor and bay of Manila, . . . to the whole of the ceded territory." "Ceded" by what? Not by treaty, for it had not at that time been ratified by any body, and Congress had not even agreed to pay the twenty millions which was the condition precedent of cession. The two premises assigned by the President in the order as its reason and justification were, first, that by Dewey's victory and the capitulation of Manila, the "conquest" of the entire archipelago had been effected. The second premise was that, by the treaty of peace signed at Paris, "the future control, disposition and government of the Philippine islands are *ceded* to the United States," which was equivalent to saying that a treaty is binding when only signed by agents appointed by the President.

The illegality of the order was bad enough, but its stupidity as diplomacy in pacifying and conciliating the Filipinos was worse. It was a blow in the faces of those whom the United States wished to allure to consent to be led by Congress upward and onward in happiness and welfare. There was not in the order a persuading sentence! Each was alienating and repelling! With one hand the President offered the Filipinos submission to him and with the other he threatened war. The choice was offered to millions of people over whom the United States had not a scintilla of lawful authority, and could get none under the protocol till the treaty had been ratified. A month later the President appointed the Schurman Commission to facilitate "the effective extension of authority throughout these islands," and over a people at that time not under the sovereignty of the United States. The name of the official who wrote those two orders is as yet unknown by the public, but it ought to be, as an example and a warning, if the order sent toward the end of December explains the tension of

bitterness and emotion which brought on the existing belligerence between Otis and Aguinaldo.

In one aspect, that December order is now immaterial excepting as an Executive act not to be commended by Congress as a precedent, but it is of paramount importance if it provoked the deplorable incident at Manila of the fourth of February, and Congress should take cognizance of it as a piece of evidence tending to explain why the natives whom the United States rescued from Spain are now in arms against their deliverer and former ally.

After the disastrous effect of the December order had been felt in Washington, the need of more soldiers in Luzon had been seen and the country was beginning to condemn the President because there was not in Manila an army large enough to enforce his December order; the President offered his defence at Pittsburg. It tore in pieces his December order. It was this:

"Until the treaty was ratified (April 11, 1899), we had no authority beyond Manila city, bay and harbor."

"We then had no other title to defend, no authority beyond that to maintain."

"Spain was still in possession of the remainder of the archipelago."

The last sentence of the defence was inaccurate, because the insurgents were, as the Schurman Commission reported, in possession of a large part of Luzon. On what pretext could the President have signed that December order? It is the work of Congress to ascertain.

It is plain now to see that the Philippines are not to be surrendered, abandoned, and left derelict. For good or ill, they are in our hands. Armed rebellion will be suppressed, either by removal of misunderstandings, or, if that fails, then by the armed hand. If it shall be decided that the Constitution has already expanded over the archipelago and is not to be circumvented; that Congress is in its every act under the restraint of the Constitution, but that the Philippines cannot, under the Constitution, be reduced to order and elevated in civilization, then the Constitution will be an impediment in the "vast mission for the advancement of mankind," alluded to by Lord Salisbury, in association with the United States, and to which, perhaps, our country has been committed so far as the Executive can bind it. Then our country has really come to "the forking of the road."

The United States Government is not bound to "go into all the world" preaching any other political gospel than that of its written Constitution, under which every new acquisition has been treated as an inchoate State, to be trained and fitted for immortality as a member of our glorious Union of States. Only of that Constitution, that Union, that expansion, that country, has our flag hitherto been an emblem wherever it has floated on land or sea.

A specific obligation confronts the next Congress, imposed by the last clause of the ninth article of the recent treaty, and accepted by its ratification.

"The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories thereby ceded," must be determined. Congress must in the determination decide first of all whether or not the treaty has removed, diminished or impaired any of the restraint, which, before the war with Spain, was imposed by the Constitution on Congress when legislating for the territory, or other property, of the United States. Next, whether or not that restraint is so expressly declared and asserted in the Constitution that the Supreme Court must adjudge null and void any legislation disregarding and repudiating that restraint. Finally, if the restraints upon Congress are not literal and explicit, in words to be applied to the Philippines, then, whether or not the principles of our constitutional liberties and of the fundamental limitations in favor of personal right and civil rights, formulated in the Constitution and its amendments, constrain Congress in executing the ninth article of the treaty.

PERRY BELMONT.

SECURING THE GOLD STANDARD BY LAW.

BY JOHN DALZELL, MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND OF THE REPUBLICAN CAUCUS COMMITTEE.

THE period preceding the last Presidential election was one of great business depression among the American people. It was also one of great anxiety. However men may differ as to the causes of the depression, there can be no question that the chief cause of anxiety arose from a fear that the American monetary standard, which was that of the leading civilized nations in modern times, might be abandoned for the silver standard. The advocates of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one contended that the demonetization of silver and the scarcity of gold had caused a fall of prices and a paralysis of industry, and that prices could only be restored and prosperity regained by the opening of our mints to the free coinage of both gold and silver, and to the latter at the named ratio. They freely predicted that a failure to adopt their remedy would result in still further depression. This was one of the most important issues of the campaign upon which the advocates of the gold standard and their opponents went to battle. The Republican platform declared that "the existing gold standard must be preserved," and it went on to say:

> "All our paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth."

The result of the contest was an emphatic endorsement of the Republican position, and a positive declaration in favor of the maintenance of the existing standard. Following upon the last election, there has come a revival of business activity and a period of prosperity unprecedented in our history. The prophecies of the free-silver advocates have failed of fulfilment, and their stock

argument of a relation between the price of silver and the price of wheat and other commodities has been shown to be wholly fallacious.

With the renewal of confidence in the integrity of our money, and as a result of the operations of the protective tariff promptly enacted upon Mr. McKinley's accession to office, capital has fearlessly sought investment, labor has found abundant employment, wages have been increased and an export trade has been established marvellous in its value and extent, so that now the United States has become a potent factor in the battle for commercial supremacy and a dangerous rival for the possession of the markets of the world.

Following upon Republican success, it was natural and just that the people should ask that the pledge of the Republican platform be given "the vitality of public law," as President McKinley suggested in his strong speech before the Manufacturers' Association in New York early in 1898. This popular wish, in addition to its general expression in the public prints, found particular expression in two Conventions, representing many of the Boards of Trade of the country, held in Indianapolis in January, 1897, and January, 1898, and by the separate action of many other commercial bodies. There were various reasons why the pledge of the party could not be redeemed during the life of the first Congress under President McKinley's administration. The most obvious reason was that the Senate was not safely under the control of a sound-money majority. There was such a majority in the House of Representatives, and its members listened with courtesy and consideration to Mr. H. H. Hanna, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Indianapolis Monetary Convention, and others, the delegated representatives of the business men's conventions.

When, at last, after the elections of 1898, it became obvious that the new Congress, to meet in December, 1899, would have a majority in both branches for the gold standard, after conference it was determined that a caucus of Republican members should be called to decide upon a plan for securing early action in the Fifty-sixth Congress. This caucus, held on February 2, 1899, voted, by seventy-eight to four, that a committee of eleven members of the House who had been elected members of the succeeding House should be designated by

the Chairman of the caucus to prepare a measure for submission to a future caucus at the first session of the new Congress. This course was taken in order that there might be no delays after the meeting of Congress in regular session in December, and that the approach of the Presidential election might not interpose embarrassments to prompt and effective action. The Republican party, through its representatives in the House, thus by an overwhelming majority expressed its willingness to redeem its pledge to give to the gold standard the sanctity of public law, at the earliest possible moment after the power to do so was acquired. The Republican members of the Senate Committee on Finance took similar action, and both the committees named met during the spring or summer (though not together), and spent many days in serious study of the best means to carry out the policy of the party and the wishes of the people.

The House Committee was made up of General Grosvenor, the Chairman of the caucus; of David B. Henderson, of Iowa, now destined to be the Speaker of the next House; Sereno E. Payne, of New York, then Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means; John Dalzell, of Pennsylvania; William C. Lovering, of Massachusetts; Jesse Overstreet, of Indiana; Joseph W. Babcock, of Wisconsin; Winfield S. Kerr, of Ohio; Charles Curtis, of Kansas; R. B. Hawley, of Texas; Page Morris, of Minnesota, and Eugene F. Loud, of California.

Inasmuch as the question at issue had been carefully considered and reported upon by two committees of the Fifty-fifth Congress, it was deemed wise that the caucus committee should be composed of members who had not theretofore had the subject in charge, so that when the caucus should meet it might have the results of the investigation and thought of as many of its members as possible.

This caucus committee met at Atlantic City on April 17, 1899, and sat almost continuously for more than two weeks, considering the provisions of a financial measure. The result of their deliberations was the adoption of a bill which has not been made public, but which will be laid before the Republican caucus at the coming meeting of Congress.

The first essential feature of any effective legislation dealing with the standard is that it shall be fixed by law. The gold standard has become the standard of civilized nations by a process

of evolution, which has led to a natural preference for the least variable, most compact, most easily transportable, and therefore most economical metal in the great transactions of modern business. It has been an evolution which has marched with such steady steps in the path of growing wealth, higher wages and industrial development that, to the intelligent observer of its progress, any assumption of its connection with the work of individual conspirators or of moneyed syndicates seems puerile. If there has lurked, in a few conservative minds, a fear that the labored arguments of the bimetallists regarding the scarcity of gold had some foundation, and that there really was a relation between low prices, the stagnation of business and the gradual subordination of silver to gold as a standard of value, this fear ought to have been dissipated and this relationship disproved by the present wonderful awakening of American industry.

The United States has been on the gold standard practically since 1834; not by virtue of any legislative enactment, but in obedience to an irresistible natural law which sends the less valuable of two metals out of circulation and makes the other the standard. At the date named, an attempt was made to maintain by legislation what all experience has proved to be impossible, a double standard; and it so happened that the mint value of silver was fixed at a lower figure than its commercial value. As a consequence, silver sought its market elsewhere than at the mints, and gold became the standard, and has so remained ever since. Upon that basis, all contracts have been made from that time to this. Even during the period of suspended specie payments business was transacted with relation to gold values.

When, in 1853, legislation was had reducing the amount of silver in the subsidiary coins, the declaration was expressly made by the committee which reported the bill to the House, that it was their intention "to make gold the standard coin." And so, in the much-abused act of 1873, it was provided that the gold dollar should be the unit of value. Notwithstanding the facts of history and of legislation, the existence of gold as our standard has failed to receive universal recognition, and the battle of the standards has still continued to be waged, as witness the Teller resolution in the Senate in the spring of 1898, which declared for the payment of the outstanding obligations of the United States in silver dollars, and for the legality and good faith of such payment; and

as witness, also, the fact that the last Presidential election turned largely upon the doctrine of the Teller resolution. That resolution failed in the House by a vote of one hundred and eighty-two to one hundred and thirty-three, but it passed in the Senate by a vote of forty-seven to thirty-two, thus illustrating the uncertainty surrounding the interpretation of our present laws. Even now it is apparent that the advocates of the free coinage of silver are preparing to embark in another Presidential campaign upon their old platform.

There can be, of course, no question as to the maintenance of the gold standard so long as a sound-money President and Secretary of the Treasury are at the helm, and hence it has been argued in some quarters that no legislation upon the subject is necessary. But it must be remembered that, under present conditions, a Secretary of the Treasury unfriendly to the standard, or even one who hesitated bravely to use his powers under old laws, might by a single executive act, or by a neglect to act, suspend the gold standard in the United States. The report, in the spring of 1893, that Secretary Carlisle contemplated the redemption of the Treasury notes of 1890 in silver alone, is an illustration of the dangerous power to wreck the standard lodged in the executive department under existing law. Mr. Carlisle had an unquestioned legal right to pay silver only for the Treasury notes, except so far as he might feel governed by the purpose and spirit of American public policy in previous years in support of the gold standard. The descent of the country to the silver standard might be reached by merely passive neglect to replenish the gold reserve when exhausted by the redemption of legal tender notes. Something like this almost occurred in the autumn of 1893, when the cash balance in the Treasury, including the gold available for the redemption of notes, was allowed to fall below $100,000,000 and the issue of bonds to strengthen the Treasury was deferred until the beginning of 1894.

These incidents occurred under an administration devoted to the cause of sound money, and which eventually issued $262,000,000 in bonds to maintain the national credit. What might have happened under an administration avowedly opposed to the gold standard may be surmised, but its evils cannot be definitely measured. A silver Secretary of the Treasury might have declared that, under his view of sound public policy, he would exercise the

option of redeeming public obligations in silver, and, even if he had paid gold while he had it, he might have folded his hands when the gold was exhausted and thereafter paid silver for the interest on the public debt, and for other public dues. Such an act would have terminated the parity of gold and other money in the United States, sent all our circulating money to a discount in gold, brought our bonded obligations pouring back upon the New York market, even more rapidly than they actually came in 1894 and 1895 under the mere suspicion of such a possibility, withdrawn thereby a large volume of capital employed in American industries, produced a series of panics and convulsions which would have destroyed our credit before the world, and set back the hands upon the dial of our industrial progress for a generation. It is against the possibility of such calamities that provision should be made, by writing it plainly in the law that the gold dollar is the standard unit of value of American currency, and that it will continue to be the standard until abolished by deliberate legislation.

But it is necessary that more than that should be done. There must be legislation compelling the fulfilment of the obligations of the United States in conformity with the standard. As it has been urged that there is no necessity for enacting the gold standard, so also it is said that there is no necessity for a law making our obligations payable in accordance therewith, because they always have been so paid. No administration in power has proposed to reverse this policy, but it by no means follows that no future administration shall so propose.

The Government obligations are of two kinds: bonded obligations with their interest, and obligations which circulate as money.

Interest on the public debt held at home and abroad has been paid in gold or its equivalent. This policy could not be changed without producing many of the evil consequences involved in a change of the standard. Since this is the settled policy of the United States in common with other responsible Governments, nothing can be lost by enacting it into law. On the contrary, much is likely to be gained, in actual saving of money, as well as in our heightened credit, by declaring specifically that gold is the money in which our public obligations are payable. It will be necessary in 1904 to convert $100,000,000 in outstanding five per cent. bonds, and in 1907 $559,652,650 in four per cent. bonds, except

so far as some portion of these bonds may be redeemed and retired in the meantime. There is no doubt that this conversion can be made upon much more favorable terms for the Treasury, if all public obligations of the United States are specifically payable in gold coin of the present standard weight and fineness. The offer made by the bond syndicate to Mr. Cleveland to pay $539,159 per year more for $65,116,275 in four per cent. gold bonds, running for thirty years, than for bonds payable in coin, would have amounted to a saving for the entire term of the bonds of $16,-174,770. This offer illustrates the different point of view from which coin and gold bonds are regarded. A like saving upon the large volume of the four per cent. bonds which mature in 1907, upon a similar extension for thirty years, would result in a gain to the taxpayers of more than $130,000,000.

The reasons which favor making the bonded obligations of the Government payable specifically in gold apply with equal force to the payment of the obligations of the Government which circulate as money. Legal tender money issued by the State necessarily becomes the standard of value in exchanges. Nothing but specific contracts for the payment of another form of money can guard against the effects of changes in the legal tender money of the country, and such contracts are not practicable in the small transactions of daily life, including the payment of the wages of labor. The payment of bonds in depreciated money, injurious as it would be to the national credit, would be only an incident in the financial policy of a State which steadily maintained its circulating money upon the gold basis. In many senses, it is of much greater importance that the paper money of the United States should be redeemed in gold on demand and kept constantly at par with gold, than that the bonded obligations should be thus sustained. The depreciation of legal tender money means injustice to every creditor, the vitiation of nearly every private contract, and the introduction into arrangements for the payment of wages and into business transactions of elements of doubt and speculation which make legitimate commerce the prey of bullion agents and brokers in exchange. The members of this class, which has a legitimate but subordinate function in a solvent country, become in truth the kings of finance and the masters of the fortunes of the people, when the circulating medium is divorced from the free play of the foreign exchanges, by falling below parity with

gold in the world's markets. A country upon the gold standard has the gold of the world to draw upon for the defeat of any possible conspiracy for the cornering of money. A country upon a depreciated standard is shut off in a measure from the world's money supply, and compelled to pay for the use of the sole legal tender the prices which the exchange brokers push up and down, according to their opportunities of profit.

The two requisites therefore—that gold should be made the standard of value by law, and that public obligations, whether bonds or legal tender money, should be specifically payable in the standard or its equivalent—seem to be essential in a prosperous industrial country which proposes to compete upon equal terms for supremacy in the world's markets with other civilized nations. But more than mere declarations are necessary. Power must be vested in the proper officials to carry out these declarations in periods of stress. The President and the Secretary of the Treasury should be armed with every power necessary to execute the two declarations which affirm the standard and apply it to public obligations. Their powers under existing law are doubtful. Every President and Secretary of the Treasury heretofore has assumed the authority to raise means for the maintenance of the gold standard. But the authority should be clear and express, not the subject of assumption or construction. How widely diverse are the interpretations of existing law was shown, as we have seen, by the action of the Senate and House with respect to the Teller resolution.

Then, again, in order to remove all doubt regarding the purpose of the Government and its ability to maintain the gold standard against any contingency, the amount of the gold reserve should be fixed, the reserve should be separated from the fiscal service of the Treasury, and the Secretary of the Treasury should be directed to sell bonds upon an economical basis, or to issue short-term Treasury certificates whenever necessary to keep the gold reserve constantly at the point which would ensure the confidence of the business community. The maintenance of a proper reserve is one of the fundamental requirements of modern finance. Economy in the use of gold results in the settlement of many millions of dollars' worth of transactions, through the exchange of banking credits by the banks and clearing houses. These credits in the great civilized States which adhere to the gold standard

have acquired nearly the same solidity as gold. But they depend for this solidity upon the belief that the great banks which issue and assume such obligations can find the gold for the settlement of balances, and for the execution of their great mass of contracts to deliver gold, on the occasions when the gold is demanded. The United States Treasury is without the power to attract gold from abroad by regulating the discount rate. It can inspire confidence in its paper issues only by keeping a visible reserve capable of meeting all probable demands. It is idle to say that the public credit will sustain the value of money which is not immediately redeemable. Experience has shown that this is not the case, because paper money is a contract to deliver coin on demand, and not a certificate for the delivery of value at some indefinite date. What the holder of paper money desires is not the redemption for value in the obscure future, but command over gold coin, the money of international exchanges, at the precise moment when he has the occasion to use the money. This can only be secured by a metallic stock which will meet all ordinary demands and provide a safe reserve against contingencies and unexpected disasters.

From what has been said, it logically follows that the Government should not discriminate among its monetary obligations. The United States is already pledged by the Act of 1893, which repealed the silver purchase clause of the Act of 1890, to "the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts." This parity can be effectively insured only by treating all public obligations alike as redeemable in standard money on demand. There has been hesitation in some quarters to place silver upon an equality with gold by providing for the free interchange of the two metals by the Government, because of the fear that the Treasury would add unduly to its present burdens, by the offer to exchange $482,122,376 in standard silver dollars for gold. At first blush, this seems a serious proposition. A moment's consideration will show, however, that it cannot add to the real burden on the Treasury.

A system of silver redemption as the equivalent of gold now prevails through the receipt of silver for public dues. In the absence of legislation changing the law in this respect, and thus discrediting silver, it is within the power of the citizen

practically to secure gold redemption of his silver, while he at the same time robs the Treasury of its main supply of gold, which accrues from daily receipts thereof in customs and internal revenue taxes. The statistics of the customs receipts, covering a recent period of years, demonstrate the fact that, whenever discredit is thrown upon the silver or paper money of the country, protection is sought by the substitution of the latter for gold in payment of the public dues. Prior to 1890, the date of the passage of the Sherman law, customs dues were paid almost wholly in gold certificates. From that date down until 1897 payments were made in large part in United States notes, Treasury notes and silver. Thus, in December, 1893, the proportion of silver certificates paid reached fifty-one and one-tenth per cent., and did not fall below forty-five per cent. during any of the first eight months of 1894. It is fair to presume that the enactment of a law which would avoid any discrimination against silver would be the most effective method of protecting the Treasury against demands for its exchange for gold.

But assuming, for the sake of the argument, the exchangeability of silver for gold to be some menace to the Treasury, the possible danger would seem to be of insignificant proportions. Our stock of silver is scattered amongst seventy-five millions of people, throughout the whole vast area of our country. It constitutes the current money of exchange. It has to do with all the myriad small transactions of business life. It would be almost impossible to withdraw it from circulation in any substantial amount. That could only be done at all by paying a premium for it. It is beyond reasonable conception that any contingency can arise which would make its exchangeability with gold a serious menace to be provided against.

Nor, if we consider the statistics as to the silver held by banks, does there appear to be any likelihood of danger from that source. On February 4, 1899, for example, the amount of silver dollars and silver certificates held by banks amounted to $43,501,196, less than one-tenth of the whole stock. This was distributed among thirty-six hundred national banks. It constituted their small change. It was absolutely essential to the conduct of their daily business. Moreover, it was widely distributed over the whole country. New York held only $7,200,000; Chicago about $4,000,000; St. Louis less than $2,000,000. About $14,000,000

was distributed throughout other reserve cities. The balance was held by country banks in the New England, Eastern Middle, Southern, Western and Pacific States. From any point of view, the offer to exchange silver for gold does not seem to promise any additional burden on the Treasury. An additional safeguard might be provided by the limitation of the issue of silver certificates to denominations of five dollars and less.

There are only two alternatives for the Government in regard to the silver dollars—to discriminate against them or to treat them in every respect as the equal of gold. Discrimination means that the coins would fall below par or be paid for public dues to the exclusion of all other forms of money. So long as the Government redeems silver dollars by any method, it does not essentially change the burden imposed upon the Treasury, whether this redemption is in the acceptance of the silver for public dues, or in the direct offer to receive silver in exchange for gold. If the Treasury elects to pursue the policy of accepting silver for public dues alone, it is merely left for the banks and the taxpayer to sort out their silver for the payment of customs and internal revenue taxes, and to retain their gold. Much more effective, in maintaining confidence and diminishing the burdens upon the Treasury, is the proposition to treat all issues of national money alike, by the offer to exchange one for another at all times without discrimination, and to maintain all at an equality with the standard of value. In such a case, the stream of gold entering the Treasury through the public dues will not be dried up, even if it is slightly attenuated in periods of commercial disaster, and the occasion for issuing bonds to maintain the reserve will be much less than under a policy of discrimination and timidity.

These, then, are the fundamental propositions of an intelligent beginning in the reform of our monetary system—the declaration that gold is the standard, the provision that public obligations are payable in the standard at the will of the holder, and the grant of the power to the executive officers of the Government to take all necessary and efficient steps to execute these pledges, until they are directed to do otherwise by the deliberate judgment of the people, expressed through the mandate of the law-making branch of the Government.

JOHN DALZELL.

INDEX

TO THE

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINTH VOLUME

OF THE

North American Review.

ABERDEEN, THE COUNTESS OF. The Woman's International Parliament, 145.
Academies and Salons, A Century of, 263.
After the Yacht Race, 843.
Agnostic's Side, The, 289.
Aguinaldo's Case Against the United States, 425.
Alaskan Boundary, The, 501.
America—Ex Oriente Lux! A Plea for a Russo-American Understanding, 6; "Ex Oriente Lux"—A Reply, 329; "Americanism," True and False, 33; American Universities, 414; Some Social Tendencies in America, 516; Five Years of American Progress, 536; The Restless Energy of the American People, 564.
America and England in the East, 558.
"America" Cup Race, The, 420.
American Universities, 414.
"Americanism," True and False, 33.
Anglican Church Crisis, The, 720, 731.
Anti-Trust Legislation, 210.
Athletics for Politicians, 237.
AUERBACH, JOSEPH S. The Legal Aspect of "Trusts," 375.
Automobilism, Recent Progress of, in France, 399.

BALFOUR, Rt. Hon. ARTHUR J. How the Ritualists Harm the Church, 731.
BARRETT, JOHN. The Paramount Power of the Pacific, 165.
BARRY, WILLIAM. "Americanism," True and False, 33.
BELMONT, PERRY. Congress, the President and the Philippines, 894.
BLIND, KARL. The Transvaal War and European Opinion, 760.
BLOWITZ, M. DE. The French Press and the Dreyfus Case, 577.
Boers—England and the Transvaal, 62; A Vindication of the Boers, 362; A Transvaal View of the South African Question, 473.
BOULGER, DEMETRIUS C. A Possible Continental Alliance Against England, 805.
Boundary, The Alaskan, 501.
BOURNE, EDWARD GAYLORD. A Trained Colonial Civil Service, 528.
British Commerce, The Decline of, 545.
BROOKS, SYDNEY. England and the Transvaal, 62.
BRYCE, Rt. Hon. JAMES. The Historical Causes of the Present War in South Africa, 737.
BURY, YETTA BLAZE DE. Girls' Novels in France, 273.

CARNEGIE, ANDREW. The South African Question, 798.
Case Against Christian Science, The, 190.
Censorship of the Stage in England, The, 251.
Century of Salons and Academies, A, 263.
Channel Passage, 1855, A, 1.
CHARMES, FRANCIS. Will the Powers Intervene in the War? 776.
CHASSELOUP-LAUBAT, MARQUIS DE. Recent Progress of Automobilism in France, 399.
China—Ex Oriente Lux! A Plea for a Russo-American Understanding, 6; Ex Oriente Lux—A Reply, 329; The Paramount Power of the Pacific, 165.
Christian Science, The Case Against, 190.
Church, How the Ritualists Harm the, 731.
Civil Service, A Trained Colonial, 528.
Civil Service Reform, Is it in Peril? 678.
CLARETIE, JULES. The Dramatic Festivals of Orange, 669.
CLARKE, R. F. The Practice of Confession in the Catholic Church, 829.
COLER, BIRD S. The Government of Greater New York, 90.
Colonial Civil Service, A Trained, 528.
Confession, The Practice of, in the Catholic Church, 829.
Congress of Women, The International, 145, 154.
Congress, The Fixty-Sixth—Has Congress Abdicated? 885; Congress, the President and the Philippines, 894; Securing the Gold Standard by Law, 912.
Congress, the President and the Philippines, 894.
Constitutional Conflict in Finland, The, 180.
Cuba, The Logic of Our Position in, 109.

DALZELL, JOHN. Securing the Gold Standard by Law, 912.
Decline of British Commerce, The, 545.
DILKE, Rt. Hon. SIR CHARLES W. Athletics for Politicians, 237; America and England in the East, 558.
Dramatic Festivals of Orange, The, 669.
Dreyfus Case—The French Press and the Dreyfus Case, 577; France at the Parting of the Ways, 640.

East, America and England in the, 558.
East Indian Women, 846.
ENGELENBURG, F. V. A Transvaal View of the South African Question, 473.
England—Ex Oriente Lux! A Plea for a Russo-American Understanding, 6; Ex Oriente Lux—A Reply, 329; England and the Transvaal, 62; The Censorship of the Stage in England, 251; The Alaskan Boundary, 501; The Decline of British Commerce, 545; America and England in the East, 558; The Anglican Church Crisis: The Rebellion Against the Royal Supremacy, 720; How the Ritualists Harm the Church, 731.
England and the Transvaal, 62.

Fallacies, Some Consecrated, 821.
FIELD, HENRY M. The Influence of Ingersoll, 322.
Finland, The Constitutional Conflict in, 180.
FISKE, AMOS K. Some Consecrated Fallacies, 821.
Five Years of American Progress, 536.
Foreign Service of the United States, The, 349.
Food Which Fails to Feed, 694.
France—Girls' Novels in France, 273; Recent Progress of Automobilism in France, 399; The Present Literary Situation in France, 488; The French Press and the Dreyfus Case, 577; France at the Parting of the Ways, 640; The Dramatic Festivals of Orange, 669.
France at the Parting of the Ways, 640.
French Press and the Dreyfus Case, The, 577.

Girls' Novels in France, 273.
Gold Standard, Securing the, by Law, 912.
Golf from a St. Andrews Point of View, 138.
GOTTHEIL, RICHARD. The Zionist Movement, 227.
Government of Greater New York, The, 90.
Greater New York, The Government of, 90.

Has Congress Abdicated? 885.
Hawthorn and Lavender, 593.
HENLEY, W. E. Hawthorn and Lavender, 593.
Hermitage, The Picture Gallery of the, 454, 712.
Highways of the People, The, 873.
Historical Causes of the Present War in South Africa, The, 737.
HOLMSTREM VLADIMIR. Ex Oriente Lux, 6.
HOPPER, NORA. Poems, 868.
How the Ritualists Harm the Church, 731.
HULL, GEORGE H. The Relation of the Price of Pig Iron to Commercial Prosperity, 101.

Influence of Ingersoll, The, 322.
INGERSOLL, ROBERT G. The Agnostic's Side, 289.
Ingersoll, The Influence of, 322.
International Arbitration and the Peace Conference at The Hague, 604.
International Conference of Peace, The, 625.
International Congress of Women, The, 154.
In the Clutch of the Harpy Powers, 448.
Ireland, The Literary Movement in, 885.
Iron, Pig, The Relation of the Price of, to Commercial Prosperity, 101.
Is Civil Service Reform in Peril? 678.

JAMES, HENRY. The Present Literary Situation in France, 488.
Japan's Entry into the Family of Nations, 218.
JERNIGAN, T. R. Japan's Entry into the Family of Nations, 218
JOHNSON, JOSEPH FRENCH. Is Civil Service Reform in Peril? 678.
JOHNSTON, R. M. In the Clutch of the Harpy Powers, 448.

LANG, ANDREW. Golf from a St. Andrews Point of View, 138.
LAZARE, BERNARD. France at the Parting of the Ways, 640.
Legal Aspect of "Trusts," The, 375.
Legislation, Anti-Trust, 210.
LIPTON, Sir THOMAS. After the Yacht Race, 843.
Literary Movement in Ireland, The, 855.
Literary Situation in France, The Present, 488.
LITTLE, ARCHIBALD. "Ex Oriente Lux," 329.
Logic of Our Position in Cuba, The, 109.
LOW, A. MAURICE. The Decline of British Commerce, 545.
LOW, SETH. The International Conference of Peace, 625.
LOOMIS, FRANCIS B. The Foreign Service of the United States, 349.
LUSK, HUGH H. The Highways of the People, 873.

MACLAREN, IAN. The Restless Energy of the American People, 564
MAHAN, A. T. The Peace Conference and the Moral Aspect of War, 433.
MARTENS, F. DE. International Arbitration and the Peace Conference at The Hague, 604.
MILES, NELSON A. The War with Spain—III, 125.
MOORE, J. B. The Alaskan Boundary, 501.
MULHALL MICHAEL G. Five Years of American Progress, 536.

New York, The Government of Greater, 90.
NORDAU, MAX. Philosophy and Morals of War, 787.
Novels, Girls', in France, 273.

OOKHTOMSKY, PRINCE E. Ex Oriente Lux! 6.
"Open Door" Policy in the Philippines, The, 661.
Orange, Dramatic Festivals of, 669.
O'RELL, MAX, The Pleasures of Poverty, 285.
Our Position in Cuba, The Logic of, 109.
Our Public Schools, 77.

Pacific, The Paramount Power of the, 165.
Parliament, The Woman's International, 145, 151.
PAVEY, FRANK D. The "Open Door" Policy in the Philippines, 661.

Peace Conference—Universal Peace—From a Woman's Standpoint, 50; The Peace Conference and the Moral Aspect of War, 433; In the Clutch of the Harpy Powers, 448; International Arbitration and the Peace Conference at the Hague, 604; The International Conference of Peace, 625.
Peace Conference, and the Moral Aspect of War, The, 433.
Peace, Universal, 50.
PENNELL, ELIZABETH ROBINS. A Century of Salons and Academies, 263.
People, The Highways of the, 873.
Philippines—The Paramount Power of the Pacific, 165; Aguinaldo's Case Against the United States, 425; The "Open Door" Policy in the Philippines, 651.
PHILLIPS, CLAUDE. The Picture Gallery of the Hermitage, 454, 712.
Philosophy and Morals of War, 787.
Picture Gallery of the Hermitage, The, 454, 712.
Pig Iron, The Relation of the Price of, to Commercial Prosperity, 101,
Pleasures of Poverty, The, 285.
Poetry: A Channel Passage, 1855, 1; Hawthorn and Lavender, 593; Poems by Nora Hopper, 868.
Politicians, Athletics for, 237,
Portsmouth, The Earl of, The Rebellion Against the Royal Supremacy, 720.
Possible Continental Alliance Against England, A, 805.
POTTER, H. C. Some Social Tendencies in America, 516.
Poverty, The Pleasures of, 285.
Powers, In the Clutch of the Harpy, 448.
Practice of Confession in the Catholic Church, The, 829.
Present Literary Situation in France, The, 488.
Prosperity, The Relation of the Price of Pig Iron to Commercial, 101.
Public Schools, Our, 77.
PULITZER, JOSEPH. Has Congress Abdicated? 885.
PURRINGTON, W. A. The Case Against Christian Science, 193.

Queen, The Story of a Helpful, 707.

Race, The "America" Cup, 420; After the Yacht Race, 843.
Rebellion Against the Royal Supremacy, The, 720.
Recent Progress of Automobilism in France, 399.
Relation of the Price of Pig Iron to Commercial Prosperity, The, 101.
Restless Energy of the American People, The, 564.
ROD, EDOUARD, American Universities, 414.
RUSSELL, Hon. CHARLES. The "America" Cup Race, 420.
Russia—Ex Oriente Lux! A Plea for a Russo-American Understanding, 6; Ex Oriente Lux—A Reply, 329; The Picture Gallery of the Hermitage, 454, 712.

Salons and Academies, A Century of, 263.
SAYERS, JOSEPH D. Anti-Trust Legislation, 210.
Schools, Our Public, 77.
Securing the Gold Standard by Law, 912.
Service of the United States, The Foreign, 349.
SHAW, G. BERNARD. The Censorship of the Stage in England, 251.
Social Tendencies in America, 516.
Some Consecrated Fallacies, 821.
Some Social Tendencies in America, 516.
South African Question, The, 798.
South African Republic—England and the Transvaal, 62; A Vindication of the Boers, 362; A Transvaal View of the South African Question, 473; The Historical Causes of the Present War in South Africa, 737; The Transvaal War and European Opinion, 760; Will the Powers Intervene in the War? 776; Philosophy and Morals of War, 787; The South African Question, 798; A Possible Continental Alliance Against England, 805.
Spain, The War with—III., 125.
Stage, The Censorship of the, in England, 251.
STEEL, F. A. East Indian Women, 846.
Story of a Helpful Queen, The, 707.
Supremacy, The Rebellion Against the Royal, 720.
SUTTNER, BARONESS BERTHA VON. Universal Peace, 50.
SWINBURNE, ALGERNON CHARLES. A Channel Passage, 1855, 1.
SYLVA, CARMEN. The Story of a Helpful Queen, 707.

Tercentenary of Velasquez, The, 116.
Trained Colonial Civil Service, A, 258.
Transvaal.—England and the Transvaal, 62; A Vindication of the Boers, 362; A Transvaal View of the South African Question, 473.
Transvaal War and European Opinion, The, 760.
Trusts—Anti-Trust Legislation, 210; The Legal Aspect of "Trusts," 375.

United States—The Paramount Power of the Pacific, 165; The Foreign Service of the United States, 349; Aguinaldo's Case Against the United States, 425; The Alaskan Boundary, 501; Some Social Tendencies in America, 516; The "Open Door" Policy in the Philippines, 651; Is Civil Service Reform in Peril? 678.
Universal Peace—From a Woman's Standpoint, 50.
Universities, American, 414.

VAN RENSSELAER Mrs. SCHUYLER. Our Public Schools, 77.
Velasquez, The Tercentary of, 116.
Vindication of the Boers, A, 362.
VIVARIA, KASSANDRA. The International Congress of Women, 154.

War in South Africa, The—The Historical Causes of the Present War in South Africa, 737; The Transvaal War and European Opinion, 760; Will the Powers Intervene in the War? 776; Philosophy and Morals of War, 787; The South African Question, 798; A Possible Continental Alliance Against England, 805.
War, The Peace Conference and the Moral Aspect of, 433.
War with Spain, The—III, 125.
WATSON, JOHN. The Restless Energy of the American People, 564.
WHIBLEY, CHARLES. The Tercentenary of Velasquez, 116
Will the Powers Intervene in the War? 776.
WINDMULLER, LOUIS. Food Which Fails to Feed, 694.

Woman's International Parliament, The, 145, 154.
Women, The International Congress of, 154; East Indian, 846.
YEATS, W. B. The Literary Movement in Ireland, 855.
Zionist Movement, The, 227.

Eighty-fifth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 169: No. 1.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

1901.1
U.S.169
1899

EDITED BY GEORGE B. M. HARVEY.

July, 1899.

A Channel Passage. 1855 . ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

EX ORIENTE LUX! A Plea for a Russo-American Understanding, . . { Prince E. OOKHTOMSKY / VLADIMIR HOLMSTREM

"Americanism," True and False, The Rev. WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

Universal Peace . . . . Baroness BERTHA VON SÜTTNER

England and the Transvaal . . . . . SYDNEY BROOKS

Our Public Schools. A Reply, Mrs. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER

The Government of Greater New York . . . BIRD S. COLER, *Comptroller of the City of New York.*

Pig Iron and Prosperity . . . . . GEORGE H. HULL

The Logic of Our Position in Cuba, AN OFFICER OF THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

The Tercentenary of Velasquez . . . . CHARLES WHIBLEY

The War with Spain—III. . . Major-General NELSON A. MILES, *Commanding the United States Army.*

Golf from a St. Andrews Point of View . . . ANDREW LANG

NEW YORK:
No. 11 WARREN STREET.

LONDON:
WM. HEINEMANN, 21 Bedford St., W. C.

PARIS:
BRENTANO'S, 37 Avenue de l'Opera.

Single Number, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, $5.

United States Mortgage & Trust Co.,

59 CEDAR STREET, NEW YORK

Capital, $2,000,000 Surplus, $1,500,000

Transacts a General Banking Business

Allows interest on Deposits subject to check
Is Legal Depositary for Court and Trust Funds
Acts as Fiscal Agent for Cities and Corporations

Buys and Sells Foreign Exchange
Issues Commercial and Travelers' Credits available in all parts of the world

Loans Money on Bond and Mortgage
Issues First Mortgage Trust Gold Bonds
Acts as Trustee, Registrar and Transfer Agent

Transacts a General Trust Business

OFFICERS

GEORGE W. YOUNG.....President
LUTHER KOUNTZE.....Vice-President
JAMES TIMPSON.....2d Vice-President
ARTHUR TURNBULL.....Treasurer
WILLIAM P. ELLIOTT.....Secretary
CLARK WILLIAMS.....Asst. Treasurer
RICHARD M. HURD.....Asst. Secretary
ALEXANDER PHILLIPS.....Man'g For'n Dept.

DIRECTORS

Samuel D. Babcock
Wm. H. Baldwin, Jr.
Frederick O. Barton
C. Ledyard Blair
Dumont Clarke
Charles D. Dickey
William P. Dixon
Robert A. Granniss
G. G. Haven, Jr.
Charles R. Henderson
James J. Hill
Gustav E. Kissel
Luther Kountze
Charlton T. Lewis
Richard A. McCurdy
Theodore Morford
Robert Olyphant
Charles M. Pratt
James Timpson
Eben B. Thomas
George W. Young

Copyright, 1899, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO. All rights reserved.
Entered at the Post Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails as second-class matter.

PORTLAND, OREGON.

In years agone, when the vast Northwest was known but through Irving's charming stories of "Bonneville" and "Astoria," and William Cullen Bryant found poetic inspiration in the legends of the land "Where rolls the Oregon"; and even later when Joaquin Miller told his interesting stories of the wild and woolly west, it came to no mind to portray to itself the wonderful future to come to that great empire now known as the Pacific Northwest. Where the Clatsops and the Umatillas and many other Indian tribes roved, spearing the noble salmon in the streams, and hunting the deer in the fastnesses of the Cascade and Coast ranges of mountains; where the Hudson Bay Company's settlements were but faint harbingers of the glory to come—now stands acknowledged an empire that for healthfulness of climate, for beauty of landscape, for fertility of soil, and for all the natural advantages that the Almighty has ever bestowed upon any country, now attracts supreme attention from all parts of this country, and from all the ends of the earth. For from the Oregon country vast quantities of cereal products are carried in mighty ships to Europe, Asia and Africa; her lumber is known wherever ships are built; her salmon are a luxury on Eastern and European tables; her prunes and apples are famed for their delicious flavor; her scenery is attracting tourist admirers in greater number every year, and a trip from the Eastern States to the Columbia River and to Portland is a delightful voyage through the grandest scenery of earth, with its snowy peaks, its mighty Columbia and Willamette rivers, its cascades and waterfalls—from the mighty cataract at Oregon City, with a greater power at all seasons than the far-famed St. Anthony Falls at Minneapolis, to the graceful and silvery Multnomah Falls, tumbling from a dizzy height of 800 feet to the lordly Columbia—with an easy access from the vast grain, stock and mineral country east of the Cascades, by water grades to the metropolis of that favored land, Portland.

Portland is indeed one of the most beautiful cities in the United States. Its surrounding country is one of the most fertile garden spots on earth, a paradise to farmers, on whom the success and prosperity of all cities must largely depend.

"All roads lead to Rome," said the prophet! and, indeed, Portland is the Rome of the Pacific Empire, and to her lead all the roads of commerce and of trade for all that section, and from her radiate the tracks of ships over the boundless sea to all quarters of the earth; and the trains of mighty railroad companies—the Oregon Railroad & Navigation Company, the Southern Pacific, the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern—take from her constantly accumulating stores, breadstuffs and lumber, and fruits and fish and wool, for the use of less favored communities further east.

The site of this now great city was used from time immemorial by the Indians as a camping ground and resting-place while going to and from their hunting trips. The first white man who seemed to appreciate this natural site for a city was William Overton, who settled on it as a claim in 1843. In 1845 the first plat of the new city was made, and sixteen blocks laid off, and very shortly thereafter the new Oregon country began to attract immigration by reason of the attention drawn to it by the rival claims of the United States and Great Britain; and the gold hunting fever in '49-'50 was soon to be proven a veritable blessing for Portland, and her progress since then has been steadily forward. In 1862 the population had grown to 4,057, stimulated greatly by the discovery of gold mines in Eastern Oregon and Idaho. The assessment roll was $2,089,420. Of the condition of the city that year the *Oregonian* said: "Eighteen months ago any number of houses could be obtained for use, but to-day scarcely a shell can be found to shelter a family. Rents are up to an exorbitant figure, many houses contain two or more families and the hotels and boarding houses are crowded almost to overflowing. The town is full of people and more are coming in. Buildings are going up in all parts of Portland, streets graded and planked, wharves stretching their proportions along the levees and a general thrift and busy hum greet the ear or attract the attention of a stranger on every street."

The year which witnessed the close of the war was a very eventful one to Portland, as two lines of steamships were opened to San Francisco, one to Victoria and two to the Sandwich Islands, in addition to the twenty-six river vessels then operating. The Court House was built in 1865, costing $75,000. In 1868 the Willamette Valley Railroad began work on the line which now connects Portland with its formidable rival, San Francisco. In 1872 was erected the first theatre, the Masonic Temple, and many other handsome buildings; but in 1873 the sure incident in the career of every Western city occurred, and promising young Portland was visited by a great fire, entailing a loss of one and a half million dollars with but about three hundred dollars insurance. The spirit of the citizens was, however, indomitable, and in a short time a new city arose, and the solid foundation of a great metropolis was laid.

For to-day is Portland one of the great cities of the country. In spite of all drawbacks,

of all envious rivals—despite the influence of the great city on the south, our only rival on the coast, and despite the small and petty jealousies of would-be rivals on the North—Portland stands pre-eminently at the head, in so far as natural conditions and public spirit, in so far as fertile lands and healthful climate, in so far as superior crops, all unite to determine the present merit and future greatness of any city or community.

Her situation is admirable, as relates to commerce. At the confluence of the two great rivers, one draining the valley of the Columbia and the other that of the Willamette, vessels from all parts of the world are loaded with the products of these valleys. It is a law of navigation that vessels will go as far inland as may be possible to reach the area of production, or the most available point of distribution. At Portland vessels have all the advantages peculiar to a fresh-water harbor, one of which is that no cleaning off of barnacles is necessary, since the fresh water is death to these parasites, and they drop off in a few days after

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING, PORTLAND, OREGON.

the ship comes into port. Nor can the toredo wreak its deadly destruction and cause collapse and wreck of docks and wharves, for no toredo can exist in fresh water.

At the present time plans are under consideration for the construction of a first-class dry dock sufficient to accommodate the largest vessels afloat. The largest ship-building plant on the coast—save only the Union Iron Works—is located in Portland, and many Government vessels have here been constructed. The same firm has just completed the transformation of the trans-Pacific steamer "Lennox" into a Government transport, and in ten days less time than called for in the contract, an unusual occurrence where Government contracts are concerned. The city has been visited by the "Baltimore," "Charleston," "Monterey," "Philadelphia" and other great war vessels, and only a month since has bid God speed to the transports "City of Rio de Janeiro" and "Sikh" bound for Manila with U. S. troops. At the moment of this writing two other transports, the "Pennsylvania" and the "Olympia," lie placidly at the docks while the steady tramp of the 39th Regiment can be heard on the gangplank passing into those floating homes that will house them till they disembark in the Philippines. The Norwegian steamer "Guernsey" has just left port with a cargo of 3,430,653 feet

of lumber, which is the largest cargo ever set afloat anywhere in the United States. This is the fourth cargo shipped in ninety days by the Pacific Export Lumber Company, the other three cargoes containing 2,889,348, 2,996,000 and 2,800,000 feet, respectively. A great fleet of deep-sea vessels is loading millions of bushels of grain for Great Britain and Africa, and hundreds of thousands of barrels of flour for the Orient, and millions of feet of lumber for Siberia.

And in return, China and Japan and all the Orient are sending to Portland's wharves immense cargoes of tea and rice and silks and what-not, for transportation to the Eastern States, and the first steamer of the new Portland-Manila line has already left our new Philippine possessions for this city, direct.

In the matter of foreign trade Portland's merchants are wide awake. A leading lumber shipper is now homeward bound after a protracted visit to Siberia, to investigate the future possibilities of his trade—a number of merchants have banded together as a Philippine Trading Association and have their own representative in Manila, a man whose home is in Portland and who has her interests at heart; and this city's representatives may be found in every quarter of the globe working and striving for the supremacy that surely awaits Portland in all the markets of the world.

The distance between Portland and Yokohama direct, or almost any other of the Oriental ports, is more than 300 miles less than from San Francisco to the same points, and the time consumed in the voyage is 2 or 3 days less than to San Francisco.

Statistics as published in the annual number of the "Commercial Review" show the shipments of wheat from Portland to foreign ports for the harvest year 1898-99 to have been 6,537,805 centals, valued at $6,823,761, and 1,046,785 barrels of flour of a value of $3,317,533 in 124 ships and steamers. All Puget Sound ports shipped a total of 3,916,333 centals of wheat and 764,377 barrels of flour, all valued at $6,384,854, in 50 vessels, and San Francisco shipped 2,389,002 centals of wheat, $2,746,836; and 990,333 barrels of flour valued at $3,499,406, in 73 vessels.

From the above it will be noted that Portland has shipped to foreign ports 51 per cent. of all wheat exported from the Pacific Coast during that year, in 124 vessels, as against 123 sailing from San Francisco and all ports on Puget Sound combined.

FISHING INDUSTRY.

The figures of the salmon pack during the year 1898 will give some idea of the vast quantity of this delicious fish prepared for the consumption of those sections removed from the scene of the industry; for in that year on the Columbia River and its tributaries were packed 481,461 cases, valued at $2,087,248, to say nothing of an equal number of cases packed on the coast rivers and bays, and the entrepot for which is Portland.

LUMBER.

There are in Portland six saw-mills with a capacity of 650,000 feet per day, and they are cutting more lumber than those of any other city on the coast. The output can be largely increased, for the lumber industry, great as it now is, is but in its infancy.

WOOL.

One of the staple products of Oregon is the wool clip, amounting to enormous proportions, and factories of woollen goods exist in varius parts of the State. The great wool mart is at The Dalles, about 90 miles east of Portland, on the Columbia River.

HOPS.

The valleys of Western Oregon, notably the Willamette Valley, have an ideal climate and soil for the production of hops of a superior quality, and buyers from the Eastern States make annual trips to this section in order to secure the excellent product.

SUGAR.

The climate and soil have also been proven to raise a first-class article of beets, and the establishment of a beet-sugar factory at La Grande two years ago has inaugurated a new industry tributary to Portland, and a new opportunity for the farmer. Other sugar factories are contemplated, and before long several of these will doubtless be in operation.

COMMERCIAL INTERESTS.

In Portland there are four national and ten private banks and bankers with a capital and surplus of over $16,500,000. From the reports of the National Banks on September 7th we learn that these four institutions alone, with a capital and surplus aggregating $1,896,248, held as deposits $7,925,733.

CLEARANCES.

The bank clearances for 1896 amounted to $62,408,893; for the year 1897 to $74,294,764; and for 1898 to $93,721,619, and continue to show a healthy increase. And the other business houses number 1,744, of which 31 have a capital of over one million dollars each and 69 others range from $100,000 to $1,000,000.

Portland's population is now 93,500 souls, and these are provided with 126 churches of all denominations and creeds, with 28 public schools and an average attendance this year of

10,500 pupils—besides which there are 19 first-class private schools, teaching all branches; 16 well-attended kindergarten schools, and a number of other private institutions.

Portland numbers among its elegant edifices a library building, containing something over 26,000 volumes, and a free public library is maintained in the City Hall. There are besides these, law and medical libraries, and a very excellent one also in the Y. M. C. A. building. There are 91½ miles of street railway operated by electricity, 18 miles by steam, and 2 miles by cable.

The streets are well lighted by electricity conveyed 12 miles from the famous Willamette Falls. There are 85 miles of sewerage; 155 miles of water mains, bringing to the homes of the inhabitants a supply of water the like of which no other city can boast, and which for quality and purity cannot be excelled. The city owns the water system and controls the supply, and although the expense of the system has been great, amounting to nearly $4,000,000, yet the phenomenal healthfulness of the citizens attests to its excellent water supply. The death rate since the establishment of the Bull Run water system (so called because conveyed some 30 miles from the headwaters in Bull Run Creek at the base of Mt. Hood) has decreased to 8.66, the number of deaths upon which this rate is based, including the deaths of people who came here in the hope of being benefited. Portland not only leads the Northwest in population and commerce, but in the number of physicians and surgeons of skill and reputation, and an unparalleled hospital service.

Comparisons That Talk of Progress.

Custom House Receipts:		Internal Revenue Receipts:		Postal Receipts:	
October, 1898	$36,970.00	October, 1898	$76,197.14	October, 1898	$16,936.41
October, 1899	45,570.00	October 1899	86,370.65	October, 1899	19,130.38

From Oct. 1, 1898, to Sept. 30, 1899, the postal receipts amounted to $194,517.48, being a greater sum than the much boasting cities of Seattle, $133,056, and Tacoma, $60,882, combined.

In every line of business public or private, a like comparison can be shown; her merchants are prosperous, her factories filled with orders beyond their immediate capacity, her hotels almost overcrowded, and not a vacant dwelling to be found. And notwithstanding all this, rents are not high nor provisions dear, and living is as cheap and far more comfortable than in the variable climate of the East.

As a railroad center, Portland is without a rival west of the Rocky Mountains. On the north the cities of Puget Sound have connection with the Great Northern and Northern Pacific lines; on the south the City of San Francisco has the Southern Pacific; but Portland has all these, and in addition the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company, the most direct route between Portland and the Eastern States.

Of these lines, the Northern Pacific owns its own line to Portland, and, though Tacoma on Puget Sound is its nominal Western terminus, all of its through trains are operated direct to and from Portland as the point of starting and final destination, with a stop each way of only 15 minutes at Tacoma, and Portland is the actual terminus. The Great Northern operates through trains to Portland, by way of the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company's road, with which it makes connection at Spokane in Washington. The Union Pacific and the Denver lines make through connection and operate through trains to Portland by way of the Oregon Short Line and Oregon Railway & Navigation Company's railroads, while the Southern Pacific operates its own road to Portland by way of Western Oregon, giving a through connection with California and the southwest, and also giving a through eastern connection by way of the old Central Pacific from Sacramento. In addition to the above through lines, Portland has several local lines extending into its tributary country, notably two lines extending into the Willamette Valley, and giving connection with both sides of the river, and a road to Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia, while the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company road, by means of a complete system of branches, affords local connection with all the developed section of the Pacific Northwest lying east of the Cascade Mountains, and the Southern and Northern systems give a very complete local connection with all Western Oregon and Washington.

Refined and elevating amusements are on every hand. Three theatres cater to the tastes of the public, and lecture and concert halls are filled with discriminating audiences.

ENVOI.

To have visited the capitals of Europe; to have gazed upon and studied scenes famous in history; to have travelled throughout the civilized world, and enjoyed nature's many renowned spots, argues one's self no traveller until he has sailed upon the lordly Columbia and enjoyed the surpassing beauty of her everlasting, towering, snow-clad peaks, the fertility of her beautiful valleys; the balminess and salubriousness of her climate; the progressiveness of her inhabitants, who truly appreciate their superior advantages and faithfully believe that the Pacific Northwest is the future greatest section of America, and that her metropolis, Portland, will ere long be the greatest city on the Pacific Coast.

The North American Review for 1900.

THOSE who have followed the course of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW since it came under the present management in May of this year need not be told what they may confidently expect to find within its covers during the coming year. It is due, however, to the many thousands into whose hands this number will come as a first indication of the purposes and accomplishments of the magazine, to afford, as nearly as may be, the same basis of expectation.

Following is a partial list of the contributions to the REVIEW during the past seven months :

POETRY.

A Channel Passage—1855.....Algernon Charles Swinburne.
Hawthorn and Lavender—Songs and Madrigals.....W. E. Henley.

LITERATURE.

The New Poetry.....William Dean Howells.
The Present Literary Situation in France.....Henry James.
Girls' Novels in France.....Yetta Blaze de Bury.
The Pleasures of Poverty.....Max O'Rell.
The Story of a Helpful Queen.....Carmen Sylva.

ART.

The Picture Gallery of the Hermitage.....Claude Phillips.
The Tercentenary of Velasquez.....Charles Whibley.
A Century of Salons and Academies.....Elizabeth Robins Pennell.

SCIENTIFIC.

Origin and Development of Wireless Telegraphy.....G. Marconi.
Scientific History and Uses of Wireless Telegraphy.....Prof. J. A. Fleming.
Automobilism in France.....Marquis de Chasseloup-Laubat.

THE DRAMA.

The Dramatic Festivals of Orange.....Jules Claretie.
Censorship of the Stage in England.....G. Bernard Shaw.

RELIGIOUS.

The Agnostic's Side.....Robert G. Ingersoll.
Ingersoll's Influence.....Rev. Dr. Henry M. Field.
The Zionist Movement.....Prof. Richard Gottheil.
The Rebellion against the Royal Supremacy.....The Earl of Portsmouth.
How the Ritualists Harm the Church..... The Rt. Hon Arthur J. Balfour, M. P.
"Americanism," True and False.....Rev. Dr. William Barry.
The Religious Situation in England.....Ian Maclaren.

EDUCATIONAL.

Commercial Education.....The Rt. Hon. James Bryce, M.P.
The Curse in Education.....Rebecca Harding Davis.
Our Public Schools.....M. G. Van Rensselaer.
American Universities.....Edouard Rod.

WOMEN.

The Woman's International Parliament.....The Countess of Aberdeen.
.....Kassandra Vivaria.
The Reverses of Britomart.....Edmund Gosse.

INTERNATIONAL TOPICS.

Arbitration and the Conference at The Hague:
From an American Standpoint.....Seth Low.
The Moral Aspect of War.....Capt. A. T. Mahan.
A Russian View.....F. de Martens.
In the Clutch of the Harpy Powers.....R. M. Johnston.
Universal Peace.....Baroness Bertha von Süttner.
China and the Powers.....Lord Charles Beresford.
The Imbroglio in Samoa.....Henry C. Ide.
A Plea for a Russo-American Understanding.....Prince E. Ookhtomsky.
.....Vladimir Holmstrem.
Ex Oriente Lux—A Rejoinder.....Archibald Little.
America and England in the Far East...The Rt. Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bt., M. P.
The Alaskan Boundary.....Prof. J. B. Moore.

AMERICAN AND POLITICAL.

The War with Spain.....Major-General Nelson A. Miles.
The Foreign Service of the United States.....Francis B. Loomis.
Aguinaldo's Case against the United States.....A Filipino.
The Paramount Power of the Pacific.....John Barrett.
The Logic of Our Position in Cuba.....An Army Officer.
Jeffersonian Principles.....William J. Bryan.
What Spain Can Teach America.....Nicolas Estevanez.
The Nicaragua Canal.....Thomas B. Reed.
Conditions and Needs in Cuba.....Major-General Leonard Wood.
The "Open Door" in the Philippines.....Frank D. Pavey.
Is Civil Service Reform in Peril?.....Prof. J. F. Johnson.
A Trained Colonial Civil Service.....Prof. E. G. Bourne.

FOREIGN.

France at the Parting of the Ways.....Bernard Lazare.
England and the Transvaal.....Sydney Brooks.
A Transvaal View.....Dr. F. V. Engelenburg.
The French Press and the Dreyfus Case.....M. de Blowitz.
Japan's Entry into the Family of Nations.....T. R. Jernigan.
The Outlook for Carlism.....The Hon. James Roche, M. P.
England in Egypt and the Soudan.....Col. Charles Chaillé Long.
Present Aspects of the Dreyfus Case.....Joseph Reinach.

COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL.

Condition and Needs of the Treasury.....Lyman J. Gage.
Anti-Trust Legislation.....Gov. Joseph D. Sayers.
Legal Aspect of Trusts.....Joseph S. Auerbach.
Pig Iron and Prosperity.....George H. Hull.
The Industrial Commission.....S. N. D. North.
The Decline of British Commerce.....A. Maurice Low.
Five Years of American Progress.....M. G. Mulhall.

GENERAL.

Israel Among the Nations.....Max Nordau.
Social Tendencies in America.....The Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, D.D.
The Case against Christian Science.....W. A. Purrington.
Taxation of Public Franchises.....Senator John Ford.
Courts-Martial in England and America.....The Rt. Hon. Sir F. H. Jeune.
Food Which Fails to Feed.....Louis Windmüller.
The Government of New York.....Comptroller Bird S. Coler.
The "America" Cup Race.....The Hon. Charles Russell.
Golf from a St. Andrew's Point of View.....Andrew Lang.

Of the diversity, interest and authoritativeness which will characterize the articles in this magazine during 1900, the above is a sufficient indication. More specific announcement is hardly possible because of the editor's determination to maintain, first of all, the quality of timeliness. He is no better informed than the reader, upon the publication of one number, regarding the contents of its successor. Events designate the topics. The sole duty of the editor is to obtain for the reader the most competent and authoritative expressions of fact and opinion. This he has endeavored to do during the past eight months, and he will continue the effort on the same lines, but with greatly increased facilities, due to the recent establishment of editorial offices in London and Paris, during the year 1900.

The favor which has attended the inauguration of the present management is indicated by the following

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS

The North American Review has surprised the country by the suddenness and completeness of its revival.—NEW YORK JOURNAL.

The North American Review, under its new management, has been greatly enlarged and its appearance much improved, and if such a thing is possible its contents are even more valuable and timely than heretofore.—UTICA HERALD.

The North American Review under the changed management is rapidly gaining both in solidity and timeliness of contents.—SALT LAKE TRIBUNE.

The North American Review has upon the whole been much the most important of American literary periodicals. Every reading American has or ought to have some desire that a magazine of so illustrious a tradition should be true to it. We observe that the new editor, besides giving the remarkable "line" of articles of which we have spoken, and among which there is little or

no "padding," has also, by giving more and better paper, made The Review evidently and palpably a more expensive article than its cheaper competitors. He has shown his faith that there is a scholarly and serious public large enough to sustain The Review at a price higher than that of the ordinary monthlies. And he makes at least an impressive promise of proving his faith by his works.—NEW YORK TIMES.

The North American Review shows very evident signs of the enthusiasm and enterprise which have been thrown into this excellent magazine by the new arrangements connected with its conduct on both sides of the Atlantic. "Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur" is the motto of a review which has long ago established its reputation for sound literature and valuable criticism both in the United States and in Europe. The new management has emphasized the international flavor of the quotation on its cover.—ST. JAMES'S GAZETTE.

The new editor has brought The North American Review forward to what it should be as a great and grave teacher in literature and affairs.—KEOKUK GATE CITY.

The owner and editor of this venerable exponent of American letters evidently intends to lift The Review to a higher plane and to make it the vehicle of the best thought of men and women of culture and talent all over the world. Apparently, he intends it to stand for expansion in American literature.—LOS ANGELES TIMES.

The Review is now necessary for people who desire to follow the current of progress.—OAK PARK TIMES.

Each number of The North American Review is a significant proof that the standpoint occupied by the new editor in his direction of this great magazine commands a marvellously wide range of the world's living interests, and, moreover, that he possesses apparently unlimited facilities for securing the services of those who are, and who are known to be, best qualified to discuss those interests in an enlightening and authoritative way. The contributors are of diverse nationalities, American, British, French, Russian, Roumanian, while they include many personages of the highest distinction, such as the Queen of Roumania, a member of the British House of Peers, the leader of the House of Commons, two members of the late Conference at The Hague, and the Director of the Comédie Française.—MERIDEN REPUBLICAN.

A new era in the long and useful existence of The North American Review was begun with the accession of its present editor, who continues his policy of covering the widest possible range of the world's interests.—BALTIMORE HERALD.

Under its new editorial management this noted serial is going from strength to strength, and the current number is a splendid specimen.—OTTAWA FREE PRESS.

The North American seems to gain vigor with increasing years and is under its present management one of the ablest of American periodicals. It should be in every post library, on board of every ship of war. Its proprietor has a keen appreciation of what is required to make such a periodical attractive.—ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL.

It has always been one of the foremost magazines in the country, but under its new management it promises greater usefulness than ever, in the selection and discussion of current questions. Then, too, it has enlisted the most prominent men as contributors, always selecting such as are recognized authorities in their special themes. If therefore it has taken first place in the field of monthly journalism, it has deserved it by its authoritative and masterly articles.—BALTIMORE METHODIST PROTESTANT.

The new owner of The North American Review is bent upon gaining an English circulation as well as an American. For some weeks now a representative has been in this country collecting promises for articles from most of the persons whose names figure in the lists of contributors to such periodicals. From this we may gather that the "Nineteenth Century" and its half-crown companions are to have a rival.—GLASGOW EVENING NEWS.

The North American Review ought to become immensely more popular now that it appears in so much more attractive a form than it used to do. The contents are of a much higher class, too.—SHEFFIELD (ENG.) TELEGRAM.

———

Under the new editorship The North American Review assumes a larger size and more impressive appearance. The type is bold and clear, and the pages have ample margin. With these improvements the interest of the contents is fully maintained.—LEEDS MERCURY.

———

The North American Review, under its new editor takes on new life and strength. The current number, which is issued under this new editorship, is an exceedingly interesting one, containing articles by world renowned specialists.—CATHOLIC NEWS.

———

The editor of The North American Review gives renewed evidence of his purpose to make that periodical the vehicle for conveying to the public the best poetry which poets of the English speech are producing to-day. The appearance of Mr. Swinburne's "Channel Passage" in the July number created a sensation, and the publication now of Mr. W. E. Henley's latest songs and madrigals, under the title of "Hawthorn and Lavender," is an event of no less importance.—LAFAYETTE INDEPENDENT.

———

Altogether the new editor is to be congratulated on having issued an excellent number of an always excellent magazine.—WATERBURY AMERICAN.

———

To show that it is possible for magazine editors to find good verse, the North American Review has secured and published twenty-four short poems by W. E. Henley under the title of "Hawthorn and Lavender;" "Songs and Madrigals." If Swinburne be excepted, there is not among living Englishmen a poet who has done so much good work as Mr. Henley, and not one, Swinburne not excepted, who has done so little poor work. He is not the slave of mannerisms. His song ever rings true. His verse is pellucid. Of the twenty-four poems printed in the North American all are admirable and some are perfect gems. The reader should get the magazine and read all of these charming poems. The North American has done a good work in securing and printing them. Mr. Henley's work is not so well known in this country as it should be, and anything done to make it better known is well done. It is an effort in the interest of what is highest in the literature of the day, an effort toward spreading the fame of a great poet.—ROCHESTER UNION.

———

Mr. Harvey is to be congratulated upon his admirable choice of writers and subjects which, since his accession to the editorship, has characterized each succeeding number.—BRITISH REGISTER.

———

The North American Review is realizing under its new régime the best hopes of its many friends. We do not intend to exaggerate when we say that in matter and timeliness the October number equals any monthly review wherever published.—PHILADELPHIA CHURCH STANDARD.

———

The new editor shows in the table of contents what sort of literary meat he proposes to set before his readers in the future. It is a very remarkable number.—BOSTON TRANSCRIPT.

———

The North American Review, published at half a crown, as fully deserves the attention of English readers as their own reviews at the same price. It abounds with articles well written and highly suggestive.—SHEFFIELD INDEPENDENT.

———

The new editorship of this Review gives good promise in this issue.—THE CHRISTIAN INDEX.

———

This veteran monthly does not propose to rest upon past achievements, but has plans for the

future which will more than ever make it a representative American publication.—BROOKLYN EAGLE.

The North American Review shows the "new blood" in vigorous quality and abounding quantity. The corps of writers is one of remarkable strength, and places The North American Review at the very first in the front rank of the monthlies which devote their attention to the serious and significant things of life.—BROOKLYN STANDARD UNION.

The new editor demonstrates his knowledge of what constitutes work worthy of a magazine with The Review's reputation.—TROY RECORD.

The North American Review under its new control has changed not so much as to its clothing as in its body. It seems better fed, more robust, and to share in a renaissance of prosperity. Its leaves are broader and there are more of them. Its contributors write not more lengthily, but with more authority.—NEWARK DAILY ADVERTISER.

Under its new management The North American Review has been enlarged and vitalized until already it seems destined soon to regain the commanding position in the review field formerly held by it.—SCRANTON TRIBUNE.

An enlarged page and broader margins are the first physical signs of change, while the attractive and well varied contents show alert instinct and are in accord with the best traditions of this famous review. Every article is an authoritative expression by a recognized master of his subject.—PHILADELPHIA PRESS.

The North American Review, now in its eighty-fifth year, is evidently destined to attain a still higher degree of success under the direction of George B. M. Harvey.—BUFFALO COURIER.

The new management does not mean to lose any of the prestige that has come to the magazine.—CHICAGO RECORD.

Its contents indicate that the new editor will maintain the high plane upon which it has hitherto been conducted.—PITTSBURG TIMES.

The North American Review has entered upon a period of renewed brilliancy and worth.—NEW YORK COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

There is every reason to believe that this incomparable magazine is not only to hold its own, but to further fortify its reputation as the leading magazine of American thought and opinion in the various fields and departments of the world's activity.—NEW YORK HOME JOURNAL.

The October number, of immediate and permanent value, is easily worth all the other periodicals of its class.—DAVENPORT DEMOCRAT.

The Review may well be proud of its eighty-four years, for truly it may be said of it that "age cannot wither nor time stale its infinite variety." Fortunate is the one who can sit down and feast upon the good things furnished by the best literary caterers in the world.—GRAND RAPIDS DEMOCRAT.

If any one name in magazine literature stands for what is authoritative, that name is The North American Review, which for more than eighty-four years has remained at the head of the monthly periodicals.—BOSTON POST.

The Review has done more for the better class of readers than any other publication of this kind in the country.—CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE, St. Louis.

Constantly offers to the public a programme of writers and essays that excite the reader and gratify the intellectual appetite. In this respect there is no other magazine that approaches it. —N. Y. SUN.

Is ahead of any magazine this country has ever seen in the importance of the topics it discusses and the eminence of its contributors.—ALBANY ARGUS.

No other magazine in the world so fully and fairly presents the opinions of the leading writers and thinkers on all questions of public interest.—BOSTON JOURNAL.

The regular reader of this splendid monthly always turns to its pages with the expectation of being interested as well as entertained, and he is never disappointed.—ALTOONA (PA.) TRIBUNE.

Keeps its hand on the pulse of American life. It is the first to discover what is needed and the first to respond.—CAMBRIDGE (MASS.) PRESS.

All the papers will be found thoughtful, logical, learned, and in the highest degree interesting.—PHILADELPHIA ITEM.

The North American Review may always be depended upon for articles on questions of the hour, written by men whose opinions are worth reading.—WORCESTER GAZETTE.

Not only is the list of contributors a notable one, but the topics discussed are important and timely. Here is a pulpit worth entering for the important men of our time.—SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN.

We have only to mention the articles to acquaint our readers with the very high and attractive character of the magazine.—PRESBYTERIAN JOURNAL.

The great questions which are making the history of our time so intensely interesting have never had more striking and more able presentation than they receive in The North American Review.—PHILADELPHIA PRESS.

The editor appears to know what his readers want. Every one is willing to pay 50 cents for a volume of the most advanced opinions of the day at first hand.—NEW YORK PRESS.

The North American Review is unusually rich in discussions, dealing with subjects of national and international interest.—LYNCHBURG NEWS.

Every article is timely, interesting, well written, well sponsored and well worth reading.—WINNIPEG TRIBUNE.

The great questions of our day have a masterly treatment in The North American Review.—JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

Here is a book of about 140 pages, with a dozen chapters, written by men who know whereof they write, on subjects of interest to every intelligent person.—STERLING STANDARD.

Americans may be pardoned a little honest national pride in the vigor and alertness of this dignified periodical, now in its eighty-fifth year, in whose pages so much of the best work of our native writers has made its first appearance.—REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

Both the contents and the improved typography denote the steady improvement the magazine is making under its new management.—CHICAGO RECORD.

With handling of this sort The Review cannot fail to widen its field and to meet the success it earns.—RUTLAND HERALD.

The North American Review is made up of articles that are unusually pertinent and valuable. —ROCHESTER POST-EXPRESS.

The table of contents is strong enough to supply "leading features" to half a dozen ordinary monthlies.—BUFFALO EXPRESS.

First and greatest American magazine.—KANSAS CITY GAZETTE.

Of all the magazines which come to the "New Era's" table, the king of them all is The North American Review. On all questions of national policy and statesmanship it is the text book of the man of to-day. The Review might well be called the "School master of the Republic." It keeps one posted upon national, political, and international affairs as no other publication. It is in all regards the king.—NEW ERA Springville, Iowa.

All reading, thinking men find pleasure in looking over The North American Review, the highest class publication of its kind.—WORLD, Hiawatha, Kansas.

The North American Review is a necessity to those who like to have scholarly and able views on topics of interest.—TELEGRAPH, New London, Conn.

The North American Review is fully up to its past record in quality and quantity of sound literature. For the coming year it promises to be better than ever, if possible. It stands at the front of our magazine literature, and deserves a place among thinking men and women wherever English is spoken. Of its class it is probably the most widely read magazine in the world. —THE BOOKSELLER, Chicago.

Hardly an article in it that does not deal with a question of the day which is either interesting or important, and is usually both.—SUNDAY SPECIAL, London, England.

They who look between the covers of The North American Review will find a collection of articles that will richly pay for the reading. Every one is a valuable contribution to thought; every one is upon a thought on which the man who would keep pace with the world and its controversies must desire to be posted.—TRIBUNE, New Albany, Indiana.

It may be said of The North American Review that it always obtains expressions of the best thought of this and other countries on questions of popular interest, and that its pages are always interesting and instructive. There are many magazines, but only one North American Review.—DAILY EXPRESS, San Antonio, Tex.

The North American Review is recognized as the most excellent and perfect authority upon all questions where the very best information must be obtained, and where the truest and most correct statistics are found.—GAZETTE, Burlington, Iowa.

The North American Review is a magazine of world-wide repute, bringing the reader into touch from month to month with the distinguished men and women who are making the history, controlling the affairs and leading the thought of the time. All topics are absolutely impartial and without partisan or sectarian bias.—ALBANY ARGUS.

The North American Review, like the Century, which has netted Mr. Morley, is remarkably enterprising. It has just got an article by Mr. Arthur Balfour on the Church question and the Ritualists. An English review which got an article from the present leader of the House of Commons would be entitled to crow a little.—EVENING NEWS, London.

THE EDISON

PHONOGRAPH

"Concert" reduced to $100.

Buy an Edison Phonograph for the Family's Christmas.

It will entertain your guests while it pleases you and amuses the children—and it lasts the year 'round. All popular, standard or classical music played by the best bands and orchestras or instrumental and vocal soloists, besides the amusing and pathetic sketches of the recitationist and the stirring words of the orator, are yours to command when you have an Edison Phonograph.

Many styles—from $7.50 up. All use the same records and give equal results, but are run by different styles of motors, which vary the cost. Our new Catalogue can be obtained from any phonograph dealer.

NONE GENUINE WITHOUT THIS TRADE Thomas A Edison MARK

National Phonograph Co., New York.

Syrup of Figs

ACTS GENTLY ON KIDNEYS, LIVER AND BOWELS;

CLEANSES THE SYSTEM EFFECTUALLY;

DISPELS COLDS, HEADACHES & FEVERS;

TO GET ITS BENEFICIAL EFFECTS,

OVERCOMES HABITUAL CONSTIPATION PERMANENTLY.

FOR SALE BY ALL DRUGGISTS.

PRICE 50¢ PER BOTTLE.

BUY THE GENUINE - MAN'F'D. BY

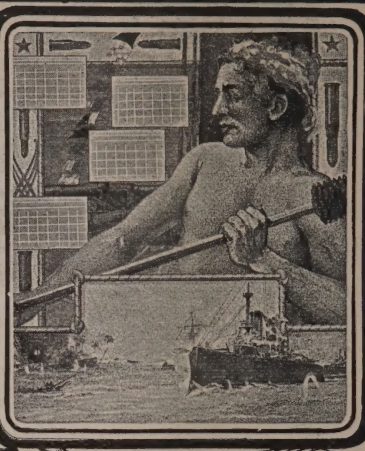
CALIFORNIA FIG SYRUP CO.

LOUISVILLE, KY. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. NEW YORK, N.Y.

Armour's Souvenir Art Calendar

Armour's Souvenir Art Calendar consists of four sheets of beautiful water-color effects illustrative of the American Navy.

The first sheet lithographed in twelve colors, gold and embossed, presents a new and handsome bust portrait of Admiral Dewey; on the second sheet an idealized fighting Jack Tar is the central figure, in an animated picture of the Battle of Manila.



This Beautiful Calendar Free

Will be sent postpaid to any address on receipt of metal cap from a jar of

Armour's Extract of BEEF

A perfect "stock" for **Soups, Sauces and Beef Tea,**
or send six two cent stamps. Address Calendar Department

America's Pride is the title of the third design and shows an original type of the American girl, banked by a mass of American Beauty roses, in the background are the flagships engaged in the naval victories of the century.

The Coming Admiral is the title of the fourth sheet, and shows a little boy stripped to the waist in the throes of a mimic naval engagement. Surrounding this pretty composition are four vignettes of former naval heroes, products of the 19th century.

Armour & Company, Chicago.

TRADE MARK REGISTERED NOV 24, 1896.

OXYDONOR APPLIED.

WHAT YOU WANT

is Vital Energy. Oxydonor supplies it. It is not a medicine, neither is it electricity. It is a simple instrument (easily applied) that compels the body to drink in large quantities of pure oxygen which builds up the system and repairs damaged organisms, giving Nature the strength she requires to free the body from disease.

Oxydonor produces natural sleep, strengthens the mind and gives good appetite. Send for our book containing hundreds of "Grateful Reports" from reliable persons in all parts of the country, who have cured themselves. You will be convinced.

One oxydonor will serve an entire family. Large book of instructions with each Oxydonor.

OVERWORKED BUSINESS MEN

Mr. Frank S. Clark, of the firm Huntington & Clark, the leading photographers of Detroit, Mich., writes: "During our holiday rush last winter, I worked from early morning till midnight for two months, I applied Oxydonor at night, and arose refreshed and ready for another long, hard day. Every business man should have an Oxydonor."

Mr. J. B. Chisholm, of the Plant System Railway & Steamship Line, Thomasville, Ga., Feb. 4, 1899, writes: "I have used Oxydonor after passing through a busy season, and needing rest and recuperation. After using it a few nights I felt so built up and renewed in vigor and strength that I was able to continue my duties without difficulty."

Mr. W. W. Manning, Marquette, Mich., writes: "I have had an Oxydonor for every member of my family for about nine years, and I would on no account be without them, especially in these times of great and continuous strain on the mental and bodily powers of us all. No one thing so far as I know is so efficient and reliable to reinforce our powers, as is Oxydonor."

Caution.—Imitations of Oxydonor are Dangerous to use. Refuse to accept them. Dr. H. Sanche is the Inventor and Originator, and has obtained final decision in Supreme Court in Washington, D. C., against imitators. Also on Oct. 16, 1899, the United States Court granted us **an injunction** restraining Agents from selling an imitation of Oxydonor. Write us a full statement of your case. All letters carefully read and answered. We will send you full particulars of Oxydonor. Address either of our offices:

DR. H. SANCHE & CO.,

61 Fifth St., Detroit, Mich.,
261 Fifth Ave., New York City,
57 State St., Chicago, Ill.

Canada Office - - 2268 Catherine St., Montreal, Quebec.

QUIET. ACCESSIBLE.

THE THORNDIKE Boylston St. BOSTON MASS

HOTEL THORNDIKE

BOYLSTON STREET, opposite Public Garden
(In the aristocratic Back Bay District).

ELECTRIC CARS direct to **THE THORNDIKE** from any rail or steamship terminal in the city. Leave train from the south at new Back Bay Station (five minutes' walk).

BOSTON, MASS.

European Plan. Rooms $1.00 and up.

G. A. & J. L. DAMON,
PROPRIETORS.

OLD CLUB HOUSE 1860 WHISKEY

WARRANTED PURE AND SOFTENED BY AGE ONLY.

MACY & JENKINS - 67 LIBERTY STREET, N.Y.

ESTABLISHED 1844.

★USM★USM★USM

NEW INVENTION

A $12.00 Bath Cabinet For only $5.00

Our New 1902 Style Square Quaker Folding Turkish Bath Cabinet

GUARANTEED TO BE THE BEST OF ALL CABINETS AT ANY PRICE,

or your money cheerfully refunded.

COULD NOT BE BETTER MADE,
MORE CONVENIENT,
MORE DURABLE,
MORE HANDSOME,
MORE SATISFACTORY,
IF YOU PAID FOUR TIMES THE PRICE WE ASK FOR IT.
Ready for use when received.
No frame to set up.
No trouble; no bother.

WE HAVE BEEN MAKING GENUINE BATH CABINETS FOR YEARS

27,000 physicians and 1,000,000 happy users recommend our Cabinet in the highest and strongest terms.

We are the largest manufacturers of Bath Cabinets in the world. Our annual sales 300,000 Cabinets. Value $1,500,000.00. One hundred times more than all other firms.

Engraved from Photograph.

IT IS THE ONLY GENUINE CABINET MADE.

HAS A REAL DOOR, opens wide, hinged to frame. Other Cabinets with so-called door are simply a hole or slit to crawl through. **FRAMEWORK** strong and rigid, made of best steel, galvanized to prevent its rusting. **EIGHT UPRIGHTS** support it from top to bottom. Some affairs on the market have no supports whatever—Cabinet rests on shoulders—others have 2 or 3 flimsy supports, shaky and unsatisfactory. **DURABLE COVERING MATERIAL,** very best, antiseptic cloth—**RUBBER LINED. TOP CURTAINS** open on top for cooling off—Cabinets that do not do this are said to be dangerous. **LARGE AND ROOMY INSIDE.** Knees, arms and body do not touch the sides. Plenty of room for hot foot bath, and to sponge, towel and cool the body while inside. **FOLDS FLAT** like a screen in 1 inch space—others crush together and damage the goods. **WEIGHS** complete only 10 pounds. **EASILY CARRIED.**

There is no Man, Woman or Child in the World Whom Turkish and Vapor Baths will not Benefit.

Seated on a chair (with the head outside breathing pure air) one enjoys at home for 3c. each, all of the cleansing, curative, invigorating and purifying effects of the famous Turkish, Hot Air and Vapor baths, perfumed or medicated if desired. Better and cheaper than any treatment at Turkish Bath Rooms, Sanitariums and Hot Springs.

SO SIMPLE TO OPERATE.

Before retiring, light stove, step in Cabinet, close and lock door, sit down and you enjoy a temperature of 100° to 150° F., according to how you regulate stove. **All done in one minute.** Stay in 15 to 30 minutes—open top curtains, cool off gradually while you sponge and towel the body. Impossible to catch cold or weaken the system. Perfectly safe and harmless.

DON'T BE DECEIVED

by imitations. We do not make it our business to find fault with other people's goods, but as there are a number of unreliable, irresponsible concerns who have sprung up in the past few months who know nothing whatever of the laws of hygiene, and have no regard for the public health, are trying to market so-called Cabinets which are inconvenient, unreliable and dangerous to use, on the strength of satisfaction given, and the enormous demand created for our genuine Quaker, and as we have many letters from persons who have bought such goods, are unable to use them, and obliged to throw them away and secure a genuine Cabinet from us, we feel it our duty to warn the public so that no one else may be imposed upon.

If our Cabinet is not the best in every way, we do not want you to keep it.

Don't use a Cabinet which has no door, no frame, no rubber lining. **Remember, a wooden frame Cabinet** is ten years behind the times, is worthless, and **about as valuable as a wooden stove would be.**

Do not pay $7.50, $12.50 or $18 for inferior, bunglesome and inconvenient affairs, when the best costs only $5.00.

Place your order with us and you have the satisfaction of knowing you are doing business with a responsible and reliable firm (capital $100,000.00), who know the requirements of a first-class Cabinet, do exactly as they agree and furnish you a genuine Cabinet, guaranteed to be the best in every particular.

Write to-day for full information and **our valuable book,** also testimonials from thousands of customers. Or, better still, order a Cabinet. You won't be deceived or disappointed, as we guarantee every one, and refund your money after 30 days' use if not just as represented. We ship the same day your order is received. **DO NOT FAIL TO SEND FOR BOOKLET,** as it will prove interesting.

IT IS THE ONLY BATH which PRESERVES HEALTH.

PREVENTS Colds, Fevers, La Grippe and **Disease. CURES bodily ailments. Makes clear skin, pure blood, strong nerves, clear brain, healthy bodies, Makes you sleep sound. Beautifies complexion.**

SOAP AND WATER simply washes the surface of the skin, while Vapor baths open the 5,000,000 pores all over the body, stimulating the sweat glands, washing out all the poisons in the blood and the impure acids, salts, etc., which, if retained, overwork and weaken the heart, kidneys, lungs, liver, causing disease, debility and sluggishness.

WE POSITIVELY GUARANTEE RESULTS.

Our Cabinet is recommended by 27,000 best physicians, and **it will cure Nervous Troubles** and **Debility, Sleeplessness, Obesity, La Grippe, Neuralgia.**

CURES RHEUMATISM—(We have offered for four years a standing reward of $50.00 for a case not relieved). Cures Woman's Troubles, Headache, Gout, Piles, Dropsy, Diabetes, all Blood and **Skin Diseases, Liver** and **Kidney Troubles.**

IT WILL CURE A HARD COLD with one bath, and prevent Fevers, Pneumonia, Lung Fever, Asthma, La Grippe, and is really a household necessity. With the Cabinet, if desired, is a

HEAD AND COMPLEXION STEAMING ATTACHMENT

(the best ever offered), in which the head, face and neck is given the same vapor treatment as the body. Makes clear skin, beautiful complexion, cures and prevents pimples, blotches, blackheads, skin eruptions and diseases. Invaluable for colds in the head, Asthma, Catarrh and Bronchitis.

We furnish a perfect alcohol stove complete, with regulator and support, with each Cabinet free of charge. This is the best of all stoves; great improvement over all others. Safe, harmless, economical.

So confident are we that our Cabinet will please you that

WE SEND IT ON 30 DAYS' TRIAL,

to be returned at our expense and your money refunded if not just as represented. What could be more fair? We could not afford to have a Cabinet out which was not just as represented or satisfactory. **ORDER TO-DAY.** The price is wonderfully low. Only $5.00 for Cabinet complete, including alcohol stove, plain directions and valuable formulas and receipts for medicated baths and various ailments. Face steamer $1 extra.

AGENTS AND SALESMEN WANTED—MEN AND WOMEN—BIG WAGES, $30.00 to $50.00 Weekly to open offices or parlors, to appoint agents or travel. A wonderful seller. We will spend $350,000.00 advertising this Cabinet. This will create an enormous demand right in your locality. You carry small stock and supply it. Most liberal terms and commissions. Be your own boss. Any energetic man or woman can make $5.00 to $10.00 clear daily. **WRITE FOR OUR NEW PLAN, TERMS, ETC., FREE.** Send your address anyway.

The World Manufacturing Co., 701 World Bldg., Cincinnati, O.

[We know this firm to be reliable and to do as they agree, the Cabinet is just as represented.—Publisher.]

The above picture taken from life shows the **BERRY BROTHERS' TOY WAGON** in use.

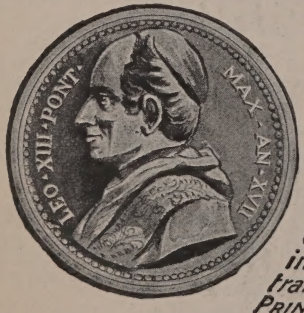
ASK YOUR DEALER IN PAINTS AND VARNISHES ABOUT IT, OR DROP US A LINE AND WE WILL MAIL YOU COPY OF ABOVE PICTURE AND PARTICULARS.

NEW YORK, 252 Pearl St.
BOSTON, 520 Atlantic Ave.
PHILADELPHIA, 26 and 28 N. Fourth St.
BALTIMORE, 22 E. Lombard St.
CHICAGO, 15 and 17 Lake St.
CINCINNATI, 304 Main St.
ST. LOUIS, 704 N. Fourth St.
SAN FRANCISCO, 117 and 119 Market St.

BERRY BROTHERS, Limited,
Varnish Manufacturers,
DETROIT, MICH.

HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII AWARDS GOLD MEDAL

In Recognition of Benefits Received from



VIN MARIANI

MARIANI WINE TONIC

FOR BODY, BRAIN AND NERVES

SPECIAL OFFER - To all who write us mentioning this paper, we send a book containing portraits and endorsements of EMPERORS, EMPRESS, PRINCES, CARDINALS, ARCHBISHOPS, and other distinguished personages.

MARIANI & Co., 52 WEST 15TH ST. NEW YORK.

FOR SALE AT ALL DRUGGISTS EVERYWHERE. AVOID SUBSTITUTES. BEWARE OF IMITATIONS.

PARIS-41 Boulevard Haussmann. LONDON-83 Mortimer St. Montreal-87 St. James St.

The GIFT GLASSWARE

manufactured and sold by

Messrs. C. Dorflinger & Sons

with special reference to the holidays, includes richly cut and brilliantly colored sets and pieces, some of which are handsomely silver-mounted, and all appropriately cased

WRITE FOR CATALOGUE

915 *Broadway, New York*

A

REMINGTON

STANDARD TYPEWRITER

will do a bigger day's work than any other writing machine.

And not one day's work only. Day after day, year after year, a Remington will continue to render most efficient and reliable service.

WYCKOFF, SEAMANS & BENEDICT
327 Broadway, New York

SPECIAL XMAS OFFER.

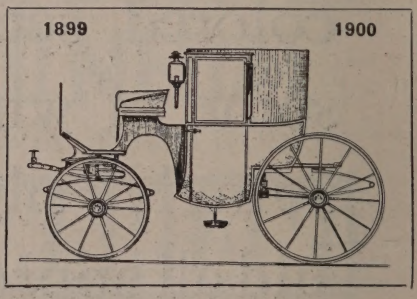
WE PAY THE FREIGHT.

The Chicago, $35.

One profit from manufacturer to user! Special offer for introduction! Until Dec. 31, 1899, we will **deliver** The Chicago to your nearest Railway Station C. O. D., $35, with privilege of examination. If not satisfactory return at our expense. Remember this superb typewriter is fully guaranteed to equal in durability and quality of its work any of the higher priced machines and for all 'round excellence and simplicity has no equal. Why use pen and ink? Try The Chicago and save your time, temper and eyesight. Address

CHICAGO WRITING MACHINE CO.,
94 and 96 Wendell Street, Chicago, U. S. A.

RIPE FALL EFFECTS

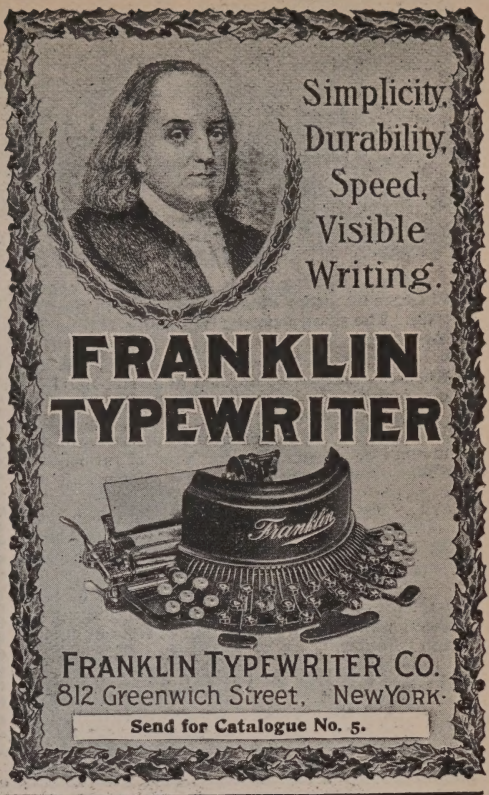


THERE is as wide a difference in carriage design and construction as there is in fruit. Our more recent models show that ripeness in design which at once distinguishes them. The clever originality, proper effects, correct fitments, superb finish, show the result of over 30 years' service to a most particular clientèle that extends to the four quarters of the globe.

Surely interest alone would prompt you to secure particulars. All inquiries by letter or in person intelligently attended to.

THE FRENCH CARRIAGE COMPANY
83 and 85 Summer St., cor. Kingston, only
FERDINAND F. FRENCH, Boston, Mass.

EXPERIENCE
PROVES THAT THE
YOST
DOES "BEAUTIFUL WORK"
DURING YEARS
OF CONSTANT USE.
CATALOGUE WITH SAMPLES OF WORK FREE
YOST WRITING MACHINE CO.
NEW YORK
316 BROADWAY
LONDON
50 HOLBORN VIADUCT.


Simplicity,
Durability,
Speed,
Visible
Writing.
FRANKLIN
TYPEWRITER
Franklin
FRANKLIN TYPEWRITER CO.
812 Greenwich Street, NewYork.
Send for Catalogue No. 5.

THE SMITH PREMIER TYPEWRITER
A SEASONABLE, SERVICEABLE,
SENSIBLE
GIFT.
ART
CATALOGUE
FREE.
THE SMITH PREMIER TYPEWRITER CO.
SYRACUSE, N.Y. U.S.A.

Warm Extremities, Warm all over.

Warm Strong, Durable, Handsome, are our $3 Large Gauntlet Black Fur Gloves, by mail prepaid. The same remarks will apply to our Dollar-quarter genuine Mocha Kid gloves in all colors for women, and our Dollar-half, Seventy five, and Two-dollar unlined and silk-lined Mocha and Reindeer gloves for men.

Our enlarged illustrated booklet "Glove Pointers" may be had free by mentioning this magazine. It will give you a lot of information about dress, driving and work gloves and mittens.

In Black Galloway and Frisian Fur Coats and Robes we are headquarters. Get our "Moth-Proof" booklet. Also coon, dog, wombat, Russian calf coats.

In custom Fur Tanning of all kinds of hides and skins; Rug and Robe Work; Taxidermy and Head Mounting, we are at home; Get our custom tan "Folder."

THE CROSBY FRISIAN FUR CO.,

116 MILL STREET, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Libby's Mince Meat

Makes a Pie That Melts in your Mouth

Those who know Libby's delicious Mince Meat never bother with the labor of making a winter's supply of home-made.

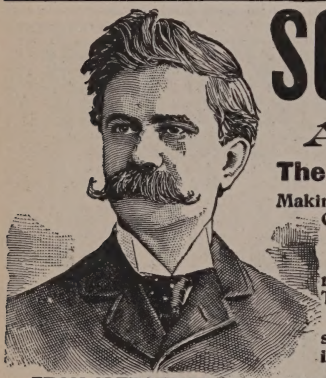
Libby's is so convenient, wholesome, pure.

Put up in packages enough for two large mince pies.

Ask your grocer or write

LIBBY, McNEILL & LIBBY, Chicago.

Drop a postal for book, new edition, "How to Make Good Things to Eat."



SCIENTIFIC EVOLUTION

A NEW REVELATION.

The Triumph of Modern Thought. TAUGHT BY MAIL.

Making Possible a higher, healthier and happier life through Mental Culture, Will Power, Character Building, Art of Pleasing, etc. Philosophy of Success as demonstrated daily.

Imagination cannot picture the glorious realities within your easy reach.

We aid all nations and religions to see the true light, antagonizing no one, recognizing one common brotherhood, having similar hopes, interests and aspirations. Those under our guidance feel better, do better, look better and live better.

Exchange darkness for light, sorrow for joy, weakness for health and failure for success. Thousands of highest endorsements similar to the following to be found in our book of sworn testimonials.

FROM CLERGYMEN. "A new peace and rest has come into my life bringing a world of light and joy." "Oh what a pleasure to live this life, so grand, so noble and inspiring." "Pleasing others and bringing sunshine wherever I go is most pleasant and gratifying to me." "This study has affected me wonderfully, causing many complimentary remarks." "Every moment brings its own reward, and life grows brighter and sweeter every day." "Results are more than satisfactory and decisive victories have come to pass." "Others are swayed and sit spell bound by this resistless force."

FROM PHYSICIANS. "You have taught me to find beauty in everything." "It has done more to conduce to my happiness than any one thing." "I am better, happier, healthier and stronger, mentally and physically." "I wish to thank you for that which money can never repay, may God bless you." "Oh how beautiful. How grand You can't imagine the real pleasure it gives me to read your words."

FROM THE PUBLIC. "The instructions are grand." "I would not have missed this for ten times the cost." "I have gained perfect mental and physical health." "I now look back on my former life with horror." "Accept my thanks for the great good you have done me." "Allow me to express my heartfelt gratitude that I was ever induced to take up this study." "The instructions are indeed sublime and do me untold good, leading to broader fields of thought and usefulness and not for the wealth of the world would I turn back into the old paths."

BE A SUCCESS.—make sunshine, love and happiness wherever you go. Seek the knowledge which we have to impart showing just how you can accomplish your ambitions

Our business is carried on wholly by correspondence and those in the remotest part of the world have the same success as those residing in Chicago, **OUR TERMS ARE SO LOW** as to be entirely inadequate with value imparted, and satisfaction guaranteed or no remuneration will be accepted. Full particulars upon request to **PROF. L. H. ANDERSON, N.A.R129 MASONIC TEMPLE, CHICAGO, ILL.**

JOSEPH GILLOTT'S STEEL PENS.

THE STANDARD PENS OF THE WORLD.

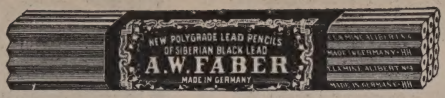
NUMBERS 303, 404, 604 E. F., 332, 601 E. F., 1044, and STUBS 1008, 1043, and others.

Highest Awards, Paris Exposition, 1878 and 1889, and Chicago, 1893.

There are Faber Pencils which are not

A. W. FABER PENCILS

See that all goods are initialled "A. W." before the name of "FABER," in order to get THE BEST from the original factory, established 1761.



A. W. FABER'S

A. W. FABER'S Stationer's Rubber Goods, Inks, Rulers, etc., are as reliable as A. W. FABER'S Lead Pencils.

Round Gilt, Hexagon Gilt, and Siberian Drawing Pencils

have been sold for thirty years and more, and constantly improved.

LEAD PENCIL MANUFACTORY ESTABLISHED 1761.

Illinois College of

Osteopathy

Surgery and Medicine

(INCORPORATED.)

Write any of the following names for references:

Opie Read, Chicago.
C. S. Smith, Gen'l Mngr., Penn Mutual Life Ins. Co., Chicago.
Rev. Elbert Hall, Methodist Book Concern, Chicago.
Rev. T. H. Youngman, Brookings, S. D.
I. N. Van Pelt, 82 S. Water St., Chicago.
Rev. S. Washburn, 2569 North Robey St., Chicago.
Rev. J. W. Mole, Whitefield, Ill.
R. S. Thain, Manager Western Rural, Chicago.
F. C Jocelyn, Gen. Mgr., Union Lumber Co., Chicago.
J. L. Ross, Ch'm Ins Fire Patrol, Chicago.
Rev. Nailer, Methodist Book Concern, Chicago.
E. T. Shepherd, Supt. Ins. Fire Patrol, Chicago.
Chas. Fuller, Adv. Co., Chicago.
John Carter, Editor Carter's Magazine, Chicago,
H. H. Chandler, Editor Farmers Review, Chicago.

Those who desire to follow a lucrative profession should investigate our advanced methods of teaching.

Our College Course is pre-eminently liberal, practical and scientific. Ours is the only Osteopathic Sanitarium anywhere—**Home Comforts.**

The Demand for Osteopathic Practitioners is Greater than the Supply.

We employ more operators than any other Osteopathic Institution in the world.

"The Northwestern Christian Advocate" says—"This college is universally acknowledged as the leader in the teaching and practice of this new science which makes nature her own doctor."

References, Chicago Newspapers. Write for illustrated treatise and college announcement. Send Stamp.

.....Address

D. E. KERR, 167 Dearborn St., Chicago.

CANCER CAN BE CURED.

WE CURE WHERE OTHERS FAIL.

General Offices

During the past 30 years we have cured over 8000 cases of Cancer, Tumors and various kinds of internal and external abnormal growths. No knife, no prostration, no confinement to bed or room. A **permanent cure guaranteed.** Write at once for **free advice,** and booklet explaining the treatment and relating hundreds of cures, among whom are

GEN'L LEW. WALLACE, Indianapolis, Ind.
MRS. SEN. J. M. PALMER, Springfield, Ill.
HON. GEO. S. ROSSER, Maysville, Ky.
THOS. B. TOMB, ESQ., Kansas City, Mo.

Drs. Gratigny & Bush, 8th & Elm Sts., Cincinnati, O.

INCREASE YOUR SALARY!

Send 15 cts. for 3 months' trial subscription to "THE BOOK-KEEPER." A handsome monthly magazine for Book-Keepers, Cashiers and Business Men. It will teach you Book-Keeping, Shorthand, Penmanship, Law, Short Cuts, Corporation Accounting, Banking, Business Pointers, Amusing Arithmetic, Lightning Calculations, etc. **$1 a Year.**

The Book-Keeper Co., Ltd.

E. H. BEACH, Editor. 156 Buhl Block, - Detroit, Mich.

TYPEWRITER HEADQUARTERS,

102 Fulton st., New York, sell all makes under half price. Don't buy before writing them for unprejudiced advice and prices. Exchanges. Immense stock for selection. Shipped for trial. Guaranteed first class. Dealers supplied. 52-page illus. cat. free.

GREATEST WARMTH, LEAST WEIGHT

Jaeger

PURE WOOL UNDERWEAR

SEND FOR ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE

New York: 16 West 23d St. / 166 Broadway.
Brooklyn: 504 Fulton St.
Boston: 169 Tremont St.
Philadelphia: 924 Chestnut St.

THE TYPEWRITER EXCHANGE.

A GOOD TYPEWRITER IN YOUR OFFICE will demonstrate its advantages.

Send for samples of writing, with prices, etc. Largest and most complete stock of second-hand Typewriters of any house in the trade. Machines shipped, privilege of inspection.

Title to every machine guaranteed.

SEVEN STORES 1½ Barclay Street, New York. 88 Bromfield Street, Boston. 124 LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill. 8 W. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md. 817 Wyandotte Street, Kansas City. 208 North Ninth Street, St. Louis. 432 Diamond St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Papa's Christmas

Mamma knows he wants

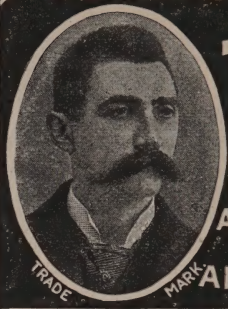
LION BRAND COLLARS CUFFS & SHIRTS

The introduction of a complete line of gentlemen's linen under a single brand—collars and shirts perfectly fitted and adapted to each other, with cuffs to match—all LION BRAND, renders these always useful garments available for family Christmas presents, and gives the assurance, formerly wanting, that the gift will fit and satisfy as well as please.

These goods exhibit the finest workmanship. They are the highest grade. Two collars or two cuffs cost 25 cents. It doesn't pay to pay more. Shirts cost $1.00, $1.50, and $2.00, depending on the kind you want. Ask your furnisher.

UNITED SHIRT AND COLLAR CO., Makers.
TROY, N. Y.

MENNEN'S BORATED TALCUM TOILET POWDER



AFTER BATHING AND SHAVING.

Delightful After Bathing.
A Luxury After Shaving.

A Positive Relief for
CHAPPED HANDS, CHAFING
and all afflictions of the skin.

GET MENNEN'S (the original), *a little higher in price, perhaps, than worthless substitutes, but there is a reason for it.*

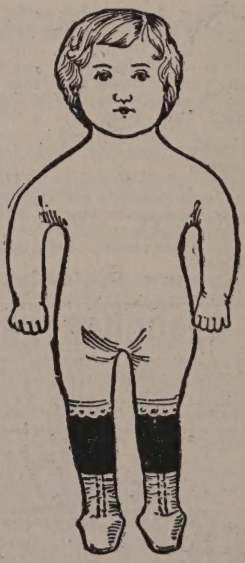
Refuse all other powders, which are liable to do harm.

Sold everywhere, or mailed for **25 CENTS.** (Sample free.)

Gerhard Mennen Co., Newark, N. J.

LIFE SIZE DOLL

21-2 FEET HIGH.



This Doll is the **Latest Novelty** of the Art Fabric Co.'s production. By their wonderful process they have reproduced a very large Hand Painted Doll. The Doll is intended to be **Stuffed with Cotton,** as directions will show.

The material used is very heavy Sateen, that will not tear. Oil colors only are used, they will not crock. By means of the patent Gussett the feet protrude in front, enabling the Doll to stand alone. Dollie has Golden Hair, Rosy Cheeks, Blue Eyes, Kid Color Body, Red Stockings and Black Shoes. Every child loves a big doll, but what will they say to a Life Size one.

Price of Doll,	**50c**
Doll Stuffed,	**75c**
Postage on Doll,	**5c**
On Doll Stuffed,	**81c**

If ordered by Mail add postage.

THE TAYLOR-WOOLFENDEN CO.,

Woodward Ave. & State St., DETROIT, MICH.

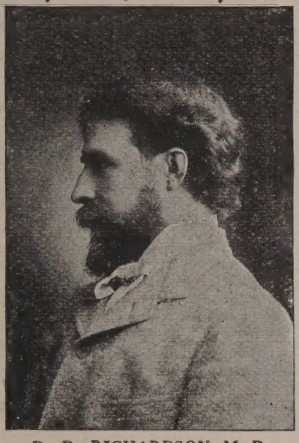
From Dr. Richardson:

The Chicago Specialist Writes Regarding His Cures.

I find it necessary constantly to combat the popular idea that there is no absolute cure for Pelvic and Nervous Diseases.

At my institution in Chicago I am proving the curability of these conditions BY ACTUAL CURES wrought through the Electro-Chemic agencies constituting my original system of treatment.

The Electro-Chemic Method is based on knowledge gained in years of investigation and practice, and cures to stay cured, not only Varicocele, Rupture, Stricture, Prostatic affections, Hemorrhoids and other Pelvic diseases, but the Nervous disorders which so frequently follow chronic diseases of the Pelvic organs.



D. D. RICHARDSON, M. D.

Electro-Chemic treatment affords safe, speedy and permanent cure of organic weakness or disease having its seat in the Pelvic region.

In the cure of Varicocele my success is especially noteworthy, as I cure the worst forms of this insidious and aggravating disease IN FIVE DAYS.

The toxic (poisonous) clots formed in the stagnated blood of Varicocele very often cause some form of Paralysis, usually Locomotor Ataxia, because these organic poisons are absorbed into nerve matter.

By a special modification of my Electro-Chemic Method, I disseminate throughout the organism certain natural curative agents which destroy the morbid blood products that have found lodgement in the nerves, and thus release imprisoned nerve force.

If you will write a careful description of your case as you understand it, I will take pleasure in answering your inquiries, and will send you my booklets explaining fully the nature and scope of my Electro-Chemic Method. Enclose ten cents to prepay postage on booklets in plain sealed package.

D. D. RICHARDSON, M. D.,
THE HOME, 1261-1272 MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO.

THE PURITY AND FLAVOR OF THIS OIL WILL MAKE YOUR SALADS DELICIOUS
MADE IN NICE, FRANCE SOLELY FROM SELECTED "SOUND" OLIVES
SOLD BY ALL DEALERS
Trade Mark
Nicelle Olive Oil
Good Salad
is possible only with good olive oil. Some oils are made from cotton seeds, animal fats and similar products, which are often injurious.
Nicelle Olive Oil
is a pure, nutritious, perfectly flavored olive oil. It is made from "sound" olives and from nothing else. It makes a perfect dressing for perfect salads. Try a bottle and judge for yourself.
"Comparison is the test of Superiority"
Seville Packing Co.
NEW YORK
EXCLUSIVISTS IN OLIVES AND OLIVE PRODUCTS
Pim-Olas
"White Label" Queen Olives.
Baby Pim-Olas.

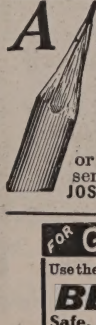
The North American Review
ADVERTISING RATES.

Full Page, 1 Time,	$80.00
½ Page, 1 Time,	45.00
¼ Page, 1 Time,	25.00
⅛ Page, 1 Time,	15.00
Per Nonpareil Line,	.75

DISCOUNT ON TIME CONTRACTS.
Ordinary Pages Only.
3 MONTHS, 5 Per Cent.
6 MONTHS, 10 Per Cent.
12 MONTHS, 20 Per Cent.

If afflicted with SORE EYES USE Dr. ISAAC THOMPSON'S EYE WATER

A Sharp Point



can be kept on *Dixon's American Graphite Pencils* without breaking off every minute. They write smoothest and last longest. Ask your dealer for

DIXON'S PENCILS

or mention THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and send 16 cents for samples worth double the money.
JOSEPH DIXON CRUCIBLE CO., Jersey City, N. J.

FOR GOUT & RHEUMATISM
Use the Great English Remedy
BLAIR'S PILLS
Safe, Sure, Effective. 50c. & $1
DRUGGISTS, or 224 William St., N. Y.

There's Nothing Half-Way

About the Solograph Camera; it is thoroughly good all the way through. That's what makes it an ideal Christmas gift. Compare it, materials and workmanship, with the others.

We've a little book of interest to you, which you may have by writing for.

THE SCOVILL & ADAMS CO. OF NEW YORK
60 & 62 East Eleventh St. (5 doors East of B'way), New York

Most Acceptable as a
HOLIDAY GIFT
to any member of the family.
For the Home, Library, Sick Room, Studio, Office, School Room.

TRADE **THE STANDORETTE** MARK
An Invalid's Stand, Easel, Reading Stand, Book Rest, Music Stand, Card Stand, Sewing Stand, Drawing Board, all in one handsome piece of furniture. Compactly folded; shipped in box 24x21x2¾.

Thousands in use giving the best of satisfaction. Shipped on approval, freight paid. If not as represented, money refunded. Light, durable, ornamental. Made of steel tubing, enameled in black. Trimings nickel plated. All adjustments are automatic. Our booklet mailed free.
D. H. ALLEN & CO., Miamisburg, O.

EUGENE FIELD'S POEMS— A $7.00 BOOK
THE book of the century. Handsomely Illustrated by thirty-two of the World's Greatest Artists.

GIVEN FREE
to each person interested in subscribing to the Eugene Field Monument Souvenir Fund. Subscribe any amount desired. Subscriptions as low as $1.00 will entitle donor to this daintily artistic volume

"FIELD FLOWERS"

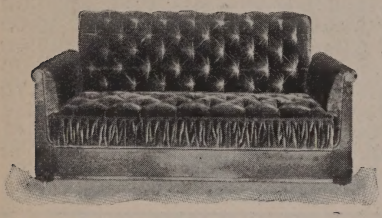
(cloth bound, 8 x 11), as a certificate of subscription to fund. Book contains a selection of Field's best and most representative works and is ready for delivery.

But for the noble contribution of the world's greatest artists this book could not have been manufactured less than $7

The Fund created is divided equally between the family of the late Eugene Field and the Fund for the building of a monument to the memory of the beloved poet of childhood. Address

EUGENE FIELD MONUMENT SOUVENIR FUND
Also at Book Stores) 180 Monroe St., Chicago
If you also wish to send postage, enclose 10 cts.

Mention this Magazine, as Adv. is inserted as our contribution.

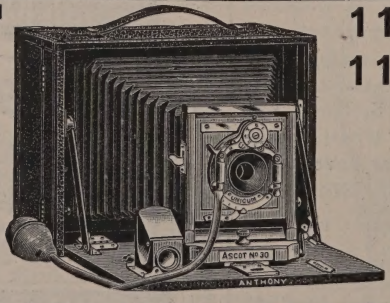


The Leonard Sofa Bed

A Luxurious Sofa, Couch length, instantly convertible into a large, soft hair mattress bed, with large drawer for bedding. 20 pounds of pure hair and 100 finely tempered steel springs in every one. 10 styles, $28.00 to $65.00. Equally luxurious and serviceable. Correspondence from clergymen solicited. Freight prepaid. Returnable if unsatisfactory. Catalogues free.

PATENTED, MANUFACTURED AND SOLD ONLY BY
THE LEONARD SOFA BED CO., 400 Erie Street, Cleveland, O.

ASCOT
STRONG
COMPACT
ORIGINAL
TRY ONE



11 Styles Cycle
11 " Folding
in prices
$8 to $110
Free descriptive catalogue.
Manufacturers of { Photographic Apparatus, and dealers in { Materials, and Supplies.
Established 57 years in this line.

E. & H. T. ANTHONY & CO.
591 Broadway, New-York. 45-47-49 East Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

GOLF MONTAUK

A Special 4 x 5 Folding Montauk Camera

made of convenient size for Golfers. A limited number for Xmas at

$15 WORTH $22.50

For sale at all Montauk agencies.

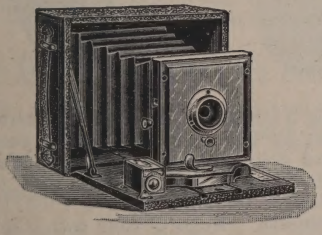
Best workmanship and materials.
Rapid symmetrical lens.
Unicum shutter.
Sole leather carrying case.

G. GENNERT,
24 and 26 East 13th Street, New York.

$7.00 ...AN ELEGANT... **$7.00**

Christmas Present.

THIS CYCLE FOLDING CAMERA is designed especially for the Holiday Trade, and this unparalleled offer continues only until January 1st, 1900.



Ray Cameras

Have achieved an enviable reputation, but this one eclipses anything that has ever been offered for the money.

The Camera is of the Folding Cycle Style, and measures but 6 × 5¼ × 2¼ inches when closed.

Made of the best seasoned material, covered with genuine leather, equipped with Time and Instantaneous Shutter, Single Meniscus Achromatic Lens, View Finder, Focusing Scale, Carrying Case and one Double Plate Holder. **All complete, neatly boxed, for $7.00.**

Don't miss the opportunity; it may never occur again.

Buy from your dealer, or send direct to us.

RAY CAMERA CO., ROCHESTER, N. Y. No. 202 Centre Street.

Save your horse

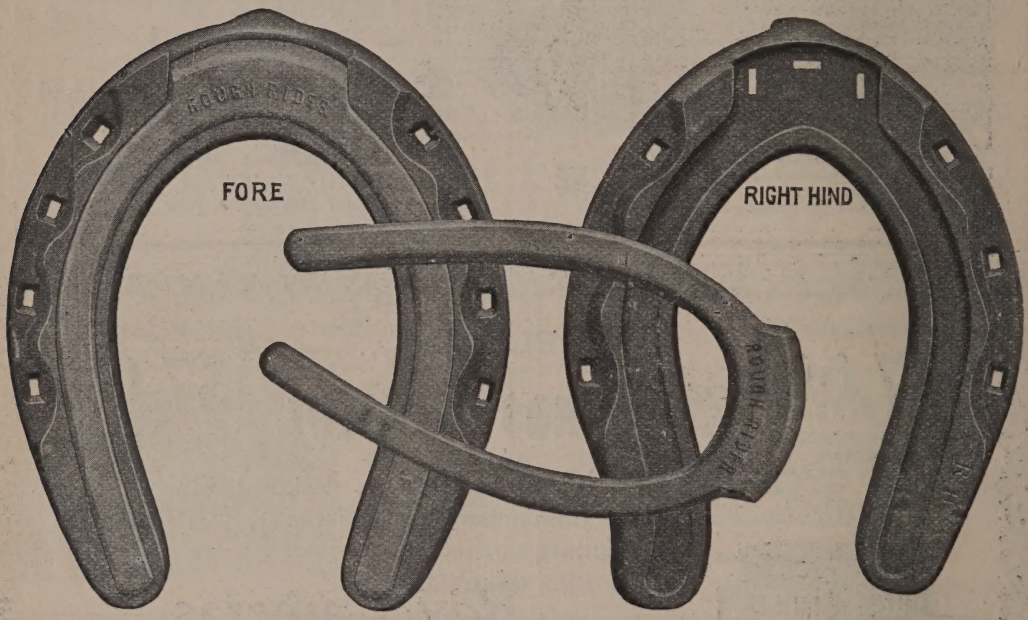
Slipping impossible, no matter how smooth the pavement.

No more calks and pads to injure hoofs, lame the horse, and change his gait.

Perfect tread with absolute safety and comfort.

Confidence and freedom of action humanely restored to every horse shod with the

"ROUGH RIDER"



A STEEL SHOE DROP-FORGED, with EXPANDING RUBBER TREAD, maintaining until worn out a **constant rubber contact** with the pavement by the expansion of the rubber within a dovetailed groove, **absolutely preventing slipping** and giving a perfectly natural tread. Can be forged to fit, hot or cold, and rubber securely inserted before fastening to the hoof. It is not an experiment. It is the result of three years of actual use, demonstrating a PERFECT HORSESHOE. **Invaluable on smooth and slippery pavements.** Regard your own safety. Try it on your favorite horse; he will feel and be a better animal.

If your blacksmith hasn't the "ROUGH RIDER" SHOE, send us his name and address and we will see that he gets them for you. Write to us for a pamphlet giving information and facts that will convince the most skeptical.

Don't forget that we will send you **free** upon application our valuable and interesting pamphlet, including reproductions of **testimonials of the very highest** order, embracing **recommendations** of the **most noted horsemen** in the country.

EXPANDING TREAD CO., 149 Broadway, New York

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

It cost $50,000 and took seven years to make Bachelder's famous steel engraving "Battle of Gettysburg." It is 50 times as large as this miniature reproduction which gives but a hint of the beauty and grandeur of the original. We offer the original for a few days at an enormous sacrifice. It is the most magnificent work of art ever produced in steel and will last for generations and increase in value each year in any Home, College or School. General Meade said, "It is accurate in the delineation of the landscape and position of troops." Gen. Hancock, "It correctly represents the position of troops and their relative movements with a precision which makes it invaluable as an historical representation of that scene." Gen. James Longstreet, "It is a fair and complete representation of that eventful scene." A noted educator has said that a famous war picture should hang on the wall of every home and school to inspire patriotism in the young. With each engraving we furnish an outline key giving 200 references showing locations and movements of the Generals, Corps, Divisions, Regiments, Companies, Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery, at the moment of Pickett's famous charge. Above photo gives but little of detail and extent of battle as shown in original.

Original price of engraving,	$100.00
Special price for 30 days,	2.50
Special price, cash with order,	2.00

FILL OUT THIS COUPON AND MAIL TO-DAY.

Date,.....1899.

To Historical Art Co., 36 Bromfield St., Boston, Mass.

Please send me, express paid, Bachelder's Steel Engraving, "Battle of Gettysburg." If as represented, I agree to pay therefor a total of $2.50, within ten days after receiving the engraving.

Name,.....

P. O. Address,.....State,.....

After our special offer expires, the price of this work of Art will be $7.50.

For the Winter go to...

...BERMUDA

Frost Unknown. Malaria Impossible.

48 HOURS by Elegant Steamships Weekly.

5 Days' Service from New York in Jan'y, Feb'y and March.... **1900.**

For Winter Cruises go to...

WEST INDIES

Including **PORTO RICO** and **CUBA.**

30 DAYS' TRIP, 20 Days in the Tropics.

S. S. PRETORIA, 3 300 Tons, Jan. 13 and Feb. 14.
S. S. MADIANA, 3,080 Tons, Jan. 4 and Feb. 3.

For Further Particulars apply to
A. E. OUTERBRIDGE & CO., Agents for Quebec S. S. Co., Ltd., 39 Broadway New York.
THOS. COOK & SON, 261 Broadway, New York, or to A. AHERN, Secretary, Quebec, Canada.

ALL TRAINS VIA WASHINGTON
BALTIMORE & OHIO R.R.
WITH STOP OVER PRIVILEGE

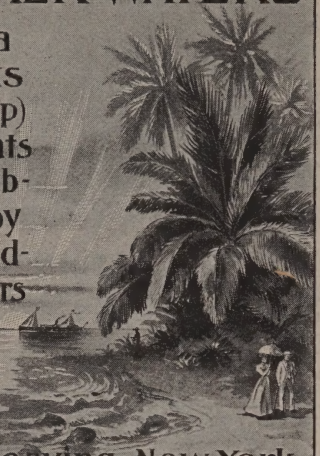
ROYAL BLUE TRAINS

PULLMAN SLEEPING CARS — OBSERVATION PARLOR CARS.

UNEXCELLED B & O. DINING CAR SERVICE

NEW YORK
PHILADELPHIA
BALTIMORE
WASHINGTON
PITTSBURG
CINCINNATI
CHICAGO
ST. LOUIS

A WINTER CRUISE IN SUMMER WATERS



To Jamaica (two weeks special trip) and all points on the Caribbean Sea by the commodious steamers of the

ATLAS LINE Leaving New York every Saturday. Send for illustrated booklet E free

PIM, FORWOOD & KELLOCK AGTS.
17 STATE ST. NEW YORK.

The real distance is much greater than it seems to passengers on our Limited Trains.

W. J. LYNCH,
Gen'l Pass. and Tkt. Agt.
Cincinnati.

W. P. DEPPE,
Asst. G. P. and T. A.

ENGLISH,
RUSSIAN,
FRENCH
AND GERMAN

officers from their stations in the Pacific almost invariably travel by the New York Central on their trips to and from the Fatherland, on account of the wonderful speed and comfort of its trains.

For a copy of the "Luxury of Modern Railway Travel," send a 1 cent stamp to George H. Daniels, General Passenger Agent, Grand Central Station, New York.

THE MIDLAND ROUTE

THROUGH TOURIST SLEEPING CARS TO CALIFORNIA OVER

CHICAGO MILWAUKEE & ST PAUL RAILWAY THROUGH OMAHA LINCOLN COLORADO SPRINGS SALT LAKE CITY AND OGDEN.

SLEEPING CAR BERTH RATE ONLY $6.00

For further information apply to nearest ticket office or address
GEO. H. HEAFFORD, GEN'L PASS'R AGT., OLD COLONY BLDG., CHICAGO
A. O. BIRD, GEN'L TRAFFIC MANAGER, CHICAGO.

A WINTER CRUISE TO THE ORIENT

Upon the Superb Twin-Screw Express Steamer

AUGUSTE VICTORIA (CAPT. C. KAEMPFF)

of the

Hamburg - American Line

(The Largest Steamship Company in the World)

Leaving New York on January 25, 1900, and returning on April 2.

The Itinerary Includes **Madeira, Gibraltar, Algiers, Genoa, Villefranche** (Nice), **Syracuse** (Sicily), **Malta, Alexandria** (Cairo and the Pyramids), **Jaffa** (Jerusalem, the Jordan and Dead Sea), **Smyrna, Constantinople, Athens, Palermo, Naples, Genoa,** and return to New York. *Duration, 67 Days.*

Rates of Passage from $450 Upward.

There is **no way** of reaching these places **with greater comfort** and **safety,** avoiding innumerable transfers, customs inspections, etc. Passengers can extend their stay in Europe and return to America later from Hamburg, Southampton, or Cherbourg.

For descriptive pamphlets, rates, book of testimonials, etc., etc., apply to

HAMBURG-AMERICAN LINE

NEW YORK, 37 Broadway. **BOSTON,** 80 State Street. **SAN FRANCISCO,** 401 California Street.
CHICAGO, 159 Randolph Street. **PHILADELPHIA,** 337 Walnut Street. **ST. LOUIS,** 100 No. Broadway.

FRANK PRESBREY CO., N. Y.

The Family Circle

Is Protected by THE PRUDENTIAL

THE various plans of policies, Ordinary, Intermediate and Industrial, issued by The Prudential, embrace every member of the family, from one year old to seventy, and in amounts from $15 to $100,000 All in good health may secure Life Insurance proportionate to their needs and purchasing ability.

Write for full information and description of policies for profitable investment and protection.

THE PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE COMPANY

JOHN F. DRYDEN, President — OF AMERICA — HOME OFFICE: NEWARK, N.J.

(Please mention this publication)